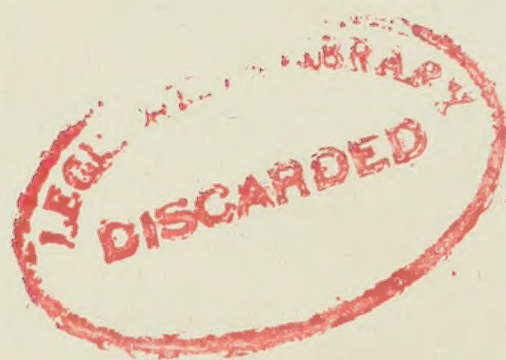




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THE WEEKLY REVIEW

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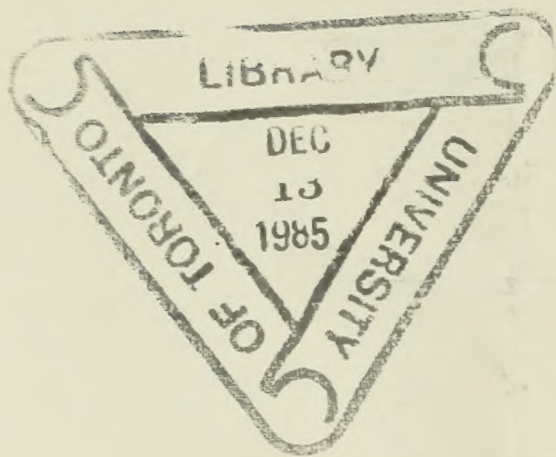
POLITICS, OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
TENDENCIES, OF HISTORY,
LITERATURE, AND
THE ARTS

VOLUME CVIII

January—June, 1922

THE NATIONAL WEEKLY CORPORATION

140 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.



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BN	Book Note
BR	Book Review
D	Drama
Ed	Editorial Article
FOR	From Our Readers
M	Music
P	Poetry
R	Reviewer
SA	Signed Article
SW	Story of the Week
*	Editorials
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The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

January 7, 1922



The Intolerants

When the Boot Is on the Other Leg

By Annette Thackwell Johnson

IT was Mr. Darsie who shattered the peace which, by a miracle, had enfolded us.

For half an hour we had busied ourselves collecting driftwood; laughing determinedly as we ran to and fro in the gathering dusk; heaping our armfuls upon the bonfire; chattering nonsense. . .

It had been so blessed to think of nothing but the cheerful glow of the crackling flames . . . to struggle with our marshmallows, and shriek when they toppled from their pointed sticks into the blaze . . . to pretend that the whole world was as happy and peaceful as we, with Lake Erie playing contentedly with the pebbles at our feet.

But the time came when Mr. Darsie could not manage another marshmallow . . .

Then, puffing a sigh, he surveyed us and the night disapprovingly.

"Who would dream—seeing us here—that this country was at war?" he demanded indignantly of us all.

I agreed with fervent sincerity that it was a hideous thought.

"To think that in all these centuries men should have found no better way to settle their disputes than to tear and hack each other—to destroy the civilizations they have builded—as children destroy their towers of blocks . . ."

The heavy face turned in my direction. The overlapping chin reddened and shook. The small eyes surveyed me narrowly.

My answer had not the proper ring, it seemed.

"You know whom to blame—who started it all?" he demanded.

Incautiously I voiced the thought I had been brooding over.

"Indeed yes. The human race has failed in tolerance. There can be no comprehension without it. And without comprehension there is ignorance, fear, hate. We have all suspected, feared each other—tricked, lied, stolen. So—"

"All?" boomed Mr. Darsie. "How do you mean—all? Don't you know that the Kaiser made this war? That the Huns . . ."

I glanced idly around me while he told us what the Huns had done. Near the bank, a little away from the fire, Lillie Darsie was whispering with Mary Griswold. Nearer the blaze, a little by herself, sat his daughter

Grace, arms limp, eyes wide and sad, staring at the glowing driftwood unseeingly.

Grace's lover was fighting in France. Her two-year engagement had been about to culminate in a June wedding, when Ford had been ordered overseas. Her father had forbidden her marriage to a man "who might come back maimed, or never come back at all."

So Grace, who had expected to be a wife, remained a maid, and stared into the fire and thought terrible thoughts. . . .

Next to Mr. Darsie sat my sister, with her little son asleep in her lap. She was nervously punctuating Mr. Darsie's statements with polite nods. But she looked unhappy—and I knew that she was afraid—afraid that Mr. Darsie might find out that I hated war worse than I hated Germans.

Just then Mr. Darsie made the happy discovery that my sister's husband was in an officers' training camp. Forgetting to be suspicious, and taking agreement for granted, he launched into a detailed account of his experiences as a member of the local draft board having to do with enemy aliens.

"How I long to knock them down and tread on them," he gobbled with flaming eyes. "The impudence of them! *acknowledging* themselves enemy aliens—the dirty devils!"

But it appeared that he hated the men who asked for exemption almost as much—

"Cowards—most of them," he thundered. "Look at you, Mrs. Ferris. Does your husband permit you and your children to prevent his offering his life for his country? No! Do you know what I think the half of them are?"—he dropped his voice—"Spies."

His whisper became guttural. "*Spies*—thank God our country still has plenty of lamp-posts."

Sorrow stirred within me.

"They must have hard lives—spies—" I faltered. "I remember reading Baden-Powell's spy experiences. It is not a pleasant life. I cannot imagine anyone choosing it. . . . Think of the English and American spies in Germany and Austria just now—poor outlaws, living in fear of lamp-posts . . ."

It was my sister's horrified face that warned me.

"So-o-o?" Mr. Darsie drew out the word, focussing his entire attention upon me. "That is how you feel? You

couple the Hun skunks we harbor with our spies in Germany—with *English* and *American* spies . . ."

"I was only pitying any human being forced to such a life," I objected. Surely you acknowledge that even a German spy is human?"

"Human?" His eyes protruded. His fists pounded the soft sand. "I would sweep the whole German nation into the sea—every man, woman, and child of them. Wipe 'em out . . ."

He gesticulated wildly. I thought he was going to have a fit.

My sister rushed to the rescue, stammering a story of a spy caught in the act of poisoning an officer's soup."

Later, as we clambered up the bank, I overheard Mr. Darsie warning Grace, to whom I had been specially drawn during our short stay:

"Watch out for that woman . . . I suspect her of being a *German spy*." . . .

Followed endless agony . . . The poignant joy of Armistice . . . Then talk, talk, talk—and at last the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments.

Timidly I began to dream of the Parliament of Man—the Federation of the World.

A friend stopped me on the street. "Going to the meeting?" she asked.

"What meeting?"

"Didn't you know? It's for the Friends of Indian Freedom. A lot of young Indian students will be there. Freedom! Just your sort of thing. Hurry up—it has only just begun."

I found about three hundred people strained forward in their seats—listening avidly to a glib young man who paced the platform excitedly as he discoursed about "the noble souls yoked together in the struggle to shatter the shackles put upon them by the British Empire, the most autocratic, the most devilish Empire the world has ever seen!"

This statement, with various reiterations, seemed to be all we were to hear about the Indian situation from the first speaker of the evening. As he made no pretense of ever having been there, he wisely stuck to generalities; and his audience was just as pleased as if he had really given them facts.

"From our speaker's address," was the jovial comment of the chairman, "I think it safe to guess that he don't like the English! (laughter). I take much pleasure in introducing to you another gentleman who don't fancy the English either. Let me present to you Mr. Selindra Nath Ghose, late of Calcutta, who will tell you what his countrymen are actually *doing* to free themselves of the tyrant's heel!"

It took several moments for the loud applause that greeted Mr. Ghose to subside sufficiently to permit him to speak.

However, seeing himself among friends, Mr. Ghose made up for the lost time by plunging immediately into his subject.

He told us chattily, with pauses for laughter and hand-clapping, how he, with several young companions, had joined the revolutionary movement and entered at once into the making of bombs. As he was attending the College of Science in Calcutta, he naturally learned a great deal about chemicals. With the realization that bombs would figure largely in the campaign of young India, hundreds of young Indians were sent to France and America, ostensibly to study chemical engineering, but really to perfect themselves in the technique of chemical warfare.

"My connection with the revolutionary movement in India ceased with the throwing of the bomb at Lord Minto in Delhi," he explained in a high falsetto voice. "Then,

sentenced to the Andamans, with a price upon my head, I and some companions, fortunately armed, managed to break through the cordon of British surrounding the house in which we were evading the vigilance of the British tyrant, and I left India—very safely indeed—as a stoker in a British vessel."

He had to pause to let the delighted merriment of his audience die down before he proceeded to tell us of his entering Yale, class of 1916, and his subsequent work at the New York Headquarters of the Friends of Indian Freedom.

"We do not know where the Prince of Wales is at this moment," he smilingly announced, "but we do know that he will never come out of India again."

I glanced around me with incredulous horror. Laughter and applause—at this? . . .

Directly in front of me there sat a mother and daughter. The mother, thin-featured, angular, on the edge of her seat, face thrust forward, laughing a thin, tight-lipped laugh, clapping vehemently. Her daughter, young, red-haired, fair-skinned, stifled a yawn, then obediently followed her mother's example, and clapped and laughed and clapped.

And these were the people whom I had pitied—sorrowed for during the war! The thought crushed me.

But Mr. Ghose prattled on. I listened, dazed. Surely these people were not *believing* his silly statements? His statistics were so absurd that I caught myself wondering whether any of his listeners had studied arithmetic!

What was this? "One of the blessings of British Rule is supposed to be education. Yet when Britain entered India sixty eight per cent. of the Indians were educated—now only six!"

Groans and horrified looks from the audience.

And I looked horrified too, and groaned in my heart. Did they not know that when Britain entered India to trade, learning had almost ceased? Ordinary education scarcely existed. Spiritual religion was to be met only in remote places; and a coarse idolatry with cruel and immoral rites enslaved the people. Education? I could hardly keep my seat.

After the passing of the contribution box "to help the good work of our Indian brothers along," the Indians present held an informal reception.

As I joined in the line that formed, I heard a man in front of me exclaim heartily:

"Gee! it was fine to have a little free speech again!"

I approached Ghose. "Does Gandhi approve of this bomb-making and bomb-throwing?" I inquired. "He says that he is opposed to force. He knows that it is stupid—a political blunder, if nothing else. . . ."

Ghose laughed again.

"Gandhi?" he said. "We *use* him. When we need him no longer—we *go on our way*."

"Then you do not believe in disarmament?"

"No!"

A woman behind me began to complain, "She ought to be stopped. She shouldn't be *allowed* to discuss the question . . . Can't some one shut her up?"

I turned to her. "What about free speech?" I asked.

She tossed her head.

"Oh, we know all about British propaganda and *British spies*," she jeered. . . .

It was frosty outside. I shivered. But not altogether from cold.

I shrunk away from the jostling crowds pouring into the street from dance-halls and moving-picture theatres.

In the tiny park near my house I stopped and lifted my face to the scudding clouds in the wintry sky.

"Oh God!" I found myself whispering. "Is there tolerance—anywhere?"

The Bloc

By Ellis Parker Butler

THE last speed case had been fined twenty-five dollars and costs and our eminent jurist, Justice of the Peace Hooper, had removed his spectacles and announced that court was closed for the day.

"You can go, Durfey," he said to the court officer, but Durfey lingered. He was sure he had seen our incorruptible jurist drop something remarkably like a flask in the bottom drawer of his desk that morning. He was wondering how he could drop a certain hint.

"Thank you, judge," said Durfey, "but would it be ask-

"Gentlemen oxen," the *bloc* snarls, showing its teeth and growling at those that want to get the public business done, 'no doubt you want to get down to business, but I'm darned if you will! Nobody eats until I'm fed. I may be small, but beware of my fangs. The whole barnyard will now starve until I am handed a tenderloin steak on a silver platter. Woof! Grrr!"

"The *bloc*, Durfey, is any bunch of legislators that want their special chestnuts pulled out of the fire, and it don't care who the monkey is. In the long run you are the monkey, Durfey.

"The *bloc*, Durfey, is a scheme invented to turn any representative assembly into a hold-up game where the smallest man can tote the biggest gun. The *bloc* is the first tap on the head a democratic government receives before it is laid out on ice and the undertaker called."

"I see!" said Durfey. "It is a dog and a cat and a union and a scheme and a tap on the head. That's plain enough. Who invented it?"

"I'm not sure of that," said



ing too much to request you to enlighten my mind regarding one thing I'm ignorant of? Meaning this new *bloc* thing they've got down there at Washington. What is it, judge, and why don't they spell it the right way?"

Judge Hooper leaned his elbows on his desk and pointed one stubby finger at Mr. Durfey.

"Durfey," he said, "I'll tell you! The *bloc*, Durfey, is the latest zoölogical nuisance fetched here from the European barnyard. We didn't want it, but someone sneaked it past the custom house when no one was looking, contrary to the law shutting out flea-bit canines."

"Is it a dog, then?" asked Officer Durfey with surprise.

"It is," declared Judge Hooper. "The *bloc* is the dog in the manger that has been standing on the hay of necessary legislation over yonder ever since it was invented. It is as European as the *pickelhaube* and the goosestep and part of the same breed.

Judge Hooper. "Some say Satan, but more likely it was one of those foreign autocratic potentates, Durfey, when he discovered that the legislature he had unfortunately permitted to exist was squirming out from under his heel.

"Here's a dickens of a mess," he said. "Here's this legislature of mine getting so every man is thinking for himself and trying to work for the good of the country. I don't say that the gentleman from Bogoslavia don't try to get a pork-barrel appropriation for the draining of Gumbo Swamp or that the gentleman from Poskoff Corners don't try to drag a marble post-office from the loot bag now and

then, but that is only human nature. That is to be expected. But what can I do to increase the general selfishness and steer them away from this notion of looking out for the good of the country first, last and all the time?"

"So then he thought of the *bloc*, Durfey, and in a month's time he had no more worry. Instead of a couple of hundred patriots, each and all trying to give the country a fair deal, he had five or six *blocs*, each as stubborn as a mule to get more than its share and each as selfish as a rat—"

"Now, wait!" said Durfey. "It is a mule and a rat now—"

"Parabolically speaking, Durfey; parabolically speaking!" said Judge Hooper. "Let me finish. The *bloc*, as played in Europe, Durfey, was one reason why it now takes a bale of money to buy a collar button over there and why you throw a fit every time your income tax comes due. For the *bloc* works, Durfey. It can get what it wants. The only trouble is that it is the business of the *bloc* to get more than it is entitled to, and when you have

enough *blocs* and all of them getting more than their share it is not long until they have got more than there is. And then there is nothing to do but buckle on the *pickelhaube* and line up for the goosestep and try to take the 'more than there is' from the fellow next door. And that does make a mess, Durfey; that certainly does make a mess!"

"I'll say it does, Judge," said Durfey, who had been overseas. "But what are we going to do about it?"

Judge Hooper scratched his ear thoughtfully.

"Grin," he said, "and bear it, Durfey. The *bloc* is here and I don't know how we can get rid of it unless we get up an amendment to the Constitution and prohibit it."

"And even then," said Durfey, "they would be bootlegging *blocs* all over the place just the same. Not," he added gently, "that I know where a man can get a nip of the old stuff these days, judge."

"And not that I can't take a hint, Durfey," said our eminent jurist, pulling open the lower drawer of his desk. "Get two glasses, Durfey, but fill mine only about half full of water."

The End of a Chapter

By Stephen Gwynn

STATESMANSHIP is so rare a thing that we ought to thank God for it, and the best mark of statesmanship is intelligibility. Whoever drafted the agreement that was published on December 7 had a clear mind and the talent for expressing its conclusions. For once in history Great Britain dealing with Ireland has gone to the full limit of fair play. The result is, I believe, an end of what Tom Kettle called "The Two Fools: a Tragedy of Errors." Both parties to the compact have made their meaning plain and have faced in advance the shrieks of extremists.

To begin, the oath of allegiance is perfectly clear. No one can take it with reservation. If any comment was needed, it is given in a supplementary speech by Mr. Michael Collins, who claims that the agreement has laid solid foundations for a complete understanding between the nations of the British Empire, which may be the beginning and model for an understanding between the nations of the world. He goes further and declares his hope that this league may find America willing to join. That is his way of saying what I have always maintained—that a solid alliance between Great Britain and Ireland may pave the way to a solid alliance of the English-speaking world: and that upon no other foundation can the peace of civilized mankind be achieved and a limit set to the insane race of armaments.

This is a compact reached during a truce between two nations armed for war, in which the stronger nation could with certainty crush the weaker out of existence. Yet the stronger has been restrained from the use of power by the other certainty that the resistance would be desperate and could not be overcome without repudiation of all the ideals for which the stronger nation contended in world politics. If, as I believe, much has been achieved for the world, credit is due to England for the abstention from force and to Ireland, for the stand which forced that abstention.

I assume that the compact will be ratified by Parliament and by Dail Eireann, despite protests of an angry minority in each. In Dublin there is fumbling; but I was told of one typical community where the men who had been



International

King George and the Privy Council after the signing of the Irish Peace Treaty

earliest and most strenuous in their support of Sinn Fein's struggle were delighted with the result: protest came from few, and those the most recent converts. The town at large and the country at large received the news as tidings of

deliverance. Rejoicing was deferred from a sense of discipline; but the release of prisoners announced today is likely to give occasion for the first display of exultation.

Yet it must not be supposed that the delegates could reach their decision without courage. To accept the oath of allegiance, if Ulster were coerced into yielding, would have been easy; but a double sacrifice had to be made. The name of a Republic, the name of complete independence, had to go by the board along with the nominal unity of Ireland. Mr. Griffiths, Mr. Collins, and their followers had to content themselves with securing real freedom; it is defined in the true way by reference to the freedom enjoyed by the other Dominions. Should they get that, they could well afford to let go the name. As a matter of fact, Ireland completely severed from Great Britain would be far more under Great Britain's control than as a "Free State" within the British Commonwealth of Nations, whose freedom every other of King George's transmarine Dominions will be bound to protect, since the freedom of one defines the freedom of all.

I am not certain whether "Free State" was a title selected by far-seeing judgment or simply reached by chance. The Irish language has no regular word for Republic and a translation had to be provided. *Saor Stit*, "Free State," was pitched on: and it chanced to be the name also of a unit in the British possessions which had come into them by conquest, yet which had regained its freedom within the larger bond.

One might even claim that the Irish delegates have taught Great Britain what the British Empire really is: what it has grown to be, what it must be if it is to continue to exist. The agreement of this week is the clearest recognition of the complete and essential freedom which governs that great league. On this side, as against England, Sinn Fein's triumph seems to be complete, up to the limit imposed by the realities of the situation. The deepest

of these realities was that Ireland's secession would be resisted by force of arms. A second reality was the strategic unity of the two islands—a unity to be maintained by naval action. This unity is fully recognized by Ireland in the compact. The possibility that in case of war Ireland might claim to stand neutral and deny the use of its coastline and harbors is ruled out. That also would have been fought for and achieved by the existing superior Power.

It is in relation to Ulster that Sinn Fein makes a sacrifice. Ulster, indeed, is recognized as originally part of Ireland, but with right to secede and become a partly self-governing unit. It is not, however, granted the right to secede and become on a level with the rest of Ireland, Ulster is hoist with its own petard, and brought to book for all its fervent protestations of attachment to Great Britain. If it effects to be self-governing, it must have the degree of self-government accorded by the Act of 1920. It has the privilege of sending a dozen members to Westminster and will to that extent have a voice in the authority that must impose and collect nine-tenths of its revenues. Out of the revenue so imposed and collected, Ulster is bound to contribute for the next two years eight millions annually. The situation is summed up by Lord Birkenhead in an admirable phrase when he says that Ulster's decision to abide by the Act of 1920 and retain its representation in the Imperial Parliament would be the "most remarkable triumph of idealism over nationalism." In other words, it will cost Ulster more than Ulster can afford not to stand in with the rest of Ireland. This does not mean that the Northern Parliament need be scrapped. Sinn Fein has repeatedly declared its willingness to concede local autonomy to Ulster. The Ulstermen can, if they choose, and will, if they are wise, make their bargain now. It will have two aspects—the area of "Ulster" in this sense will be redefined and the powers attributed to the province will have to be settled. It is certain that Ireland would concede greater power to a legislature representing

the entire province, in which the Protestant capitalists could not control affairs and might be put into a minority by a combination of Catholics and Labor. It is certain also that if an area is to be created in which Protestants can be certain of controlling affairs, that area will be much less than the one selected in the Act of 1920.

These, however, are details. A sound and statesmanlike direction has now been given to Irish policy and the difficulties of detail, among which Ulster is chief, will settle themselves in due course. While the direction was unsound, while England wanted to call Ireland self-governing and yet control its finance and administration, these difficulties grew out of the situation. Ireland will, I think, be a fortunately circumstanced country henceforward. Yet in one respect we carry a *damnosa hereditas*. This result has been achieved by a revolution protracted in reality since O'Connell's movement began just a hundred years ago, and practically continuous for the last forty years. Sinn Fein stands on the shoulders of many fore-runners. Its triumph of today could not have been achieved had not the principle of Home Rule received statutory recognition in 1914. Even in 1914 we knew that the country would by its last two generations of political training be politically demoralized. Today we have the aftermath of war and the outcrop of Russian revolution to contend with. This is a bourgeois triumph; the Irish State will from the first be shaken by claims of a Labor party that is ultra in views and that has not the solid experience and organization of English labor. Labor in Ireland has a thousand grievances that urgently need redress. It is badly off, but its claims will probably be in excess of what is necessary and will have little regard for the possible. There is plenty of trouble ahead. But at least we shall be able to face it according to our own lights, and the men who made this compact have shown great ability and high courage.

Dublin, Ireland, December 8



A Ballade of the Dear Old Crimsons

By Clement Wood

SHIVER, Culture, and Cosmos, crack!
Everything's wrong, from A to Z!
Up with Anarchy's dear old black!
We are the Reds! Man shall be free.
Watch while we end the tyranny
Of shackles and shekels and things that prey . . ."
So they once squeaked . . . interminably.
But where are the Reds of yesterday?


Are they whimpering on the rack,
Victims of ponderous cruelty?
Are they banished to Sarawak
And the bitter beaches of Waikiki?
Men are in jail for bigamy,
And women weep for their husbands' pay,
And thirsty mortals have had to flee . . .
But where are the Reds of yesterday?

One is the mayor of Hackensack,*
Wearing a badge of the G. O. P.;
One has established a bivouac
In a simple brownstone rectory;
One, with an editorial "We,"
Spreads in a fourteen-point display:
"Today's Reds jailed, by court decree.
But where are the Reds of yesterday?"


IN ENDING

They are scattered from Congress to Muscovy,
And the crimson tinge has dulled away.
Hence this one queries conclusively,
"But where are the Reds of yesterday?"

*Geography not guaranteed.



EDITORIAL



Nerves and Submarines

THE action of France in standing rigidly for a programme of 90,000 tons of submarines and 330,000 tons of light cruisers and auxiliary craft has thrown a cloud over the Conference. There are some who feel that it has wrecked the work of the delegates at Washington and brought it to naught. We do not wish to minimize the harm, but we see no reason to despair of a very real measure of success despite this regrettable incident. The Conference was summoned primarily to consider the possibility of limiting the three great navies of the world, and, since these were concerned chiefly with the Pacific, the possibility of arriving at such settlements of certain Far Eastern problems as would remove the apparent necessity of naval competition. Land armament was scarcely within the scope of the Conference and its discussion at the present gathering could only introduce grave complications. It was, therefore, rather as a graceful tribute to a great nation and an ally that France was invited to participate in the main show. The three nations chiefly concerned have already got on famously toward a solution of the problems that threatened peace. They have agreed to limit their respective equipment in capital ships to such an extent as to render offensive warfare in the Pacific next to impossible; they have covenanted to respect each other's insular possessions and confer together if trouble arises; and most important of all, they have brought about a degree of mutual confidence and set a standard of conduct that has placed international relations and international law on a new and higher basis. No, France has not wrecked the Conference by her ill-considered action, though she has dashed some of our high hopes. On the other hand, she has done herself much harm.

It is evident that from the first the French did not understand the nature of the Conference or partake of its spirit. They appeared to regard it as a bargaining congress of the old sort. Briand wasted a splendid opportunity to achieve a real triumph for his country and kindly critics attributed his misplaced eloquence to domestic politics. The proposal to build capital ships at a cost of \$400,000,000 was charitably interpreted as a bluff to be withdrawn in trade for some guarantee of security. It is not necessary here to analyze in detail the French submarine and auxiliary ship programme; that was effectively done by Mr. Balfour and others. It is enough to point out that insistence on this programme will throw the gates wide open to unlimited submarine building and still wider to the development of bombing-aircraft, the anti-submarine weapon. The war has shown conclusively that the submarine's effectiveness for defense has been exaggerated, and the Four-Power Treaty affords better protection to French possessions in the Pacific than any light fleet she can build. It may well be doubted if she has any serious intention of building 90,000 tons of submarines. The chief effect of the announcement of

her programme is to arouse suspicion and apprehension in England and to estrange sympathy in America. How different would have been the situation had French statesmen had the wisdom to take the lead in proposing the reduction if not the abolition of submarine tonnage! Such an act would have helped to seal the success of the Conference, and would have assured to France the aid of England and America in case of an unprovoked attack quite as well as any formal treaty.

But France is suffering from a case of nerves. She seems to have lost faith and to be falling into a state of neurotic cynicism. Upon her frayed nerves her politicians are playing for their own ambitions. Suspicious of her neighbors and exceedingly sensitive on the score of her national dignity, she may easily fall a victim to the mania of persecution. All this is the aftermath of war; it sufficiently explains the course France has followed at Washington. We are the sincere friends of France; we honor her culture and her valor; we recognize that her vast sacrifices were for us as well as for herself. It is not ours to chide her, to bully her, or to turn a cold shoulder. She is an invalid, as is most of Europe, and she must be nursed back to health and to faith in the new era. France is not militaristic or aggressive; she simply feels herself isolated and broods over the German menace. Now is the time for forbearance, for sympathy, and for aid.

We have little doubt that with returning health France will change her present position and willingly join in the drastic restriction of submarine building. Meanwhile the Root resolutions and such additions as may be made to them should serve as a substantial measure of protection against the submarine menace and to a considerable degree counteract the evil effect of the stand taken by France. They constitute less an enactment of new international law than the recognition and clarification of principles already generally accepted and in accord with enlightened public opinion. The submarine has little real value as a purely defensive weapon; its actual menace lies in its potentiality as a commerce destroyer. If the Conference succeeds in drawing its teeth in this respect there is little reason to fear serious results from the failure to obtain agreement on the original programme.

The Confidential Character of Government Records

ENGLAND has long had a statute which provides that if a public official gives out without proper authorization information obtained in the course of his official duties or utilizes it for private purposes, he becomes liable to criminal prosecution. In our own country, in the absence of any such legal prohibition, there have been many instances of Government officials on retirement from office taking with them copies or originals of records and documents which are by their nature the property of their employer, the United States Gov-

ernment, and which are in many cases strictly confidential, and then publishing them for their own ends. We did not, however, expect to see ex-President Wilson follow this reprehensible practice, as he has done in turning over to an enterprising journalist the contents of the "Steel Box," comprising the confidential records of his negotiations at Paris.

Aside from the moral aspect of the case, there is the practical consideration of its effect upon our future international relations. Some years ago Mr. James W. Gerard and Mr. Henry Morgenthau gave to the world accounts of their diplomatic experiences. These accounts were rendered pungent and interesting by the recital of many conversations with foreign diplomats and other officials. The natural and inevitable effect of these revelations is to render all foreigners exceedingly cautious in the future as to how they impart confidential information to American representatives. One does not speak freely in the presence of a gossip. For many years we must expect our diplomats abroad to be sadly handicapped in all their dealings by reason of the distrust thus created. What is true in the case of our garrulous ambassadors is still more so when the offender is the President himself personally conducting his country's most important negotiations.

Sowing Dragons' Teeth

WE believe that the movement for the abolition of submarines, started with such impetus and authority by the British delegation to the Washington Conference, will gain power in proportion as the public and the none too alert naval experts of the now dissenting countries gain a clearer comprehension of what submarine activity will mean in terms of offensives through the air. For it is clear to us that acceptance of the French position on submarines would inevitably be followed by extension of air-bombing.

Authoritative British opinion as to what submarines can do against properly prepared war vessels was impressively presented in the proceedings of the Conference at Washington. During the Great War, the British navy had almost a monopoly of experience with the uttermost offensive that submarines could carry on. Few will question, therefore, the declaration of Lord Lee that the war showed submarines to be substantially ineffective against capital ships and against adequately convoyed troopships.

The certainty that unlimited gas and bomb offensives will be assured by retention of submarines arises from the intrinsic necessities of the resulting situation. Lord Lee and Mr. Balfour laid great emphasis on the determining part in submarine destruction played by the immense British trawling fleet, and argued that continuance of that defence by Britain was vital to the safety of France. But we must not forget that air offensives are not yet before the Conference, and that the British campaign of the future against submarines is therefore of necessity not fully published. Mr. Balfour's reference to Zeebrugge, the Belgian port used by the Germans as a submarine base, points our present argument. He recalled that British warships bombarding that port were not molested by the submarines it sheltered, a fact which discounted the French argument for the defensive worth of submarines.

Can anyone doubt that the inevitable reply to the submarine is attacks from the air upon submarine base ports? Such would be infinitely cheaper, infinitely more effective than chasing the submarine on the broad seas. The British tried to destroy Zeebrugge with guns. In the next war they will be forced by their own peril to use air-craft bombs *à outrance*. Is the submarine really worth keeping, at this price?

Mr. Root and Cannibalism

ELIHU ROOT, speaking in behalf of the United States at the Arms Conference last week, proposed some admirable rules for humanizing the conduct of submarines in future warfare.

Once upon a time there was a missionary who went to the Cannibal Islands and labored there for twenty long years. When he returned home his old friends asked him if he had persuaded his flock to stop eating human flesh.

"No," replied the good man, "but I've taught them to eat with knives and forks."

Exactly! If you can teach cannibals to use knives and forks, cannibalism is doomed.

The New New England Conscience

THOSE enlightened souls who have long been chuckling over the thought that Puritanism is a dead letter have no doubt held the New England conscience too cheap. Yet it is a fair question, What has become of it in these latter days? Popularly it used to be recognized as an inner voice dictating orderliness—physical, moral, and spiritual. As such it was a bulwark to the country, setting up standards of right and wrong which served as an ever-present guide of conduct. Centred in New England and dealing with a fairly homogeneous life, it was a most effective weapon against license. It entered into the warp and woof of American activity, and is a precious heritage, however unlovely it may appear to the "broadminded" of the new generation.

But how has it fared during these years of world upheaval? It was always somewhat self-conscious. The New Englander was a little more conscious than other people of having a conscience, and it is a question whether the hair shirt which used to prick has not now been supplanted by a silk shirt designed to excite admiration. We have, at any rate, observed in numerous representatives of old New England stock a certain sense of moral superiority in the presence of world problems. It is impatient of argument, and issues from some inner light of supposed truth. The odd thing is that, whereas the old New England conscience was repressive, and worked on very definite lines, in its new manifestation it has become most expansive and exultant. Having so long been cabined, it now ranges with the utmost ease over the world's huge perplexities. Originally combined with Yankee shrewdness, it now gives easy-going welcome to doubtful schemes for human betterment. It is still on the side of the angels and is ready to slay the man that blocks the millennium.

Our young radicals who berate the New England conscience fail to see how much of the way, when emancipated, it goes with them.

President Eliot on the Allied Debt

IN response to a request sent to a number of eminent men for a brief comment on the editorial in our issue of last week, favoring a remission of the Allied debt to the United States, we have received from the distinguished President Emeritus of Harvard University the following letter:

"The article from *The Independent* on the remission of the debts owed by the Allied Nations to the United States has a title which is both irreverent and misleading—'As we forgive our debtors.' Those five words are detached from the four words that precede them in the Lord's Prayer—'Forgive us our debts'—and those four words are necessary to any honest use of one of the most sacred phrases in the Gospels. *The Independent* used to be a religious weekly, and it still has some claim to that honorable title. Its example in misusing words taken from the Lord's Prayer is therefore all the more pernicious. The United States has no debts which need to be forgiven.

"The argument opens in a manner which hortatory orators often seem to find convenient by first disposing of two very feeble objections to the discussion of the subject, and then proceeds to discuss 'the question on its merits.' It states under that heading that the debts of the Allies to the United States may wisely be remitted, because 'that course is felt to be right by the United States either as a matter of its own feeling of honor, as a matter of humanity and good will, or as a matter of enlightened self-interest.' Now the honor of the United States is not involved in the question of remitting the debts of the Allied Powers. It is under no honorable obligation to remit them. The Allies needed the money, and the United States advanced it on terms which were equally honorable to both parties. The remission of these debts to the United States is conceivable on the sole ground of humanity or charity. It is also conceivable on the ground that it is the interest—enlightened or unenlightened—of the United States to do so. But these two motives are completely inconsistent. The act of remission might be due either to emotions of love and good will, or to self-interest; but not both together. Either motive excludes the other.

"In an earlier paragraph the article goes so far as to say that the remission of the Allied debts 'would turn out a most excellent investment for the American people' attributing this opinion 'to a large number of persons of the highest standing as citizens, as thinkers, and as men of affairs.' If that were the case, the United States would be excluded from proposing the remission of the Allied debts on the ground of either honor or humanity. To rub in the expediency of remission now, the article further states that 'whatever we may do at the present time, we shall in the end let the debts go.' It does not appear whether this fantastic prophecy is intended to stimulate the people of the United States to remit the Allied debts for reasons of honor, of humanity, or of self-interest; but the prophecy is intended to reinforce any one of these three inconsistent motives.

"The conclusive objection to the remission of the debts due by the Allied Powers, Great Britain, France, and Italy, is that no self-respecting nation which be-

lieves itself capable of reëstablishing a practicable budget, sound currency, and its national credit could accept it; because acceptance would damage its morale. The United States out of its accumulated wealth—partly acquired during the war, but before we entered it—can aid the restoration of Great Britain, France, and Italy to governmental and industrial prosperity in many ways, such as furnishing capital with which to rehabilitate industries and restore production, and especially by avoiding the imposition of tariff duties against the industrial products of any of the Allied Powers; and Congress can *give away* as much American money as it pleases to any of the nations with which the United States fought against Germany and Austria-Hungary, or to any of the new States so fortunately created as outcome of the War, or to any of the Neutral States which need such aid. This is the safe direction for humane or benevolent action; but God forbid that such action should be in any way mixed up with self-interest, however 'enlightened.'"

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

To criticisms so many, so severe, and set forth with that vigor of expression which President Eliot's four score and seven years seem to have done nothing to impair, it is not easy to attempt effective reply. Yet we must, as briefly as possible, take up the main points of his unsparing arraignment.

The title of the editorial, "As We Forgive Our Debtors," suffices to furnish Dr. Eliot with two separate and distinct accusations. It is "both irreverent and misleading;" and indeed he goes on to imply that it is not only misleading but dishonest. If it struck Dr. Eliot as irreverent, then to him it *was* irreverent: the point is one upon which argument would be futile. We can only say that we are at a loss to understand wherein the irreverence lies. But that the title is misleading, not to say dishonest, is an assertion of a wholly different nature, and Dr. Eliot in fact gives two reasons for making it. The five words of the title, he says, "are detached from the four words that precede them in the Lord's Prayer—'Forgive us our debts'—and those four words are necessary to any honest use of one of the most sacred phrases in the Gospels." But plainly if the omission of those first words was to mislead any reader it must be because that reader did not recognize that the words were from the Lord's Prayer at all. Whoever did recognize it was sure instantly to supply the words that were omitted; whoever did not recognize it could not be misled by any authority supposed to attach to the words that were used. But Dr. Eliot objects on another ground; "The United States," he says, "has no debts to be forgiven." We had not thought that any nation was in so flawless a position; we had felt, and we are sure Dr. Eliot must feel, that there are many debts of which, in exactly the sense of the words of the Lord's Prayer, our country stands in need of forgiveness. That they are not of the specific and definite nature of the Allied money debt to us is true enough; but did Dr. Eliot think that any man, woman, or child would be led by the title of the editorial to imagine that the United States had been borrowing money of other nations and wanted to beg off from paying it back? In the Lord's Prayer itself, are the debts we ask God to forgive on an exact parity with the debts we forgive our debtors?

Dr. Eliot next accuses us of opening the argument "in a manner which hortatory orators often seem to find convenient by first disposing of two very feeble objections to the discussion of the subject." But we said nothing at all about *objections* to the discussion of the subject. We simply pointed out two reasons why it had not received adequate attention; if this is a favorite trick of "hortatory orators," the fact has, we are sure, hitherto escaped notice. Taking up, next, the three grounds on which we rested the argument for remission of the debt, Dr. Eliot disposes of that which related to the nation's feeling of honor by the simple statement that "the honor of the United States is not involved in the question of remitting the debts of the Allied Powers. It is under no honorable obligation to remit them." Now we ourselves took every pains to point out that the thing is not a case of ordinary everyday obligation. "None of these countries," we said, "can claim that it is our clear duty to remit the debt thus incurred by them. They knew what they were doing when they incurred it; they entered no qualification as to its binding character." Coming to the question of honor, we were careful to present the matter not as an unmistakable *obligation* of honor but as an act which a high sense of honor would dictate. "If, as surely every true American feels," we said, "the victory was not merely *their* victory but *ours* as well, would it not be the part of a high sense of honor to feel that the money we lent them before we began to fight should be regarded in the light of a contribution to the common cause, which, whatever may have been the terms upon which it was sent at the time, we should not only be willing but glad to assume as our own?"

The other two grounds which we adduced for remission of the debt, President Eliot is good enough not to dismiss as inherently absurd. But alas, if each of these arguments is not hopelessly defective taken in itself, we are left in equally bad case by reason of their fatal inconsistency with each other. "These two motives," we are told, "are completely inconsistent. The act of remission might be due either to emotions of love and good will, or to self-interest; but not both together. Either motive excludes the other." Now even in the case of an individual, surely nothing is more familiar than action influenced at once by unselfish and by selfish motives. To claim credit for unselfishness where selfishness was an ingredient in the determination of the action may, indeed, be reprehensible; but we were not saying that America, if she were to remit the debt, would be entitled to boast of any extraordinary virtue. A man may be influenced by kindly and generous feeling to do an act which would benefit another with whom he has had close and comradesly association, although he might not bring himself to do it if it involved a great sacrifice on his own part; and it may even be that, while his first prompting to the act arose from feelings of generosity or friendship he did not finally bring himself to do it until he had persuaded himself that in the long run it would be to his own advantage. We are not saying that there is anything noble about this; we are only saying that the coexistence of the two motives is not only "conceivable" but is a matter of very frequent occurrence.

But in the case of a nation the combination of the two motives stands on infinitely stronger ground. To begin with, the action of a nation, or of its representatives, is determined by a multitude of considerations, which, while they might be inconsistent in a single mind, are perfectly capable of being entertained by different persons and leading them to the same action, without the slightest inconsistency. And secondly, even the action of a single person, charged with public responsibility, may, and indeed in most cases must, take into account considerations which, if he were dealing simply with his own affairs, he would ignore altogether. The President of the United States, for example, might feel—as we ourselves do—that considerations of honor and considerations of good will were of themselves amply sufficient to dictate the cancellation of the Allied debt; but as it is not he, but the people of the United States, upon whom the consequences of that action would fall, he must necessarily consider what *their* feelings and opinions are upon the subject. And if he felt that the people, or a sufficient number of them to determine the issue, did not share his view as to what ought to be done on the ground of honor or generosity, but could truthfully say that the same course was recommended by enlightened self-interest, would it not be absurd to charge him with inconsistency because he urged that consideration upon them in addition to those which to his own mind were sufficient?

We might feel some hesitation in presenting a reply so extremely elementary to criticisms emanating from so distinguished a censor, were it not for the circumstance that those criticisms are typical of a mode of thought that is current among men whose intellectual prestige might be supposed to preclude it. Confronted with questions of great complexity, questions that demand the weighing of many elements, questions on whose wise solution the moral as well as the material welfare of mankind so largely depends, they turn aside from all these complexities, and think to have done their full duty when they have applied the touchstone of some simple and all-embracing principle. If a given proposal does not satisfy the requirements of what they regard as ideal moral beauty, they not only reject it, but hold in contempt those who can reconcile themselves to its adoption. In the contemplation of such minds, the coalescence of the desire to save the Union and the desire to abolish slavery—that coalescence which actually resulted in the achievement of both of these great ends—would be loathsome; if slavery was wrong, it could not be countenanced, Union or no Union. This state of mind often receives the high appellation of idealism; and it is but just to admit that it has its source in an idealist spirit. But to make it coextensive with idealism—to deny the title to that type of mind and spirit which seeks ideal ends but does not disdain to consider the means by which alone those ends can be attained—is to degrade the term from the high place to which it is entitled. If there was no idealism in Washington or Lincoln, if the term is to apply only to those who keep their idealism unsmirched by the hard realities of the world as it is, then idealism is reduced from the rank of one of humanity's cardinal possessions to that of an ornamental attribute which has, indeed, its value and its benefit, but which falls far below the essential needs of mankind.

The Story of the Week

The Submarine

FOR three days (Dec. 21-24) the Conference discussed the question posed by the British: Shall the submarine be abolished?

Lord Lee opened with a powerful argument for abolition. It seemed strange to him, he said, that it should be proposed to increase the tonnages of a type of vessel more objectionable than the capital ship. [Mr. Hughes had proposed maximum submarine tonnage allowances of 90,000 for Great Britain, 90,000 for the United States, 54,000 for Japan; whereas the present total submarine tonnage of Great Britain is 82,500 and of Japan only 31,500. Only the United States, with 95,000 tons, would have to scrap.] If submarine construction were to be thus encouraged, Powers with large mercantile marines must go in strong for anti-submarine craft. Thus for certain nations financial relief through a holiday for capital ship construction would be offset by expenditure on other craft.

The chief argument, said Lord Lee, offered by those who would retain the submarine, is that it is a cheap and efficient defensive type. He contended, on the contrary, that the submarine is not efficient for defense, that it is not valuable for offense against warcraft; that it is chiefly valuable for destruction of merchant shipping, and then only through violation of the laws of war. To be sure, early in the late war a few obsolescent British capital ships, which were not taking proper precautions, were sunk by submarines, but throughout the war no ship of the Grand Fleet was hit. Of the millions of British soldiers conveyed across the Channel not one lost his life through a submarine, except on board hospital ships, which of course were not escorted. In fact, methods of detecting, locating, and destroying submarines have been developed to the point that as a combatant craft the submarine is almost contemptible.

On the other hand, continued the speaker, the German submarines sank 12,000,000 tons of merchant shipping, valued at \$1,100,000,000 (exclusive of their cargoes), and more than 20,000 noncombatants—men, women, and children—were thus drowned. The construction of the submarine is such that it can be effective on the grand scale against commercial shipping only through violation of the laws of war. Those laws require that, in case of capture of a merchant vessel, the lives of those on board shall be spared and secured. If the vessel is destroyed, crew and passengers must be taken aboard the capturer, or the vessel must be convoyed to a point whence its small boats can certainly make shore, before its destruction. If the vessel is not destroyed (and destruction should be the rare exception), a prize crew must be put aboard her; otherwise she must be let go. The submarine is too small for the accommodation of prisoners or extra personnel for prize crews, and convoy, as indicated above, is too tedious and dangerous to be worthwhile. To sum up, the submarine is, though not useless, yet inefficient, against warcraft, and only really efficient for destruction of merchant ships, in violation of all laws, human and divine. In this connection Lord Lee made a very shrewd observation. That violation of the laws of war, of which the Germans were guilty in their use of the submarine, was not an instance unique, apart, the repetition of which is not to be apprehended. The German offending was the worst to date, but history shows by a number of instances that

there is always danger that a Government, "up against it," may go mad and issue inhumane orders.

It might be contended, said Mr. Balfour (who in the discussion rose above himself), that the British plea for abolition of the submarine is selfish (in that Britain in her merchant marine is beyond other nations menaced by the submarine), and fearful. Not so, he declared. Britain overcame the submarine menace in the late war, and she could do it again; by so doing she made Allied victory possible. The submarine was made ineffective almost entirely by Britain; she alone had the necessary shipping and (more important) the seafaring folk to man the shipping. Though the average number of German submarines at sea simultaneously

was not more than nine or ten, Great Britain had to maintain some 3,000 surface craft to deal with them. But for these auxiliary craft the German submarines could have effectively blockaded the French and Italian coasts and could have pre-



London Daily News

St. George again in action

vented receipt of supplies necessary to prosecution of the war by France and Italy. Should the submarine be retained, those Powers must be similarly beholden to Britain for success in another war. In view of Britain's services in the late war, can it be said that France and Italy are acting fairly by her in insisting on retention of the submarine, seeing the burden it places on Britain in the way of anti-submarine construction? For, should the submarine be retained, Britain will secure herself by a magnificent programme of anti-submarine construction.

Such in substance were the arguments used by Lord Lee and Mr. Balfour for abolition of the submarine.

Arguments for retention of the submarine were ably presented by Admiral De Bon and M. Sarraut and (perhaps most notably) in a report by the Advisory Committee of the American Delegation, which Mr. Hughes read to the Conference. Almost everything that can be said in favor of the submarine is said in the American report. It persuades us that the British spokesmen understated the value of the submarine both in attack and defense. But, like Mr. Hughes, we are convinced by the British arguments that the value of the submarine against warcraft is not sufficient to justify its retention in face of the fact that it peculiarly lends itself to use in violation of the laws of war and the dictates of humanity.

Admiral De Bon offered an ingenious justification of the French demand for a submarine allowance of 90,000 tons. Of the eighty to one hundred German submarines in existence at any one time during the war, he said, only fifteen to twenty were simultaneously at sea. [Lord Lee had said eight or nine.] The reason was the terrific wear and tear on material and personnel. A submarine allowance of 90,000 tons, the Admiral declared, means about ninety submarines; that is, fifteen to twenty capable of simultaneous action. "This," said the Admiral, "seems in-

deed the minimum submarine strength a Power desirous of making use of this contrivance should have. If we fall below this limit, we will end by having a force of no use whatsoever."

Lord Lee in his opening speech announced that Britain offered to scrap her entire submarine fleet and disband the personnel thereof, if the other Powers (i. e., presumably, the other Powers represented at the Conference) would do the same; but the British delegation were properly impressed by the sensible observation of Mr. Hughes that, "even if they were ready to adopt the principle suggested by the British delegation, they would still have to await the adherence of other nations."

"That is a statement which I entirely accept," said Mr. Balfour; but added:

But even if that be granted in its full extent, are we to believe, if a conference of this authority were really unanimous and really put forward upon broad moral grounds the statement that in their view submarines were not a weapon of war that was consistent with civilization, that that would have no effect? Would that not be the prelude to their ultimate abolition?

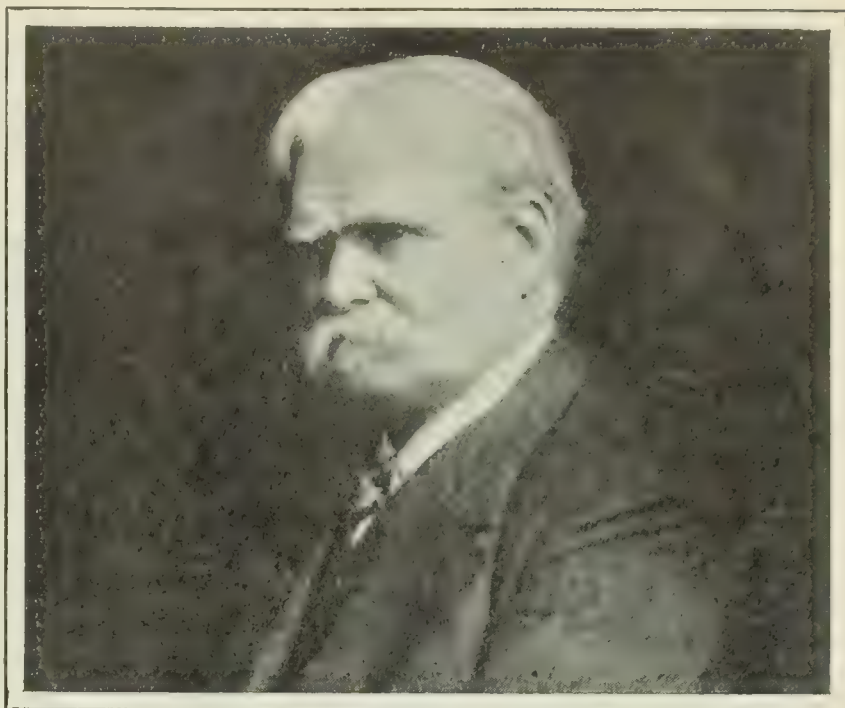
There seeming to be no likelihood of such unanimity, the British delegation ended their effort with the request that the following be placed on the record of the Conference:

The British Empire delegation desires formally to place on record its opinion that the use of submarines, while of small value for defensive purposes, leads inevitably to acts which are inconsistent with the laws of war and the dictates of humanity, and the delegation desires that united action should be taken by all nations to forbid their maintenance, construction or employment.

Mr. Hughes never appeared to better advantage than he did in his remarks concluding the discussion. We quote from the digest thereof in the official *communiqué*:

If the argument of Mr. Balfour and Lord Lee could be answered, the chairman thought that that answer had yet to come. He perceived from his more or less impartial position the great difficulties involved in presenting a technical answer. He distrusted his ability to judge of the technical naval argument, but he believed that those taking upon themselves the burden of that effort would have much to do.

While the chairman felt that there was no immediate prospect of the adoption of the proposal, the words of Mr. Balfour and Lord Lee would carry far beyond this Conference and powerfully influence the development of public opinion throughout the world. He was not prepared to say that their suggestions might not ultimately be successful in



Keystone

Henry Watterson

inducing the nations to forgo the use of a weapon which, as Mr. Balfour had urged, was valuable only as an aggressive weapon, and then only in the form of aggression condemned by humanity and international law.

The chairman said that he had had the pleasure of conferring with the President in regard to this matter and had found him deeply impressed with the strength of the arguments presented and the spirit animating them. If at any time it were found to be feasible to take up the matter the United States Government would give it its most serious attention. The chairman hoped that what had been said here would prove provocative of thought throughout the entire world. When adherence could be expected to the principle of abolition, the subject would be again considered.

It is evident that, if the President and Mr. Hughes could have their way, the submarine would be abolished. It may be expected that public opinion will clamor for such abolition, and that (as indeed M. Sarraut suggested) a conference of all the powers interested in submarines will at the earliest practicable moment be summoned to consider the question of their abolition.

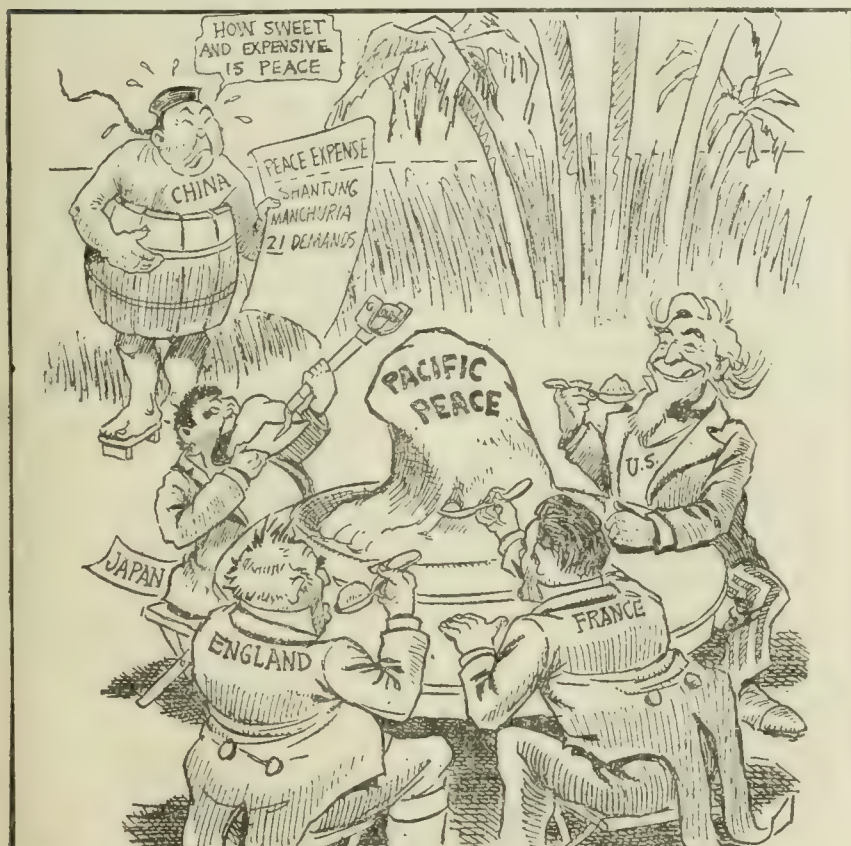
The question of abolition shelved, the Conference proceeded to discuss submarine allowances. In his speech on the first day of the Conference, Mr. Hughes had proposed maximum allowances as follows: for Great Britain, 90,000 tons; for the United States, 90,000 tons; for Japan, 54,000 tons. He now proposed: for Britain, 60,000 tons (22,500 tons to be scrapped); for the United States, 60,000 tons (35,000 tons to be scrapped); for Japan, France, and Italy, the *status quo* (Japan 31,500 tons, France 31,500 tons, Italy 21,000 tons). This proposal was received with favor only by the British delegation.

Senator Schanzer declared that Italy's allowance must be equal to that of France; that even 31,500 tons (the present submarine strength of France) is not equal to Italy's needs, but that Italy will accept that allowance, if France will.

Mr. Hanihara, speaking for Japan, declined the proposal. Japan, in a spirit of sacrifice, had consented to an allowance of 54,000 tons. "The Japanese delegation felt constrained to insist" on the allowance originally proposed for Japan, i. e., 54,000 tons.

M. Sarraut must consult his Government (according to Admiral De Bon, such reduced allowances would be equivalent to abolition of the submarine).

We do not apologize for giving so much space to the submarine question. The discussion was one of the most remarkable ever held. The appeal for abolition of the submarine (in language in which logic and a generous humanity are fused) is carried by Mr. Balfour direct to world opinion. It seems likely that world opinion will respond with a demand for abolition not only of the submarine but



London Daily News

Guess who's giving the party



International

When the King goes to the opening of Parliament

also of other still more inhumane and abhorrent agencies of warfare. Mr. Balfour, by his fight for the submarine, has acquired a glory scarcely second to that of Mr. Hughes.

[On December 28 the French delegation announced the refusal of France to accept a submarine tonnage allowance less than 90,000 or an allowance of auxiliary surface combatant craft less than 330,000 tons.]

Another Eventless Week

THE domestic news of the seven days ended December 30 is meagre. The two most striking items are: the death of Mr. Watterson, one of the most interesting and picturesque figures of his time and one of the most powerful journalists; and the release, on Christmas Day, of Eugene Debs from the Atlanta Federal Prison.

* * *

Senator McCormick, chairman of the Senate committee which has been investigating conditions in Haiti and San Domingo, in a preliminary statement announces that the committee's report on Haiti will recommend that the force of United States marines now in Haiti be retained there at its present strength, that a United States High Commissioner, supreme over both the military and civilians, be appointed, and that a loan be made to the Haitian Government to enable it to pay its debts.

The members of the committee are unanimous in the belief that the continued presence of the small American force in Haiti is as necessary to the peace and development of the country as are the services to the Haitian Government of the American officials appointed under the treaty of 1915. There can be no abrogation of the treaty and, at this time, no diminution of the small force of marines.

Peace and order have been established everywhere in Haiti. Sanitary work has cleaned up the once filthy coast towns. Road building has been begun and other public works are under way.

The Senator added that certain charges of brutality, etc., against the marines are to receive further investigation.

* * *

The situation in San Domingo is somewhat different. Last summer President Harding proclaimed the intention of the United States to withdraw its troops when certain stated conditions should have been fulfilled, chief of which conditions was ratification by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies of San Domingo of "all the acts of the Military Government." These conditions fulfilled, the Military Governor was to assemble the Electoral College to elect a President.

The President chosen having been installed, the Military Government would be withdrawn. But the Dominicans have taken no steps toward fulfillment of the conditions prescribed, and show no disposition to do so.

Senator McCormick, in a statement preliminary to the committee's report, says that

at the present time it is impossible to advise a substantial modification of the terms of the proclamation regarded as necessary to assure civil order and peace within Dominican territory, the maintenance of its credit and the discharge of its obligations.

He praises the work of the Military Government, under whose direction "the towns have been made clean, the streets have been paved, the harbors and docks have been improved, and schools have been widely established." He advises a loan to the Dominican Government for the purpose of funding two previous loans and providing funds for completion of certain roads, which, if completed, will

afford regular, easy and economic means of communication and commerce hitherto not in existence and will act as so effective and obvious a deterrent to revolution that they will enable a Dominican Government to give such guarantees of stability and order as may well justify the Government of the United States in agreeing to a modification of the terms set forth in the proclamation of last June.

Speaking of the "ambitious—perhaps too ambitious"—programme of public works undertaken by the Military Government, the Senator seems to intimate that the complaint of the Dominicans that they are cruelly overtaxed is not entirely groundless. As to other charges (that the people have been deprived of personal liberty, that the press has been gagged, etc., etc.), Senator McCormick says nothing. The committee report is awaited with interest.

The Changes at Peking

THE new Peking Cabinet has been announced. The Premier is Liang Shih-yi, who was one of the leaders in the abortive effort, in 1915, to restore the imperial form of government in China, with Yuan Shih-kai as Emperor. It is to be said in Liang Shih-yi's favor that he is an able financier; and one of the declared objects of General Chang Tso-lin, chief manager of the Peking coup, is to effect such financial and fiscal reforms as firmly to establish Chinese credit and justify financial assistance and the concession of tariff autonomy by the Powers. Dr. W. W. Yen remains Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The new situation is a fascinating one.

Cabbages and Kings

By Henry W. Bunn

Needed: A National Satirist

THE author of "The Mirrors of Washington" is growing. He has almost arrived true satirist. Nothing is more needed among us than a national satirist; with the combined strength and skill of weapon to penetrate our armor of self-complacency; who can make us feel that we are, like other mortals, fools, that, though we wrap about us the cloak of respectability, we're no better than the lave. Hypocrisy may not be the worst, but it is the most odious, of vices. Self-complacency, our most striking national trait, merges into it, so that often to distinguish the two is to

distinguish and divide
A hair 'twixt south and southwest side.

Continue to harp on that string, Anonymous One! With pleasant malice expound our "habitual attitude of superior international purity."

A Third Rate Naval Power, Quotha!

Mr. Balfour and M. Sarraut have been indulging in asperities; especially Mr. Balfour, who began it. He even went so far as to charge that "it was perfectly obvious that the proposed French fleet of 90,000 tons of submarines was intended to destroy commerce." Gathering heat, he recalled that France and Britain had often been at war with each other, and he intimated that they might be at war again; in which case, if France had a powerful submarine fleet, she could use it for illegitimate commerce destruction, and "in case of dire need probably would." M. Sarraut very properly resented these imputations. There is no justification whatever for regarding as insincere his following statement: "We have no desire to destroy merchant ships. But we have coast lines to defend and a great colonial empire, second only to that of Britain, and distributed over all the seas. We must provide for the safety of transportation of troops from the colonies to the mother country in case of war. We do not admit a necessary relation between capital ships and 'auxiliary craft.' We are guided by our needs. We have yielded on the question of capital ships—offensive instruments; the same arguments as to limitation do not apply to defensive as to offensive craft."

It seems to me that a great deal may be said for the French contentions that there is no necessary relation in the premises between capital ships and "auxiliary craft," and that in general it should be left to each Power to determine its needs for defense and to provide accordingly. I do not say that these contentions are correct, but I do say they are respectable and do not deserve the language of reprobation and virtuous indignation that has been bestowed on them. Mr. Balfour's insinuations might be justified if the British view which holds the submarine to be inefficient as a combatant type were unchallengeable. But the British naval experts appear to be the only ones who do not concede great defensive value to the submarine. I am myself convinced by the British arguments and should like to see the submarine abolished, but I cannot feel contempt for the French view, which is strongly held by our own experts.

The fact is that Mr. Balfour lost his head. The real explanation of the little logomachy between Mr. Balfour and M. Sarraut is the immemorial rivalry between Britain and her "sweet enemy," France. The French, with their glorious naval history (let it not be forgotten that de Grasse with his fleet won our revolution for us) are unwilling to accept a formal rating as a third-class naval Power. They probably have no intention of building up to

a submarine tonnage of 90,000, or an auxiliary surface craft tonnage of 330,000, but their pride is unwilling to forego the right to so build. The French (God bless 'em!) are very human. While, like the Japanese and other delegates, they are incessantly scanning the horizon for signs of the millennium, their historic imagination calls up visions of Beachy Head, Quiberon, so many naval incidents of their storied past. A third-rate naval Power, quotha!

After all, the controversy, like most controversies, is vain enough; dealing with issues dead or moribund. Look up, look up, gentlemen, and recognize the portent! The future of war is in the air. Surface and undersea combatant craft are far gone in obsolescence.

Bull

Were it not for the philosophical reflection that he is merely obeying a primary law of human nature and striving to be an ass in his own way, one might be indignant at the tyranny which the Lowbrow has established over the domain of Letters. But it is fair enough. He is having his revenge on the pedants who bored him so long, just as the laborer is having his revenge on the capitalists who exploited him so long. His tyranny has reached this point; that it is becoming unsafe to use any word or expression not sanctified by the screen or the daily press, unless accompanied by an apology such as "Whatever that may mean" or "Forgive this bull." Now, besides his utilitarian function, the Bull has had a most romantic career, as every Highbrow knows. [This is a delicate theme, so I merely refer the curious reader to "Europa," etc., in Smith's Classical Dictionary.] He has his religious aspect, too, as the instrument of the thunders of the Vatican. But see what the Lowbrows have done to the Bull! He is entirely discredited; you can say nothing worse of a body than that he is "talking bull." Anything unfamiliar to the Lowbrow, anything that suggests scholarship, is "bull." And, just as the politicians are in a blue funk in face of organized Labor, so the men of education are in a blue funk in face of organized Boobery. There is an Affectation, a Pedantry of Ignorance and Boobishness, which is a thousand times more dismal and stupid than the Pedantry of Scholarship.

The Song of Trotsky

Hush! Hush! Whist! Whist!
I smell the blood of a capitalist.
I am a bloody Bolshevik;
All decent people make me sick.
I have no bowels, not a bowel;
When others smile, I weep and howl.
When others weep, it makes me glad;
For I am bloody, bold, and bad.

A Social Lobby

Senator Kenyon, leader of the agricultural *bloc*, speaking the other day on the Newberry case, declared that a "social lobby," rather than the agricultural *bloc*, is running Congress. There is a *souçon* of truth in the Senator's statement. We are, in fact, the most snobbish people, and Washington is the most snobbish city, in the world.

Shantung Cocktails

The Chinese delegation to the Washington Conference entertained the Japanese delegation the other day. So-called "Shantung cocktails" were served. The cocktail (though we repudiate it, our unique contribution to civilization) serves to make the whole world kin.

Saint-Saëns and His Art

By Charles Henry Meltzer

IT is uncertain where Saint-Saëns will be ranked when the essayists of the century after ours deal with the composers beside whom he toiled and shone. He will not be set as high as Hector Berlioz, who preceded him, or as Debussy, who was born a good while after him. But

he may hold his own against his rival Gounod, and he may be remembered longer than Jules Massenet.

All this is guess-work, I admit. For who can tell what our successors will regard as their art standards? Saint-Saëns and Massenet and Gounod, too, may, in a hundred years or so, be merely names. But Berlioz, who refashioned orchestration, will still be praised. He has a place assured him in enduring annals.



Camille Saint-Saëns

To the musicians of our day Saint-Saëns may seem, not quite archaic, but at least a bit old-fashioned. None will deny, though, that he had the whole theory and technique of music at his finger-tips. Few, even now, among the "jeunes" of France, would think it wise or just or in the best of taste to sneer at his symphonies and concertos and at his best-known work, the "Samson et Dalila," which is still admired both at the Metropolitan and in the Chicago Opera House. D'Indy, no doubt, has higher qualities than his. Debussy was, beyond question, vastly more original. Ravel and Florent Schmitt and, sometimes, Dukas, may fascinate and charm us more than he did. But we should look at Saint-Saëns in a special way—less as a great creator or an uplifting influence than as a continuer of great traditions in the art he practised; as one who had a deep respect for music; and as a link between the old and new.

He loved his art and his immortal forerunners. He championed Wagner, when he needed friends. He swore by Bach and bowed his head to Beethoven. Yet he had character enough not to be swayed by Wagner, when nearly all were borrowing freely from the Bayreuth master. He clung tenaciously to the French style in music, though he admired and praised what he admired in other styles. He stood, like all French masters who are really French, for clearness, rhythmic beauty, taste, proportion. He wandered seldom from the beaten paths. And, none the less, in his own rigid way, he made what most of us would call good music. He stirred the brain more than the heart, maybe, but now and then he also stirred the sensuous soul. We may not rave about his piano works and symphonies. But who is deaf to the beguiling phrases of "Mon cœur s'ouvre à ta voix" and other songs which, with his ballet music, have charmed tens of thousands?

He may not have had Gounod's cloying sweetness, or Massenet's sometimes too perfumed loveliness. He was less modern than Charpentier, less subtle and refined than Dukas and Ravel. We should not speak of him in the same breath with César Franck, nor need we think of him at all when we discuss Debussy. Indeed, I see no reason to draw vain comparisons between him and the other men whom I have mentioned. He had his own style and his own ideals; and if, at moments, he abused his rivals, he was invariably convinced and honest.

Rarely in the compositions of Camille Saint-Saëns, whose death the other day at a ripe age all Frenchmen mourn, does one stumble on new harmonies, or is one in-

vited to consider dubious dissonances. His mind was logical, and worshipped form, the safe and, if you will, the academic form, of masters who had stood the test of ages. To be quite frank, he did not move some of us very deeply. Yet most of us respected and approved his works.

His orchestration, often rich, was sound and orthodox and most ingenious. He had melodic graces and beguiling rhythms. Think of those ballets and his "Danse Macabre." His technical equipment was remarkable. His erudition all could envy. Yet there was almost always something lacking in his creations, the something which might have entitled him to be called—a genius.

Though he had lived, as few have lived, in Eastern lands, his Orientalism had been doctored. The real East would have scorned his music. It would not have meant much to Turks and Arabs. For while he wrote his pleasing "Eastern" phrases, he always, in his mind, was near to Paris. And so was Massenet, though more consciously. And so are almost all the French composers.

I knew him first as a distinguished organist, and later as a very brilliant pianist. There was at times a certain trace of stiffness in his piano playing, due, possibly, to the long influence of organ technique. His compositions for the piano were designed more to display technique than as pure piano music. They served their purpose. But they will not live.

His operas, though more virile and less sentimental, as a rule, than those of Massenet (and, as I write this, I am not sneering at Massenet, who, in his own field, and according to his own nature, has always seemed to me an unusually fine musician) were—except in parts of "Samson et Dalila," marred by a touch of dryness, an absence of emotion, which prevented them from becoming popular. But his "Henri VIII" is still in the repertory of the Paris Opera House, and some of his lighter works are heard occasionally at the Opéra-Comique and in the Brussels Théâtre de la Monnaie.

Nothing that he conceived in opera, unless it be that delusive love song of Dalila, lingers in the memory of the hearer like the "Dream of Manon" and the "Legend of the Sage Brush" of Massenet, the "Salut, demeure" and a dozen other airs of Gounod, or the "Depuis le jour" of Charpentier. There are severities and even austerities in the choruses of "Samson et Dalila" which may bore the general. And few living, even though they may have heard those works abroad, now possibly recall the finer passages of "La Princesse Jeune," "Le Timbre d'Argent," and other operas which the dead master gave to Paris.

It is by his "Samson et Dalila," long associated here with such singers as Caruso and Muratore, and his piano concertos, and his symphonies, that our music-lovers will recall most vividly Camille Saint-Saëns.

He was a strange man, as a man. For though so orthodox in style as a musician, he had the *wanderlust* of an impenitent *zigane*. His love of travel took him over half the earth, and caused him to sojourn in many interesting places, in all of which he is remembered. On two different occasions, at least, he paid brief visits to this country and made the acquaintance of our own composers and musicians at home. He had appeared, as a composer and as a pianist, in New York, and at the time of the Panama-Pacific Exposition he came to San Francisco as the guest of the directors, and, already an old man, received an ovation as he conducted the Exposition orchestra in a programme of his own compositions.

New Books and Old

THE two volumes of Edward Luther Stevenson's "Terrestrial and Celestial Globes" (Yale University Press) constitute a work which combines geographical study with a peculiarly fascinating form of antiquarian research. Under the auspices of the Hispanic Society of America, Dr. Stevenson has investigated the history and making of those maps of the earth and heavens which were in globe form, elaborated and decorated with all the care of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth century geographers. The present work goes farther back than that period: the celestial and terrestrial globes of antiquity, and those made by the Arabs, each have their chapter. Then came the palmy days of geography, when maps of the ocean were decorated with spouting whales and mermaids, or, as Swift wrote:

So geographers in Afric maps
With savage pictures fill their gaps
And o'er unhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns.

The work is reinforced with bibliographies, with indexes of globes and their makers. Admirably illustrated, it is printed and presented with the good taste which distinguishes the work of the Yale University Press under Mr. C. P. Rollins's direction.

Herman Melville seems to have anticipated the fate of the later writers on the South Seas: unsympathetic critics refused to be serious about the beauty of the women of the Pacific. In Raymond M. Weaver's "Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic" (Doran) it is related that somebody wrote to the *American Review* in 1847, attacking Melville and asserting that "the beauty of the Polynesian women is all myth." In 1885, Robert Buchanan, in verses half playful but appreciative, wrote:

. . . Melville, sea-compelling man,
Before whose wand Leviathan
Rose hoary white upon the deep,
With awful sounds that stirred its sleep:
Melville, whose magic drew Typee,
Radiant as Venus, from the sea,
Sits all forgotten or ignored,
While haberdashers are adored!
He, ignorant of the draper's trade,
Indifferent to the art of dress,
Pictured the glorious South Sea maid
Almost in mother nakedness—
Without a hat, or boot, or stocking.
A want of dress to most so shocking.
With just one chemisette to dress her
She *lives*—and still shall live, God bless
her,
Long as the sea rolls deep and blue,
While Heaven repeats the thunder of it.
Long as the White Whale ploughs it
through,
The shape my sea-magician drew
Shall still endure, or I'm no prophet!

Comment upon Mr. Tumulty's "Woodrow Wilson as I Know Him" (Doubleday) is made on another page. Almost at the same time with this book there has appeared a remarkable article, which forms an indirect com-

ment upon Mr. Tumulty's reasoning. It is also a corrective to the teachings of that school which is so busy just now in trying to spread the notion that only the Wilsonian theory of world-politics is noble; and that all things pure and good derive from that theory. It is interesting to see, from this article, which is the January installment of Hendrick's "Life and Letters of Walter H. Page" in the *World's Work*, who it was who had the "higher vision," the "world-outlook," etc., not in 1919, after Germany was beaten, but in 1914-15, when she was still a menace. Mr. Page (President Wilson's appointee, be it remembered) reveals the Wilson Administration, in those days of danger, wrangling with Great Britain, almost to the verge of war, to try to get war supplies admitted to Germany.

Of Ambassador Page, Mr. Burton Hendrick writes in the *World's Work*:

"His behavior throughout the three succeeding years was entirely consistent with his conception of 'neutrality.' That conception, as is apparent from the letters already printed, was not the Wilsonian conception. Probably no American diplomat was more aggrieved at the President's definition of neutrality than his Ambassador to Great Britain. Page had no quarrel with the original neutrality proclamation; that was purely a routine governmental affair, and at the time it was issued it represented the proper American attitude. But the President's famous emendations filled him with astonishment and dismay. 'We must be impartial in thought as well as in action,' said the President on August 19; 'we must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a prejudice of one party to the prejudice of another.' Page . . . declined to abrogate his conscience and to entertain no personal opinion as to the rights and wrongs of the conflict. 'Neutrality,' he said in a letter to his brother, 'is a quality of a government—an artificial unit. When a war comes a government must go in it or stay out of it. It must make a declaration to the world of its attitude. That's all that neutrality is. A government can be neutral, but no man can be.'"

"The President and the Government,' Page afterward wrote, 'in their insistence upon the moral quality of neutrality, missed the larger meaning of the war. . . The President started out with the idea that it was a war brought on by many obscure causes—economic and the like; and he thus missed its whole meaning. . . Thus we have failed to render help to the side of Liberalism and Democracy, which are at stake in the world.'

"Nor did Page think it his duty, in his private communications to his Government and his friends, to maintain that attitude of moral detachment which Mr. Wilson's pronouncement had evidently enjoined upon him. . . He did not regard it as 'loyalty' merely to forward only that kind of material

which Washington apparently preferred to obtain; with a frankness which Mr. Wilson's friends regarded as almost ruthless, Page reported what he believed to be the truth. That this practice was displeasing to the powers of Washington there is abundant evidence. In early December, 1914, Colonel House was compelled to transmit a warning to the American Ambassador at London. 'The President wished me to ask you to please be more careful not to express any unneutral feeling, either by word of mouth or by letter and not even to the State Department. He said that both Mr. Bryan and Mr. Lansing had remarked upon your leaning in that direction and he thought that it would materially lessen your influence. He feels very strongly about this.'

Anybody who is concerned about the cause of the quarrel between Nietzsche and Wagner may find out all about it—so we are told—in "The Nietzsche-Wagner Correspondence" (Boni) which is edited by Elizabeth Foerster-Nietzsche. Why should anyone be surprised that two such disagreeable men—or one man thoroughly and one partly disagreeable—should quarrel?

Hunting and exploration, the life of the Canadian trapper, Indian stories of animals and men, make up the chapters in Arthur Heming's "The Drama of the Forests" (Doubleday). The book is illustrated in color with reproductions from paintings by the author, owned by the Royal Ontario Museum. Some of these pictures are impressive; a few of the others, perhaps due in part to faulty reproduction, resemble a colored photograph of a group in the window of a dealer in sporting goods, and are rather unsatisfactory.

Miss Signe Toksvig, who is a Dane, has selected and edited, and in some instances translated the versions of Andersen's tales given in "Fairy Tales and Stories by Hans Christian Andersen" (Macmillan) in order to keep as much as possible of their native simplicity. The best of the stories are chosen. All the old favorites are present. Eric Pape has decorated and illustrated the book, which for general beauty and good taste is one of the most satisfactory children's books of the year.

A new edition has been published of Max Beerbohm's "A Christmas Garland" (Dutton). In his parodies of a number of English authors, writing about Christmas, he is unbelievably subtle; he imitates Henry James and Conrad so that it really makes you ache to read them, he out-Bernards Shaw, he is cruelly close to A. C. Benson's style and matter, and his Chesterton essay might appear in a volume by that author without being detected as spurious—even by Chesterton himself.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

Book Reviews

The Secretary's Story

WOODROW WILSON AS I KNOW HIM. By Joseph P. Tumulty. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.

IN the course of the advance publication of large portions of Mr. Tumulty's book through the enterprise of the *New York Times*, the prominence which the author assigns to himself throughout the story was the theme of abundant raillery in the newspaper press. That the ridicule was undeserved, we should be far from asserting; yet against the obvious criticism there is an almost equally obvious defence. Take for example, such a passage as this (p. 280):

The overtures of the Pope, in August, 1917, were rejected and again the attention of the world was arrested by the masterly leadership of the American President. On August 16, 1917, I addressed the following letter to the President with reference to the offers of peace made by His Holiness Pope Benedict XV:

"Dear Governor:

I do not believe that the proposals the Pope has submitted should lead us into a statement as to the terms of peace beyond that which the President has already given expression to in his address in the Senate and in his Russian note. . . .

Our note in reply to the Pope should, I believe, embody the following ideas: . . . " [Mr. Tumulty's letter fills more than a page, and he proceeds, without a break, as follows:]

On August 27, 1917, the President, through his Secretary of State, addressed the following reply to the Pope:

To His Holiness Benedictus XV, Pope:

In acknowledgment of the communication of Your Holiness to the belligerent peoples, dated August 1, 1917, the President of the United States requests me to transmit the following reply: . . . "

The whole of the President's reply to the Pope is given, and this brings the chapter to a close. In the presence of such naiveté, criticism is disarmed; one feels ashamed to charge to egotism a self-satisfaction displayed with such utter innocence.

And, amusingly prominent as the author makes himself throughout the book, it is nevertheless perfectly evident that his animating purpose throughout is that of exalting not himself but his master. He places before us a hundred interesting phases of the momentous life-history in which he was privileged to be so intimate a partaker; and throughout them all his object is to make Woodrow Wilson shine out as a grand and noble figure, the hero and martyr of the greatest of causes, equally sublime in character and in intellect, as great in his practical statesmanship as in his lofty idealism. To discuss the degree in which Mr. Tumulty's presentation of these things is just or accurate would require a book bigger than his own handsome volume of 550 pages, and we shall not attempt the task. Suffice it to say that, after all allowance is made for one-sidedness and inaccuracy, enough remains to confute those who

deny to Mr. Wilson the possession of high and heroic qualities. The book contains not much that is essentially new; but it brings back to mind instances of great achievement which in the heat of controversy have been forgotten by many; it presents a picture of intense devotion to high ends; and it shows us an extraordinary man enduring with unflinching fortitude the tragic reverse which followed with unexampled swiftness upon a personal triumph almost unmatched in history. One cannot read the book without a stirring of admiration and sympathy, whatever reserves one's judgment may impose as to the limits of either.

What those limits are, an examination of a single circumscribed but infinitely momentous part of the record may serve in large measure to indicate. And it happens that Mr. Tumulty's book furnishes material singularly adapted to the purpose of that examination. For, though it might take a great amount of space to discuss the pros and cons of what Mr. Tumulty *does* say in his book, a very brief space may serve to bring out the crucial significance of what he does *not* say. On the subject which we have in mind he says nothing, or next to nothing; and in this case saying nothing can only mean that there is nothing to say.

We refer to the attitude of Mr. Wilson toward the question of a compromise in the Senate on the Versailles treaty—the question whether to wreck the treaty by unbending resistance to all proposals of modification made in the Senate or to save it by some form of concession. That was the one subject on which we had thought it possible that important new light might be shed by Mr. Tumulty's book; and on that subject absolutely no new light whatever is shed. The contempt in which Mr. Wilson held the "mild reservationists" is reflected in the complete absence of any reference to them in Mr. Tumulty's book. But this is only one, and by no means the most important, of the derelictions of this nature of which Mr. Wilson was guilty. There has never been the slightest indication that, at any time in the long struggle over the treaty, he felt himself to be under the faintest obligation to consider the desires of the Allied statesmen with whom he had negotiated the treaty, and whom he had led to believe that in accepting its terms they had secured the coöperation of the United States in its execution. According to every accepted standard of human obligation, when Mr. Wilson found himself unable to deliver to the Allies what he had promised, it was incumbent upon him to ascertain whether they would prefer to get what he could give them or to write off the whole thing as a dead loss. That he never thought of taking this obligation into account has been evident enough all along; Mr. Tumulty's failure to say a word on the subject makes the demonstration, humanly speaking, complete.

Nor is there in either of the two brief chapters that deal with the treaty fight any reference to that question with which both the matter of the "mild reservationists" and the matter of the obligations due to Mr. Wilson's European associates are indissolubly bound up. The effort of the mild reservationists—indeed that of a large part of the Republican contingent in the Senate, exclusive of the Borah-Johnson irreconcilables—was inspired above all by the agonizing need of bringing about a speedy peace, with the United States standing at the side of the Allies; and the same agonizing need was of course the thing foremost in the minds of the European statesmen. That Mr. Wilson ignored that need as completely as he did the efforts of the Republican moderates in the Senate, as completely as he did the question of his obligations to his European associates, it would be monstrous to suppose; yet so far as any indication has appeared in his words or his acts the question of what would happen to the world as a consequence of the two years' delay which his obstinacy caused had not the weight of a feather in determining his course. And here again, Mr. Tumulty's silence places beyond reasonable doubt what was already abundantly evident.

Mr. Wilson's failure with the treaty was not the defeat of a great man confronted with insuperable difficulties. Grant all that one may of the wickedness and the ingenuity of his enemies, he would have emerged triumphant if he had shown either the wisdom or the virtue which many a man for whom far less is claimed than is claimed for him has shown, in situations far less imperiously demanding the exhibition of those qualities. In the early stages of the difficulty, his stand could be justified on the ground that he felt sure that he could triumphantly beat down all resistance; but when that assurance had been proved unfounded, he firmly shut his eyes to the duty that the situation laid upon him. The nearest approach that we can make to an explanation of conduct so opposed to the dictates of sound reason is that he was so wrapped up in contemplation of what he regarded as the rightness of his cause as to be blind to all other considerations. To some this may seem the highest of praise; in reality it is the mark of a grievous defect both of character and of intellect. It is the diametrical opposite of the spirit which laid upon the great soul of Abraham Lincoln the sacred obligation of saving the Union, and enabled him to save it; it is the diametrical opposite of the spirit that presided over the career of William of Orange, and made him the deliverer of England and the rescuer of Europe. This constant preoccupation with his own rightness stands out in a score of instances in Mr. Wilson's career. A curious and most significant sidelight was thrown upon it in that unfortunate speech which he delivered in Philadelphia a

few days after the sinking of the Lusitania. For, though the phrase "too proud to fight" was naturally the one that most impressed the public mind, the sentence immediately succeeding was far more revealing as to Mr. Wilson's psychology. "There is such a thing," he said, "as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right." If, on the very morrow of the Lusitania outrage, the question presented itself to Mr. Wilson in this light, it is perhaps natural enough that he should have thought of the issue between himself and the Senate not primarily as a question of the best that could be done with a hard problem, not primarily as a question of what the world needed in a moment of unexampled distress and anxiety, but first of all as a question of whether Woodrow Wilson was right or wrong.

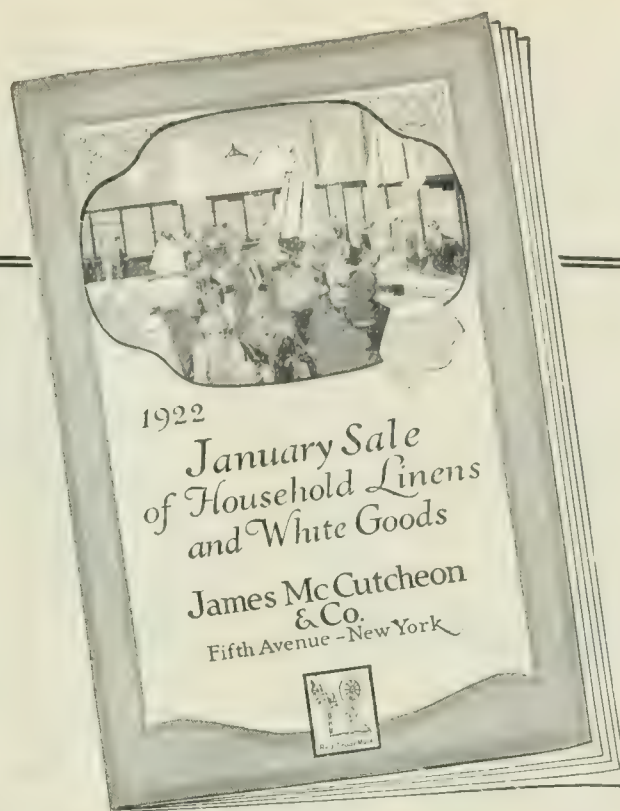
Who Said Realism?

IF WINTER COMES. By A. S. M. Hutchinson. Boston: Little Brown & Company.

THE YOUNG ENCHANTED. A Romantic Story. By Hugh Walpole. New York: George H. Doran Company.

FOR months people have been asking this reviewer whether he had read "If Winter Comes." He has been answering no, with something like the bewilderment of a grocer's clerk suddenly besieged for Frizzled Oats at a moment when he felt himself fully up on the latest cereals. What are Frizzled Oats, anyway? he asks himself. Are they a new article, or an old one done up in a new container or baited with a new kind of coupon? And why this sudden run on them? What lucky accident or adroit contrivance has made them suddenly a by-word, or even a password, at the bridge-parties and in the accommodation trains? Has anybody really tried them, or have they won to fame by the simple but effective process of passing the buck? Where ten people are content to hand the fashionable question along, "Have you tried Frizzled Oats?" or "Have you read 'If Winter Comes?'" one or two are pretty sure to buy a copy or a package. And at least one of the two will swallow it as delicious because so many people take it for granted that it is.

Still, reviewers who were in at the birth, or at least the christening, of this book spoke more than kindly of it and the present reviewer, into whose hands it came at last, has taken it up with hope as well as curiosity. Ardently he has wished to find it such a fresh and vigorous story as does now and then make a place for itself among the best-sellers. Honestly, he cannot discover so much virtue in it. Rather, he is constrained to measure its success as that of the perfectly typical: it is a speaking likeness of contemporary fiction. Not judging the author's intention, we find his effect of style and method to be a blend of the Wells-Bennett-Chesterton



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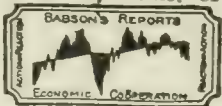
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and the Cannan-Mackenzie-Lawrence staples, liberally spiced with a Locke-Thurston condiment. To the earlier influence it chiefly owes its verbal style, its crisp and chatty and repetitious habit. "They made him think about things, and he liked to think about things; the poets filled his mind with beauty, and he was strangely stirred by beauty." This repeating of phrases may later be recognized as a childlike trait of the infantile twentieth century: "Arabella picked a nice white daisy and Araminta picked a nice white daisy." It is a Chestertonian naiveté, as is the excessive use in this tale of certain superlative epithets: "enormous," "outrageous," "tremendous," "astounding." Especially when linked to insignificant or neutral substantives, these adjectives give the true jolt—or used to when Messrs. Shaw and Chesterton first tried them on. This writer has no style of his own, but a skilful composite of styles now in vogue.

And the same thing, I suspect, is true of his story. Clearly, it stands or falls by the personality of its central figure, Mark Sabre. But Sabre is no more than a fresh embodiment of a type of hero who has come recently to the front and menaced the popularity of the handsome and clever type, the young Oxford in London type, which but yesterday firmly held the scene. This is the dunder-headed, butter-fingered 'genius, who can't keep his hands clean or his clothes brushed or his feet disentangled, but is nevertheless possessor of a heart of gold and a brain capable of big things if not of little ones. Mark Sabre has an impossible wife. She is a shallow cat, and her meanness is so unmitigated that I rather despise a man who could put up with her. The young-Oxford-in-Londoner would not stay with her a week. But Mark Sabre is an old-fashioned fellow if a new-fashioned hero. He is the embodiment of that sense of decency and duty and stubborn private honor which the young Oxonian-in-London found most amusing and Victorian. If you can put up with his excess of clumsiness and excess of virtue, there is a lot in his story. For you will then be in a mood to put up with the elaborations of plot which develop as the story goes on. . . . So we find, perhaps, our real answer to the inquiry why this book is a best-seller. It has the style of a "novel of ideas"; the characterization of a novel of purpose; the mood of a novel of sentiment; and the mechanism of a novel of sensation. Finally, and the best thing to be said of it, it is a book of faith and optimism; a book in which, for our comfort in a credulous hour, the dream and the business seem not too hopelessly far apart.

Such also is Mr. Walpole's latest book, "The Young Enchanted," which we need not be surprised to see following "If Winter Comes" into the mysterious realm of best-sellerdom. The author calls it frankly "A Romantic Story," and in an early chapter has

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his explicit fling at those gods of the lesser realism to whom he has at times made obeisance: "The whole truth and nothing but the truth." What absurdity for any story-teller in the world to think that he can get that—and what arrogance! This book is the truth about these children as near as I can get it, and the truth about that strange year 1920 in that strange town, London, as faithfully as I can recollect, but it isn't everybody's truth. Far from it—and a good thing too." The children are Henry and Millicent Trenchard. We catch them at the moment when they escape together from the strait household of the Trenchards (old acquaintances of ours) and set up for themselves, Millicent as secretary-companion to a newly-rich spinster and Henry as secretary to a newly-poor baronet. At the same instant begins Henry's romantic adventure as champion of a damsel in distress. A little later Millicent nearly throws herself away on a handsome adventurer, but is saved to be the consolation of our old friend Peter Westcott. Henry is not obliged to face the realistic test of marriage to his damsel. In Mrs. Tenasen we have a figure of somewhat startling realism, against which Henry's romanticism stands out with almost illicit sharpness.

Of its quality as a study of the London of 1921, little can be said. The war has made Millie's spinster rich and Henry's baronet poor. It has nourished the ruthless "piratical" mood of the handsome villain and of other persons in the story. Pains are taken to suggest an up-to-the-minute scene (for instance, Peter's novel is to appear in the spring of 1922). But all this is outside the story, which belongs to the timeless world of romance. Therefore it is idle for our story-teller to assure us, by the mouths of his characters, one after the other, that we live at a strange moment and that it is strange in this or that respect (they all say pretty much the same things). I recall no earlier story in which Mr. Walpole has so obviously put things into the mouths of his people that do not recognizably belong there. The most glaring instance is his sudden transformation of Peter's wife Clare (Part IV, Chapter 5) which rudely brings home to the reader the artificial nature of the Clare bogey, from beginning to end. Sudden transformations are all right in a romance, but Mr. Walpole's is a sophisticated and tempered romance, and cannot afford the crudities of a simpler medium. . . . Henry Trenchard, be it noted, is yet another dunder-headed genius, a very near English cousin to Samuel Merwin's well-known American Henry.

H. W. BOYNTON

Random Book Notes

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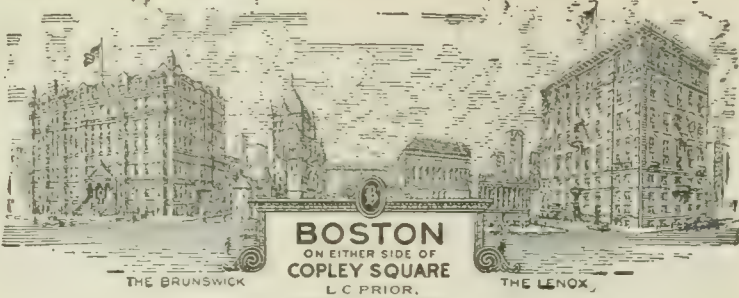
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- 7 Aspects of Birth Control: Sociological,
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and environment, the physiology of
consciousness, and the origin of thera-
peutic bathing.

Merlin Harold Hunter is assistant
professor of economics in the Univer-
sity of Illinois. His "Outlines of Pub-
lic Finance" (Harper) is a discussion
of public expenditures, customs duties,
property and income taxes, the single
tax, etc.

"Down the Columbia" (Dodd, Mead)
by Lewis R. Freeman is an account of
a boat trip on the Columbia River, from
the glacial sources to tidewater. Photo-
graphically illustrated by members of
the party.

Dean C. Worcester's "The Philip-
pines Past and Present" (Macmillan)
is now published with the two volumes
combined in one. It appeared first in
1914.

Professor John Erskine has selected
from the lectures of Lafcadio Hearn a
number of chapters on literature and
made them into a volume called "Books
and Habits" (Dodd, Mead). Most of
the chapters were in the larger vol-
umes, "Interpretations of Literature"
and "Appreciations of Poetry," al-
though there are three new ones. The
volume gives a taste of what may be
found in those fine earlier works.

Imaginary interviews with famous
musicians, with examples of their con-
versation, their surroundings, and
characters, constitute Charles D. Isaac-
son's "Face to Face with Great Musi-
cians" (Appleton).

How to succeed in marketing agri-
cultural products is the topic of an ex-
tensive work by Dr. Theodore Mack-
lin. It is called "Efficient Marketing
for Agriculture" (Macmillan). The
author is professor of agricultural eco-
nomics in the University of Wisconsin.

The technique of prose fiction is dis-
cussed in Percy Lubbock's "The Craft
of Fiction" (Scribner). The author
bases his study upon such masters as
Thackeray, Tolstoy, Dickens, James,
and Balzac.

Studies of the great Greek epics and
of the Persian wars are given in H. R.
James's "Our Hellenic Heritage" (Mac-
millan).

Another translation from the works
of Anatole France, in the excellent edi-
tion published by John Lane, appears
in "Monsieur Bergeret in Paris," with
the translation by B. Drillion.

The seekers for one-act plays will
find nine of them in Alice Brown's vol-
ume, "One Act Plays" (Macmillan).

An extensive analysis of Oriental
trade, with reference to the various
countries and the different commodi-
ties, is presented by Frank R. Eldridge,
Jr., in "Trading with Asia" (Apple-
ton).

Harold Whitehead, in "How to Run
a Store" (Crowell), has written practi-
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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. The Intolerants.

1. Is "The Intolerants" a story, or an essay, or an editorial article? Explain your answer.
2. What is the theme? Answer in a complete sentence.
3. What is the relation between the theme and the title?
4. What are the principal divisions?
5. What is the effect of the use of definitely named characters, and of exactly quoted conversation?
6. Prove that the last paragraph makes an appropriate conclusion.
7. Write what the author might have written as a formal introduction. Would the printed work have been better if the author had written some such formal introduction? Did the author gain anything by omitting a formal introduction? Under what circumstances should you omit formal introductions in your own writing?
8. Show how the author makes use of contrast.
9. Show at what point the author strikes the keynote for the first time.
10. What does the author show concerning the psychology of the mob?
11. What constructive suggestions for the forming of judgments are indicated?
12. Point out the characters whom you admire. Point out those whom you do not admire. In every case give reasons for your selections.
13. What effect did the writer wish to produce upon you?
14. Write a somewhat similar composition based upon school life.

II. The Bloc.

1. Prepare a serious definition of "the bloc."
2. Show that every one of the sections of the humorous definition given by the Judge are applicable to the facts in the case.
3. In what ways is "The Bloc" like "The Intolerants"?
4. Invent, for your school paper, a character somewhat like the Judge. Write a composition that will reveal that character's opinions on some subject of local or school interest.

III. New Books and Old.

1. What is "antiquarian research"? Tell something about Sir Walter Scott's interest in such research. You will find information in almost any biography of Scott.
2. What does "The Sketch Book" show concerning Washington Irving's interest in such research?
3. The article speaks of globes made by the Arabs. Consult an encyclopedia for information about contributions made to civilization by the Arabs.
4. What does Irving's "Alhambra" say about the work of the Arabs?
5. Tell something about the life of Herman Melville. In what way was he associated with Nathaniel Hawthorne? Refer to any encyclopedia.
6. Ask your librarian to lend you a copy of Melville's "Typee." Read the book, and present a report on it. Why is it so popular at the present time?
7. A new edition of Andersen's fairy tales has just been published. What is the importance of fairy tales? From what sources are they derived? What are the peculiar characteristics of Andersen's tales?

IV. Book Reviews.

1. The following expressions occur in the review of "If Winter Comes." Explain every expression. "Its verbal style, its crisp and chatty and repetitious habit." "Chesteronian naiveté." "A novel of ideas." "A novel of purpose." "A novel of sensation." "A book of faith and of optimism."
2. Interview your librarian and report what you learn about the following present-day writers who are named in the book review: Wells, Bennett, Chesterton, Cannan, Mackenzie, Lawrence, Locke, Thurston.
3. What is the difference between a "figure of startling realism" and one of "romanticism"?
4. Professor Erskine has prepared a book of selections from the writings of Lafcadio Hearn. Who was Lafcadio Hearn?

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. Are They Worth the Price? Nerves and Submarines, The Submarine, A Third Rate Naval Power, Quotha.

1. What is the price of keeping the submarine?
2. Why is France arguing for its retention? Explain why this is regrettable.
3. Summarize the statements on which is based the conclusion: "France has not wrecked the Conference."
4. Show why it is said "that as a combatant craft the submarine is almost contemptible."
5. Looking over the whole case decide your own attitude toward the abolition of the submarine and formulate your argument.
6. Review the history of the use of the submarine during the Great War and argue the question as to whether or not Germany was, on the whole, benefitted by the campaign.
7. Locate on the map France's great colonial empire, "second only to that of Britain," and see how it is "distributed over all the seas."
8. Make a brief summary of the "immemorial rivalry between Britain and her 'sweet enemy' France."
9. What is "the glorious naval history" of France?

II. The End of a Chapter.

1. Why does the writer feel that the league between Ireland and England is of importance outside those countries?
2. Why does he assume that the compact will be ratified by Dail Eireann?
3. Explain how the decision of the delegates took courage.
4. Look up and describe the history referred to in this part of the article: "a revolution protracted in reality since O'Connell's movement began just a hundred years ago, and practically continuous for the last forty years. Sinn Fein stands on the shoulders of many forerunners. Its triumph of today could not have been achieved had not the principle of Home Rule received statutory recognition in 1914."
5. In what way is Ireland "politically demoralized"?

III. The Intolerants.

1. Just what is meant by intolerance? Explain how particular questions in the history of the United States have been connected with toleration.
2. See if thought on your part will show you cases where you must beware of intolerance in yourself.
3. Do you think that the study of history ought to make its students more tolerant than before? Can you show by specific instances whether the study of history has or has not developed toleration?

IV. The Confidential Character of Government Records, Book Reviews, New Books.

1. Is there justification for "Government officials on retirement from office taking with them copies or originals of records and documents which are by their nature the property of their employer"?
2. What considerations should affect the publication of such records?
3. What aspects of Woodrow Wilson are here discussed?
4. What criticisms of Mr. Wilson's policy are made?
5. Explain why one must be on one's guard in reading such books as those of Mr. Tumulty and Mr. Page. What advantages have they?

V. Another Eventless Week.

1. Look up the provision of the Constitution which gave the President the right to pardon Debs. Why was the President given that power? What other officials have the right to pardon offenders? Why is it not sufficient to give the President the pardoning power?
2. Summarize the preliminary statement of the committee's report on Haiti and San Domingo. Give your interpretation of the reason for or the significance of various items of the report.

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

January 14, 1922



How Prohibition Is Working

An Acute Observer's Survey and Forecast

By Chester T. Crowell

DURING the last twelve months I have been in all but nine or ten of the States, and as prohibition, and the lack of it, are the principal topics of conversation in all of the States, one comes into possession of a certain amount of information, well diluted with gossip and rumor. Sifting this carefully, I come to these conclusions:

1. This country still has local option because there are large parts of its most populous States where the people do not desire prohibition and public sentiment is not adequate to make its enforcement possible.

2. Taking the country as a whole, the progress made toward actual enforcement of prohibition is certainly as great as a sanely optimistic person could have expected.

3. Intoxicants can be obtained in every State in the Union—and in the larger cities with comparative ease.

4. It is still too early to predict whether the general tendency is dry or wet. In some places it appears to be wet—in others, dry.

5. Efforts to launch campaigns for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment have received very little support. However, in this connection, one must consider that the traditional American system for repealing a law is not through legislative action but majority consent to violate it. If all the laws on our statute books were enforced with severity, the country would be in chaos.

Many of the claims made for prohibition by those who advocated it on the stump and in the press during the last quarter of a century have been realized. It does reduce industrial accidents; it does result in fewer bad accounts for the merchants and in more savings accounts; it does result in fewer charity cases, in better clothed and better fed children. The loss of the saloon has not wrecked any city, either in the days of local option or under national prohibition. The effect of prohibition in industrial centres is quite notable. There is less disorder, fewer misdemeanors but probably no decrease in crime, the workers are more regular. The effect in factories where automatic or semi-automatic machinery is used cannot be overlooked. I can illustrate this point best, perhaps, by telling of a test that I made. Some years ago a court reporter of my acquaintance offered to make a bet with me that after drinking one glass of beer I could not write on the typewriter a page of copy as rapidly or as accurately as I could before drinking

the one glass of beer. I thought it was absurd. I tried it very sincerely and discovered to my astonishment that he was right. He had just tried it himself. I could not write as rapidly and, while I made only one error on the first page, I made four errors on one page after drinking one glass of beer. The importance of this fact in industrial plants is obvious.

There is another side to this story, however. Many of these industrial workers live in very unattractive sections. They lead dreary lives. After a day's work they do not feel like reading Shakespeare or hastening away to Grand Opera. They want rest and beer. They miss their beer and they are discontented. They are giving a great deal more thought than usual to economic theories. Having very little education along these lines, some of them arrive at the most remarkable, weird, and fantastic conclusions. If it were not for the motion picture theatre, which has to a large extent filled the void, I am inclined to think that quite a few bricks would have been thrown and perhaps some stray shots fired.

This is especially true among the foreign-born. Many of these people simply fail to get the idea of prohibition. Thousands of them think that it was put into force by executive decree of President Wilson. I have heard them talk about it for hours and advocate a twenty-four hour national strike in protest, believing that thus they can force President Harding to rescind the decree. To try to explain the theory of prohibition to a group of Italian workmen is very much like trying to explain to you, the reader, that in Siberia people walk on their ears. In other words, it sounds interesting, but it does not "get over." A friend of mine, a Red Cross worker during the war, related to me his futile effort to explain American prohibition to an Italian Senator in Italy. The Senator listened with attention for three-quarters of an hour and then asked, "But what kind of wine do they drink now?" The fact that they are not supposed to drink wine at all simply failed to register with him. It was inconceivable. People of this type, who are otherwise law-abiding and patriotic and well-intentioned, protect bootleggers and otherwise violate the Volstead Act with the same faith in the justice of their actions that a group of Middle Western Americans would have in evading a law that prohibited them from planting corn.

Among the workers there is much resentment because they believe that every man with money has an enormous wine cellar. This, of course, is not true. They believe it, quite naturally, because if they had plenty of money they would have well-filled wine cellars. They know that the bootlegging industry is well organized and successful, and that large stocks of liquor find their way to the consumers who are able to buy. Personally I think that these very workers are still the principal consumers. But they don't think so. They are conscious of the pitifully small amount of intoxicants they are able to obtain, and they think that others who are more fortunate obtain all they desire of every sort of beverage. If the lack of a drink is severely felt by the worker, however, it is also sorely missed at social gatherings and in clubs and at the dinner table.

Let us examine a group of five men sitting around a table at their club. One brings with him the thought that he has a note to meet at the bank tomorrow. Another is troubled by the fact that his wife is not in good health. The third is planning his forthcoming trip to St. Louis. The fourth is simply tired and feeling dull. The fifth is in high good humor and ready for a joke and a story and some playful conversation. He launches out gaily and the other four look at him resentfully. They smother his good humor and he draws back into his shell humiliated. One drink would put those five men on the same conversational plane. But under present conditions clubs are dull places.

A group of men and women gather at the dinner table. Four of them are well acquainted with each other. The other five each know the host or hostess or both. A mighty effort is made to start general conversation and to get everyone acquainted. One cocktail would do it. Without the cocktail it is hard, hard labor. The dinner drags. At its conclusion five of the guests are ready to go. Normally, at its conclusion we should have nine persons pleased with each other. Now, the dinner concludes where it began—four persons well acquainted, five with a speaking acquaintance. Is it any wonder that the host and hostess consult a bootlegger for assistance? If you have worried through a few of these dinners or spent some of these drab afternoons at a club, you will understand; especially since there was very little drunkenness in this social stratum.

The chemist is contributing his little mite toward the overthrow of the Volstead Act. It is astonishingly easy to imitate good whiskey and good gin, not to mention light wine. Most of the bootleg liquor sold in the United States is produced in the United States. The illegal withdrawals from bonded warehouses and smuggling across the borders have contributed far less than half of the wetness which has slaked the great American thirst since the Volstead Law. In the larger cities, where there is very little sentiment in favor of the enforcement of prohibition, one can obtain what appear to be quart bottles of whiskey and gin, withdrawn from bonded warehouses for medical use. The labels are faked and so is the booze. But my hat is off to the chemists who do it. The stuff has the right flavor and strength and no bad effect. At least that is my experience. There have been cases of poisoning and blindness from wood alcohol and there will doubtless continue to be, but considering the quantity of this synthetic booze consumed, these cases are astonishingly few in number. And then one must take into consideration the army of the home brewers. It must be remembered that the making of wine and beer is fairly easy and that many persons enjoy doing it almost as much as they enjoy drinking the product. The American people have a taste for that sort of thing. We like to run and repair our own automobiles; we like to fix our own electric light wires; and some of us, I find, have as much fun as a kid with a new red wagon, in brewing beer. It is true that many persons who did not drink before national prohibition drink

now. More women drink now, which means that most of the drinking is done in the home or at social gatherings. I know women that enjoy making beer now, who five years ago would have created a scene if friend husband had returned home with a bottle of beer for his dinner.

On the other hand, there are millions of persons who would not go to the trouble of "making their own," who are afraid to take a chance on a bootlegger, who find they are just as well off without a drop to drink, and who never think of it. These are beyond question the majority. They are the inert mass. If, in the course of the next five years, they decide to resume drinking, prohibition crumbles. If they do not so decide, and the efforts at enforcement continue, prohibition wins.

There are still a great many dives and blind tigers where the unregenerate may gather, but they are dismal holes and most persons would rather do without a drink than share the company of such places. They are destined to go. Prohibition has nothing to fear from them, for they are a close relative to the old saloon for which no one seems to yearn. The home brewer and the established bootlegger with a dependable stock of goods constitute the real threat against prohibition. In time, these bootleggers may become an important factor in politics, for they will contribute freely to elect "their man." In the South and Southwest, under State prohibition, I have seen some very bad local government brought about by the influence of the bootlegger. Eventually that government is always wiped out. It remains to be seen whether it is possible for the bootlegger to play his part as bribe-giver and corruptionist in politics without pulling down the whole structure and bringing a protest from the mass of law-abiding people who will sweep him into oblivion along with "his men."

There is a general belief that the scarcity of intoxicants has played its part in the increasing use of drugs. I doubt that. The use of drugs has been on the increase in this country for fifteen years. It is very easy to smuggle drugs across the border. A man can conceal a thousand dollars' worth in his clothing. It was my observation, in the days when I was a police reporter, that the person who used drugs also used whiskey to excess.

Such organizations as the Anti-Saloon League are under no misapprehensions about the fight ahead of them. They are working just as hard as they ever did. They know that the future of prohibition hangs in the balance just as surely today as it did before the Volstead Act was passed.

There are many fanatical prohibitionists in the United States. They would gladly and willingly tear down all the rest of the Constitution to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment. They would break into homes, they would search men on the streets, they would violate the bill of rights and dispense with search warrants and any other kind of warrants altogether. To them prohibition is the panacea for all ills. In some parts of the country they have brought about outrageous strong-arm methods of enforcement.

At present prohibition is getting a typically American good-natured trial. Certainly half of our people are sincerely in favor of it. A small minority is fanatically in favor of it. An opposing and equally small minority thinks that the Goddess of Liberty ought to be draped in mourning until the Amendment is repealed. The great majority of the people, both prohibitionists and anti-prohibitionists, are not doing anything about it but talking—and the talk is not very serious. Most of them have violated the law one or more times. Every bottle they get hold of they think is the last on earth. But it isn't. That old-time law of supply and demand is still on the job. Every time they consume a bottle another springs up in its place. If they really do forget all about a drink and quit talking about it and quit buying it, this country will be dry except for a little fringe around the borders. But whether or not this will happen, I don't think anyone can tell.

America's Terms

A Message to Mr. Lloyd George

MY DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

I realize fully that you are an exceedingly busy man and that you bear upon your shoulders burdens and responsibilities such as no single man has hitherto borne in modern times. But in spite of this—nay, rather because of it—I venture to press upon your attention a matter which I am convinced is not less important than the greatest of the problems that you have now to deal with.

It is unnecessary to point out to you the extent to which world peace and world welfare are dependent today upon the good understanding between and coöperation of the two branches of the English-speaking peoples. To this you have contributed much and in many ways—not least in the masterly statesmanship with which you have settled the age-long Irish conflict.

None knows better than you the desperate situation in which the world, and especially Europe, finds itself today; none is more concerned with the enormous problem of rescuing it from imminent ruin. That this can be achieved only by restoring faith and hope to peoples who are on the point of losing both and by giving play again to the moral forces of civilization, you are well aware. A promising first step toward this has already been made by the Washington Conference, thanks to your powerful coöperation.

But this is only a beginning, and you have indicated the pressing necessity of another conference, a general meeting of the chief Powers, to find a solution of the Sisyphean economic problems in Europe. You desire the participation of America in this Conference, for you realize—as too many Americans unfortunately just now do not—that the coöperation and the proper employment of the capital and resources of the United States are essential to the success of any plan of rehabilitation and reconstruction. It is with reference to this prime factor and its essential condition that I am addressing you, lest in the pressing exigencies of the parlous situation in Europe, a course may be steered that will cause America to stand aloof.

I am led to believe from reports in the press and from private information that Hugo Stinnes and his associates have laid before you a general plan with reference to Russia, a seductive expedient for saving the economic life of Europe from the engulfing quicksands, and that strong pressure is being exerted to persuade you to urge its adoption at the proposed Economic Conference.

I gather that the astute Stinnes has made his proposal to you in substance somewhat as follows: "Germany has a population of seventy millions, of whom not more than fifty millions can be supported on her domestic resources. If the remaining twenty millions are to exist we must import raw materials, apply to them our labor and industrial machinery, and sell the manufactured product. Under present conditions we can import little from foreign countries, and mere existence is fast becoming impossible, to say nothing of paying war reparations.

"One hope remains—Russia. My industrial organization is intact, the greatest in the world. It is peculiarly equipped to restore economic life in Russia, which is our natural field of operation, thanks to our unique experience and our large corps of specialists in Russian business.

"Therefore, give us a mandate to exploit the natural resources of Russia. The United States, England, and France will furnish the capital. We will restrict our operations to raw materials sufficient to supply our factories, and your industries will not, therefore, suffer from Russian competition. Russia will revive and pour forth her food-stuffs. Economic life will be quickened all over

Europe. We shall be able to pay war reparations, which means saving France from bankruptcy. British trade will revive to pre-war dimensions, the menace of unemployment be removed, and general prosperity result. We are already in negotiation with the Soviet Government, and they will hand over to us the industrial properties of Russia, expropriated from their private owners. Under the protection of their autocratic rule we need fear no popular opposition; if they should fall, we have ready at hand some thousands of *émigré* reactionaries, living on our bounty, ready to go in and replace the Soviets with another autocracy equally effective."

A truly seductive prospect to a drowning Europe ready to grasp at any straw, but one full of poison. For it seems scarcely possible that she can be blind to the inevitable outcome of thus making of Russia a German colony.

Need I point out how inimical such a scheme would be to the interests of America and how repugnant to our ideals of honesty and justice? On the material side, we hope to have the opportunity to employ our capital and our enterprise in Russia in association with the legitimate owners of Russian industries and on the basis of equal opportunity and fair competition. The Stinnes plan would wipe out the men who created Russian industry in the past and prevent its resurrection by Russians in the future. On the political side, we hope to see a free and contented Russia, developing unhampered its own culture and institutions, again a great Power, bound to you and bound to us by strong ties of friendship and mutuality of interest. Only in this do we see the possibility of peace in Europe. On the moral side, we are ineffably shocked at the thought of seeing an ally, whose sacrifices at the beginning of the war made victory possible and whose present plight is due to those sacrifices, ruthlessly robbed to pay the war reparations that should come eventually from the resources of Germany herself.

Especially repugnant to us is the proposal to deal with the Soviet Government and to recognize it. Your own investigations have laid bare the horrible story of Russia's martyrdom at the hands of these merciless adventurers. Your own experience has shown you that the only object of their so-called trade agreements was to legalize their confiscations and robberies and enable them to "cash in" the loot. Even if their change of policy were genuine, which it is not, we should not care to deal with a group of men whose previous criminal record surpasses anything in history and who today are but a handful holding power by ruthless terror.

I trust that there is no truth in the rumors that you have entertained favorably the proposals of Stinnes and his kind. Otherwise, I must warn you that this means the alienation of America and the breaking of the entente that has been so happily built up. Be not misled by the claims of the plotters that they can bend to their will those in authority in America. They have already tried and failed miserably, though their efforts in the field of propaganda and intrigue have been persistent and clever.

We wish to work hand in hand with England. We can do so only on the basis of the principles of justice and righteousness, which are the common treasures of the civilization and culture of our two peoples. These are America's terms. I trust you will not reject them—that America will not be asked to participate in an economic conference in which a plan for the spoliation of Russia is to be entertained or which implies recognition of the Soviet Government.

Accept, my dear Mr. Prime Minister, assurances of my high regard.

JEROME LANDFIELD.

Remission of the Allied Debt

Opinions Favorable and Unfavorable

DURING the time that our issue of December 31 was going through the press, it happened by a fortunate chance that two public utterances of great importance were made in favor of the remission of the Allied debt which was advocated in the leading editorial of that issue.

In an address before the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Justice Clarke, of the United States Supreme Court, urged that the war loans made by our Government to the Allies should be "promptly and wholly cancelled," both as a matter of friendship for and justice to the nations which risked all with us and sacrificed much more than we did in the common cause, and as a matter of cold practical business policy.

Professor E. R. A. Seligman, of Columbia, in the course of his address at the Pittsburgh meeting of the American Economic Association, was fully as emphatic as Justice Clarke, on both heads of the argument. Professor Seligman's eminence as an economist gives extraordinary weight to his opinion on the financial aspect of the case, but we are even more impressed with the fervor with which he advocates the remission of the debt on the grounds of equity and honor. One brief passage, out of many that might be quoted, is as follows:

The Allied debt is not a just debt, if we interpret justice in the only legitimate sense of the term. We advanced the money, indeed, in the form of loan, and legally our position is impregnable. What we actually did, however, was to defray our share of a common burden, which, if it were to be adjusted on a truly equitable basis, would make us not the creditor but the debtor of the Allied group. To insist now on our pound of flesh is to take the part of a Shylock, not of a high-minded partner in a joint and common enterprise. The Allied debt is not a just debt; and the sooner this is realized by our people, wearied by the bickerings of the European nations and still confused by the acerbities of the recent Presidential campaign, the better for all concerned.

We print below several answers received from distinguished men in response to our request for a brief comment on the editorial in our issue of December 31:

*From A. Lawrence Lowell, President of
Harvard University*

I have nothing to add to your editorial, and I have only one criticism to make upon it. The argument from self-interest seems to detract from the force of the appeal. To me it is not convincing; and it takes away the generosity of the appeal to duty and magnanimity toward nations that made larger sacrifices than we did in what at the time the loans were made we had accepted as a common cause. The argument that the money was spent by them in fighting our battles is a particularly effective one.

*From James B. Forgan, Chairman Board of
Directors, First National Bank, Chicago*

In answer to your communication of December 24, enclosing an editorial which is to appear in your issue of December 31, I may state that in general I find myself in agreement with the sentiments expressed in your article.

There are, however, certain aspects of the question which it seems to me you do not emphasize sufficiently. The question of the cancellation of debts may be divided into two parts, economic and political. As regards the first, probably all thinking people will agree that those who have argued that the payment of the huge sums in ques-

tion is likely to prove more detrimental to the payee than to the payer have the better arguments in their favor. Unquestionably, whatever is decided upon, such bills as that introduced by the Finance Committee of the Senate are foolish. It is impossible to insist, as this bill does, that our debtors pay us immediately on capital and accumulated interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum and the whole debt at the end of twenty-five years.

In my annual statement to the press, which is to be released for publication on December 31, I have commended the suggestion made by Mr. James Simpson of Chicago to fund the debt owed to us by Europe for a period of twenty years, at first without interest and later with a very low interest charge. This at least would give everyone time to await developments, and furnish a period during which an enlightened public opinion in regard to these matters may develop, both in and out of Congress.

As regards the political aspect of the question, I do not feel as optimistic as you do. Human nature is such the world over that men and nations are likely to be more amenable to suggestions made by their creditors than by those to whom they are not indebted. Do you not think, yourself, that the existence of this debt has recently been of some aid to Mr. Hughes and to our Government? As a matter of practical politics, it may also be desirable on our part to make some stipulations in regard to the attitude of France toward Germany, if we are to remit the debt which France owes to us. The War has engendered such a spirit of hatred between France and Germany that peaceable arrangements are rather unlikely unless pressure from the outside be applied. I have no feeling of charity toward Germany, but the whole prosperity of Europe, and to some extent our own prosperity for the immediate years to come, is dependent upon a rehabilitation of Central Europe in an economic way. This is probably impossible as long as France insists upon the present reparations, and I should be very glad to see a remission of the French debt to us used in such fashion that the party in France which is desirous of limiting militaristic enterprises will increase in influence and power.

Undoubtedly, all good Americans will agree with you that we must not play the part of Shylock and demand our pound of flesh; that, after all, much of the debt, though by no means all, was incurred for the purpose of waging the common battle. If, however, we are to be reasonable to our debtors, we must expect that they in turn will show a reasonableness to others.

From Frederick P. Fish, Boston

I regard it as distinctly unwise to discuss or even to consider at the present time the cancellation of the debts, or of any portion of them, due the United States by foreign nations. The matter now of prime importance for the welfare of the world is that every nation should, seriously and soberly, devote all its energies to solving the difficult social, industrial, economic and financial problems which it is facing with the hope that ultimately normal conditions may be restored. The attention of the nations of Europe should not be diverted from this task to an effort to escape the payment of debts which they are in honor bound to pay. The necessity for strenuous endeavor on their part should not be blurred by hopes of an artificial relief which would not strengthen their morale but would impair it.

Whenever the matter is considered, it should not for a moment be overlooked that the ten billion dollars loaned

was raised by sacrifices on the part of American taxpayers and American industry so large that our own internal affairs have been brought into a situation of grave confusion and even danger.

A time may come when the nations of the world will unite in a comprehensive effort to devise a general European programme, in which even a rebuilt Russia may participate, for the restoration of sound financial conditions and the establishment of proper political and industrial relations throughout the Western world. In that event, the United States, as a great creditor nation, might find itself in a position definitely to promote such an effort by wise and intelligent concessions as to this indebtedness; but the present seems to me no time for action or even for a consideration of the matter.

I regret that the subject has been brought to the front in the columns of *The Independent and Weekly Review*, particularly as the arguments by which the proposition is supported seem to me inadequate.

From Edward A. Filene, Boston

I am opposed to the cancellation at the present time of the debts owed to the United States by our European allies. Cancellation now would do much more harm than good, because,

First: In almost every country in Europe the party in office is, to an important degree, powerless to do the best things for national recuperation, to follow steadily the policies recommended by the wisest economists and financial experts. This is because the party, or parties, in opposition, by promising the people relief from the high taxes and the governmental economies which wise fiscal policies require, force the Governments, in order to retain office, to follow temporizing and unscientific policies. Under these circumstances most of the good that the cancellation of the debt might otherwise do would be lost, since it would only make it easier to continue on the present unsatisfactory course.

Second: Because the United States is not in an Association or League of Nations to keep the peace. Lacking the coöperation of the most powerful of all nations, the United States, the nations of Europe are afraid of "being attacked," and are maintaining large armies and working toward new balances of power, which in turn means increased militarism. This increase of military strength is at present curtailed to some extent by their debt and unbalanced budgets. If their debts to us were cancelled, one of the great restraints to this growing menace to world peace in the form of huge armaments and defensive alliances would be destroyed.

If we want really to help Europe we can help her much more financially and materially, as well as morally, by joining with the rest of the world in the League of Nations, or in an Association of Nations, which would give to all the nations the security that they are struggling to get by means of their armies or the new militaristic balances.

When peace and progress have thus been established in Europe, our citizens will have a chance to judge of cancellation of the debts on its merits and will do what is right about it.

From William Fellowes Morgan, President of The Merchants' Association of New York

I have read with interest the editorial in which you marshal the arguments in favor of cancelling the eleven and one-half billion dollars of debts that are due to us from foreign countries. While I confess that the reasons that you urge are persuasive, I do not agree that we should cross these debts entirely off our books. In the

first place, I doubt very much whether the remission of these debts would rehabilitate our debtor countries. They form only a small part of the troubles which have overwhelmed the world as a result of the war. At this time, they are not interfering with the recovery of our debtors because we are holding our claims in abeyance and are not even asking for the payment of interest. Temporarily, therefore, the debts have been cancelled, and yet recovery is far off.

It is true that this country came late into the war and that its sacrifice was much smaller in proportion than the sacrifices of other nations. But it should be remembered that the war was not even remotely of this country's making.

Another point should be considered and that is the persistence of the warlike spirit and the determination of some of our debtors to make huge military expenditures. Surely the world would not benefit if the eleven and a half billion dollars that is owed to us should be forgiven and immediately invested in weapons of warfare.

While, for these and other reasons, I oppose the entire remission of the foreign debts, I think that every possible consideration should be shown to our debtors in the conditions of payment and in the rate of interest. I would even favor going to the extent of stopping all interest for a long period if that were thought wise. But the elimination of war is a process of education and, unless experience is permitted to impress the needed lesson, the abolition of this barbarous method of settling differences of opinion may be delayed for additional centuries.

From R. Fulton Cutting, New York

You are to be congratulated for your admirable editorial upon the cancellation of International War Debts. In the past twenty-five years we have certainly exhibited a national generosity in foreign relations quite unparalleled in history. Cuba, China and the Philippine Islands have attested our unselfishness, but the services we have rendered them called for no such sacrifice as your proposition. Its adoption will hurt—it will measure the sincerity of our altruism.

Emerging from the World War without compensation for our losses, the relinquishment of our allies' financial obligations to us will complete an historical monument that must command the admiration of future generations.

But there is another aspect of the proposition—"the borrower is servant to the lender." Do we want to keep England, France, Italy, Belgium and our other debtors in bondage to us for many years of oppressive penury? At a time when the horizon is rosy with the dawn of a new hope for humanity—the substitution of international agreement and law for international violence, of comity for antagonism—is it expedient to keep these brother nations in financial shackles? Such bonds chafe. The people of these countries, crushed by their own domestic burdens, will never be able to discern our ingenuousness if we insist upon their payment of monies the value of which they believe themselves to have fairly earned.

With every imaginable resource exploited to pay interest and installments upon our debt, how can these countries float additional loans for home development? How can they finance the ever increasing demand for educational, hygienic, and social advantages required for the stability of democratic government? You have well stated the interdependence of our country and the states of the old world, and we must not blind ourselves to the material disadvantages of insisting upon the discharge of these obligations. To cancel them will assure us a moral leadership that the world never needed more than at this moment.



EDITORIAL



America the Trouble-Maker

AMERICANS are natural-born trouble-makers. They made trouble for King George the Third, and forthwith created so glowing a conception of liberty that present-day Englishmen are themselves inspired by the action of 1775.

Americans made trouble for Germany in 1848 by attracting to this country a group of ablest minds impregnated with America's idea of freedom.

Turkey, while doing her worst by Armenia, has never been allowed to forget American indignation.

Spain found out what it meant when she neighbored American liberty with a kind of government utterly repugnant to it.

And finally, it is doubtful whether such strides would have been made toward an Irish settlement except for the irritant of American feeling.

America has traditionally played a double rôle in the eyes of the world: as a lure to the downtrodden and discouraged of other countries; and as sympathizer with what seemed legitimate struggles for liberty. The opportunity is still ours to play these parts. And we shall surrender something of our birthright when we cease thus to function.

But there is such a thing as sense and tact in all these matters. We recall the case of an inspired young man who in 1915 was soliciting signatures to his resolutions looking to an independent Albania. It was surprising to see the long list of prominent names he had procured at a time when no one could be at all sure that the close of the war would reveal a free anything—let alone Albania.

Assisting underdogs is an occupation most agreeable to Americans. It is one that is bound up with our democratic principles, and as such contains an element of nobility. But it is not noble to search for an underdog for the sole purpose of getting a thrill out of him. There has been altogether too much of that sort of thing going on in this country. To any close observer of the parlor Bolsheviks in their heyday it was plain that they were getting much the same excitement which any group of sophomores can get by reforming the world at 2 a. m. This is a normal occupation for sophomores, and it is wholesome. It is undignified in grown men and women, at public meetings and in the press, to hammer away at abstract principles of justice and liberty at a time when the hope of the world depends upon getting something solid accomplished. Shortly after the opening of the Washington Conference one "liberal" weekly, while admitting that the Conference began on a high and "exciting" note, complained that the thrill was not sustained and declared that the only thing to do was to destroy *all* warships. The editor evinced no sense of responsibility for his words; apparently he would have been glad to see the Conference wrecked if it could not realize his ideal of no warships. The same editor and others of his little group, having now lost the original zest for the Irish situation, have

turned to India. The cruel thing is that their irresponsible words are circulated through the native press of India and are made to appear the sentiment of the great majority of Americans.

If one has no sense of responsibility for one's utterances, it is the easiest thing in the world to champion complete liberty for all. It is easy to become intoxicated with one's glowing thoughts about it; and for such persons, especially after the upheaval of the past few years, life soon becomes flat and stale unless every week they can throw themselves at a windmill. We do not wish to minimize the fact that some of these persons are genuinely fired with their ideals. But so was Don Quixote. There is a real place for them as for him, if they would but find it. Theirs is the duty to keep the dominant Powers from growing complacent, to spur them steadily on to better and better deeds. They only hurt their cause by being irreconcilable to anything but an immediate millennium. In point of fact it is they who have become the complacent ones of the earth. They are self-satisfied in the thought that they are living far in advance of the times, and that when the world catches up with them they will receive their reward. O ye simple-minded! It is as if a farmer of twenty-five years ago, foreseeing that something like a tractor was sure to come, had tried to keep his neighbors from plowing with horses.

The extraordinary opportunity which America to-day has to influence other nations ought to bring to their senses the whole pack of meddlers in foreign affairs. If this fails to move them, then public opinion ought to be brought to bear upon them. Whether it be a United States Senator ignorantly expressing sympathy with a cause about which he knows nothing, or a "liberal" editor rashly inflaming a people against its government, persons jealous of the beneficent rôle which America is now in a position to play ought to make their views felt in no uncertain terms. We are not asking for a cessation of public meetings in behalf of the oppressed; we are asking that these be accompanied by a deep sense of America's new responsibilities. In days gone by, European nations looked upon even a resolution of Congress on any of their troubles as a mere bit of harmless posturing; now whatever America says or does is matter for immediate practical concern in the world of action.

The Lusitania—Never Again!

UPON no achievement of the Conference at Washington can Americans think with more unqualified satisfaction than on that by which the five leading naval Powers of the world have pledged themselves to the establishment of the principle whose violation by Germany was the cause of our country's entry into the Great War. That submarines are not to be used as commerce destroyers is but a corollary of the broader principle that merchant ships shall not be attacked except as a consequence of refusal to sub-

mit to visit and search, and shall not be destroyed unless the crew and passengers have been first placed in safety. That principle had been for decades one of the most completely recognized doctrines of international law; and it was Germany's unblushing defiance of it, especially in the awful case of the *Lusitania* outrage, that brought down upon her the passionate condemnation which culminated in our entry into the ranks of her enemies. It is impossible for the submarine to operate with any effect as a commerce destroyer without flagrant violation of the principle, now so solemnly reaffirmed by the unanimous action of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan; nor is there any reason to doubt that this, together with the recommendation of like action by all the other nations of the world, will go far towards removing the submarine from the position it has hitherto occupied in men's minds as one of the greatest terrors to be considered in the event of any possible war.

There would have been still greater cause for rejoicing if the Conference had adopted a resolution forbidding altogether the building of submarine vessels. But after the stand which France had taken—regretably, though for reasons quite intelligible—it was manifestly out of the question to get her at this time to consent to more restriction in the matter of submarines than she has now actually approved. While, however, it was wise not to press the matter further as regards the action of the present Conference, would it not be an excellent thing for the United States and Japan to join Great Britain in a declaration that whenever France and Italy are ready to favor the total abolition of the submarine, those three nations are prepared to unite with them in the same way in which they have united upon the principles of the Root resolutions? The present Conference, we all trust, is to be but the first of its kind; a clear prospect of the total abolition of the submarine would be a most welcome factor in the expectations which the approach of its next successor would arouse.

Do Not Side-Track Siberia

THE "revelations" of the Chita representatives at Washington provided a short-lived sensation. The documents which they gave out to the press, and which purported to show the existence of a deep-laid plot between France and Japan with reference to Siberia, were palpably forgeries and concoctions the basis for which was to be found either in entirely unauthorized *pourparlers* between irresponsible subordinates or legitimate transactions twisted so as to appear something quite different from their plain intent. The prompt and unequivocal denials by the French and Japanese were at once accepted by Mr. Hughes and the incident closed.

The Chita tactics were not unexpected. The Far Eastern Republic started off well a year ago on the basis of a popularly elected Constituent Assembly, and but for the continued Japanese occupation and the pressure of Semenov's bands might have attained a considerable degree of stability as the expression of the will of the intelligent peasant population anxious to end the general lawlessness and to make orderly existence again possible. But through fraud and coercion a small

minority of Communist adventurers obtained control and quickly established close relations with Moscow. Today terror reigns in Chita, though less openly than in the Soviet paradise. It was not strange, therefore, that the Chita delegates at Washington should employ characteristic Bolshevik methods, nor was it strange that the atmosphere of Washington should prove uncongenial to them. On the other hand, while these thinly-veneered Soviet agents—who, by the way, at once formed close connections with the pro-Bolshevik crowd in this country—have now thoroughly discredited themselves, they have, nevertheless, done a real service in directing public attention to Siberia, the crucial problem of the Conference. This is the more important because numerous inspired items in the press gave grounds for apprehension lest this vital question be side-tracked.

Why this is a basic and fundamental issue upon which is conditioned the success or failure of the other settlements attempted by the Conference we have already set forth at length. Briefly, Siberia is an integral part of Russia, inhabited by eleven million white people. It was a vast wilderness won to white civilization not by conquest but by pioneering and settlement. Its outlet upon the Pacific is not only an economic necessity to this large and increasing population, but of prime importance to the rest of the world. It is inconceivable that we can permit advantage to be taken of Russia's present inability to defend herself in order to subject this white population to alien rule, shut off their outlet to the sea, or extort from them economic privileges. To do so would, in the first place, render inevitable a disastrous war, for Russia on her recovery would never give over the struggle until she had freed her Far Eastern territory from foreign domination. On the other hand, a restored Russia, firmly seated on the Pacific in dominions rightfully belonging to her, is the one guarantee that we have for the peace and security of China.

The problem is not over-complicated. Its solution consists in the withdrawal of the Japanese military forces and administration from Russian territory, both in Eastern Siberia and Northern Sakhalin, unconditionally. For this we have a peculiar responsibility. Japan first entered Siberia for a specific purpose on the basis of a definite agreement with ourselves. Like ourselves, she unequivocally agreed not to interfere with Russia's internal affairs and to withdraw when the objects of the expedition had been attained. She has violated this pledge and the Siberians rightly attribute to us a heavy share of the responsibility for Japan's failure to withdraw when we did in accordance with our mutual understanding. Today Japan is treating the Maritime Province and Russian Sakhalin as conquered territory, abrogating Russian laws, seizing Russian property, public and private, subjecting the people to her own courts and administration, and acting in all ways as if she expected the tenure to be permanent.

This high-handed military occupation of Siberia is undoubtedly the work and policy of the military party in Japan. The economic exploitation that accompanies it is the reward of their followers. All this we believe to be contrary to the policy and aspirations of the liberal party and of the Japanese delegates at the Conference. An exposure of the indefensible position maintained and the excesses wrought, details of which are coming to hand nearly every day, should strengthen

the hands of these delegates in their efforts to reach a settlement just to Russia in accordance with the spirit of the Conference and the declaration of moral trusteeship. The Conference must not dodge or push aside the question of Siberia. To do so would result eventually in undoing all its other important accomplishments.

Philanthropic Silliness

THREE Boston women of high standing in social-betterment work undertook to test the correctness of the conclusions of the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission by an experiment performed upon their own persons. In the Commission's determination of twelve dollars a week as the minimum wage for working women, the allowance for food was \$5.50, or 78 cents a day. This conclusion was, of course, based upon careful and extensive research; it may have been right, or it may have been wrong, but it unquestionably rested on facts about working women's lives which had been seriously and honestly looked into by the Commission. These ladies, however, in a spirit that did more credit to their hearts than their heads, undertook to arrive at the truth of the matter by the simple process of finding out what effect an expenditure of 78 cents a day for food would have upon themselves. One of them, it is reported, broke down utterly at the end of two days; the other two fared better, but nevertheless found a whole week of the trial more than they could endure without very serious consequences to their health.

It does not seem to have occurred to any of the three that the sudden change from a mode of life wholly different from that of a working girl—to say nothing of the way in which the 78 cents was spent—may have been sufficient explanation of what they experienced; and above all, the lady who gave out at the end of two days does not, so far as we are informed, appear to have realized the self-evident fact that she had proved too much. Inasmuch as we know very well that thousands of working girls do live on about the sum in question, and as we know equally well that practically none of them break down in two days as a consequence, it must be evident, to any person who stops to think for a moment, that the effect of the diet on them is wholly different from what it was on the well-intentioned lady who suffered so disastrous an injury in that short time. And as soon as one admits that there was a great difference, one is thrown entirely upon conjecture as to the *amount* of the difference—in other words, one is compelled to the conclusion that the test was no test at all.

It may seem heartless to direct attention in such cold-blooded fashion to the plain logic and common-sense of a matter like this. But in reality it is the reverse of heartless. We should be as glad as anybody to have working women—and working men, for that matter—enjoying better food, better housing, better everything, than they actually get. But if a minimum wage law is to do as much good, and as little harm, as possible it must be administered in a spirit of scrupulous regard for facts. The object of a minimum wage law is not to set a standard above which working people shall not rise, but to set a limit below which they shall not be permitted to fall. No matter where

that limit may be placed, the danger must always be considered that it may result in causing a certain number of persons to have no employment at all, instead of having employment at low wages. If the limit is fixed by sentimental considerations, or by reference to standards which have no practical relation to the facts, that danger is very greatly increased. Philanthropic good intentions are no substitute for sound sense, or for genuine and competent inquiry.

Equality Before the Law

THE Supreme Court's recent decision—a five-to-four decision—that the Arizona anti-injunction law violates the guarantees of the Federal Constitution is the latest in a series of decisions tending to establish clearly and firmly the generally accepted American doctrine that all men are entitled to equal access to the law of the land and equal protection by it. The Court's preceding decision that intimidation by picketing is unlawful was essentially another assertion of the same point—equality before the law. So also was its decision in the Duplex case last winter, that a secondary boycott interfering with interstate commerce is illegal, in spite of the one-time supposed sanctions of the Clayton Act. The Clayton Act was supposed to be, and the anti-injunction laws in seven or eight of the States were in fact, in diametrical opposition to the principle of equality before the law. The main ground of dissent from these three decisions of the Supreme Court majority by Justices Holmes and Brandeis has been that the just rights of bodies of organized workers cannot be realized except by giving them the favored position before the law which the Court has steadfastly refused to sanction.

The implications of that dissenting view are far more sweeping than is generally realized. If hitherto recognized property rights of free contract and free labor must be diminished or abolished whenever they interfere with the purposes of organized labor bodies, it should be plain that that course will result in the compulsory unionizing of practically all workers. The policies overruled in the three decisions noted would fully suffice, if given free play, to force the ultimate unionizing of all American workers. Doubtless there are many who will say that such a result is desirable. In England, that result has followed the passage of the Trades Disputes Act some fifteen years ago; and in that respect England has often been cited as a model for this country.

We believe it to be the fact, however, that the preponderance of American opinion, even among workingmen, is against legalizing the means of such compulsory and wholesale unionizing. And both for workers and for those outside the manual crafts, the wide existence of tyranny and corruption in labor organizations—an evil far wider than is exposed to the general public, but already offensively evident—is a powerful argument against putting special privileges into the hands of the labor leaders.

If, then, we reject the idea of wholesale compulsory unionizing *à l'Anglais* through the special legal privileges by which union leaders seek to accomplish it, we are seemingly bound to welcome, on large social grounds, a policy of establishing equal legal rights and obliga-

tions for all men. This is the policy expressed in the three decisions we are discussing. It must be admitted, however, that there is room for serious doubt (a doubt which explains the close division of the court) whether the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment should be construed as forbidding such legislation as that which the Arizona decision of the Supreme Court has declared invalid. That as a matter of substantial fact—apart from the juristic question of the limits of State legislative power—those guarantees were violated in the Arizona case seems, on the other hand, plain enough; for what they assert is, in essence, that no man shall suffer loss of property without having his "day in court," and that the law shall treat all men alike.

The Arizona restaurant keeper's business was destroyed by union picketing, interference with customers, and boycotting supported by threats against those of the public who should continue to patronize the place. This employer's business was progressively ruined from the time the union campaign began; yet the Arizona Supreme Court held that under the State's anti-injunction law he was not entitled to the only effective relief—an injunction forbidding the union practices until the rights of the matter could be tried in court. The nature of this ruling will be clear when it is stated in affirmative terms harmonizing with the Arizona court's decision, as thus: A labor union may lawfully destroy the business prosperity of an employer with whom it has a wage dispute by any means short of criminal violence. It would seem that this is taking property without due process of law. The inequality that is also forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment likewise appears from the terms of the Arizona statute; employers of labor have the same property rights as all others in Arizona *until they are involved in a wage dispute with a fighting labor organization*. But so long as the contest over wages lasts, and only so long, they are stripped of certain property rights possessed by all others in the State, and even by themselves before and after the wage contest.

It should not be overlooked that the anti-injunction laws favored by Mr. Gompers and his associates are quite capable of being turned against the workingman himself. One of the landmarks in this controversy is the decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Court holding unconstitutional the anti-injunction law passed in that State a few years ago. The case arose over the attempt of the hod-carriers belonging to the Federation of Labor, by strikes and threats against employers, to break up the I. W. W. organization of hod-carriers by keeping them out of employment. The I. W. W. appealed to the courts for an injunction against interference. In ruling that the I. W. W. men were entitled to an injunction, and that the law forbidding it was unconstitutional, the Massachusetts court said:

That a man cannot resort to equity respecting his property right to work simply because he is a laboring man, and that he cannot have the benefit of an injunction when such remedies are open freely to owners of other kinds of property, needs scarcely more than statement to demonstrate that such a man is not guarded in his property rights under the law to the same extent as others.

It may be that the eternal fitness of things required that those I. W. W. hod-men should merge with and

submit to the Federation carriers. We have no tenderness for the I. W. W. But it is pertinent to point out that this attempted compulsion by the Federation hod-men, under the supposed protection of the anti-injunction law, is a perfect type and example of the compulsion that would spring up all over the country if the Gompers anti-injunction programme and other class inequalities became the national policy. The policy of equal rights is the safer one for all.

The Golden Rule Working Well

NEWS is not altogether synonymous with unpleasantness. The New Year's Day announcement that the employees of the Nash Clothing Company in Cincinnati, whose president is known as "Golden Rule" Nash, have, at the instance of their employer and fellow stock-holder, adopted for the present year a ten per cent. increase in wages and a forty-hour week instead of a forty-four hour week, is the kind of thing which makes newspaper reading a pleasure instead of the pain it so often is. One swallow does not make a summer; but every instance of success in such relations of friendship and mutual helpfulness as seem to exist in this establishment affords substantial encouragement to those who hope for improvement in industrial relations. It is not compulsory legislation, but the actual working out of well thought out plans, voluntarily adopted by employers and employed, that holds out the best hope of progress.

Debs

IN most of the comments that have been made upon the freeing of Debs after he had served only about one-third of his ten years' sentence, an essential distinction has been lost sight of or insufficiently recognized. Debs was convicted, and sentenced to punishment, not for preaching revolutionary doctrines, but for active hostility to the Government in time of war. By his speeches he did all that lay in his power to prevent the United States from putting forth its strength in the conflict; in other words, to bring about the nation's defeat. It has been the custom of all nations, after the stress of war was over, to exercise clemency in such cases, provided the man's character and sincerity were worthy of respect. It is a fair presumption that a sentence which is entirely just, and which seems entirely reasonable in time of war, will seem more than the requirements of justice demand when the danger is past and feeling has recovered from the high tension of war-time. The termination of Debs's imprisonment when he had served three years of his sentence was a reasonable act, in accord with the usual practice of humane nations in modern times. The fact that he is a radical Socialist was very properly not allowed to prevent the act of clemency. He was not required, and should not have been required, to recant his Socialistic principles. We do, however, regret very much that the President should have seen fit to receive Debs at the White House. His release was an act of mercy, implying no condonation of the offense for which he was convicted; the personal attention shown him by the Chief Magistrate of the Republic could not help conveying the impression of such condonation, a thing to be most seriously deplored.

The Story of the Week

The Conference

The Submarine Again

WE reported last week the failure of the British delegation to persuade the Conference to abolish the submarine; the rejection by the Japanese and Italian delegations of Mr. Hughes's new proposal of submarine tonnage allowances; and, finally, the announcement by the French delegation that the French Government refused to accept a submarine tonnage allowance of less than 90,000 or an allowance of "auxiliary surface combatant craft" less than 330,000 tons. It was generally felt that the French decision had completely defeated that part of the original Hughes plan (see our issue of November 26) which dealt with submarines and "auxiliary surface combatant craft." For, should the French add to their present submarine tonnage of approximately 30,000, 60,000 more tons of improved types of submarine, the other Powers could not forgo the right to build accordingly; whence the prospect of a submarine race in lieu of the abandoned capital ship race. Worse than that, the British (and others in less degree) would be constrained to undertake a huge programme of anti-submarine construction. What, then, of the economies proposed through the scrapping of capital ships and the capital ship construction holiday?

The Conference was thus in its darkest moment, when a light appeared. Mr. Root offered two resolutions. The first merely restates in simple language those existing humane provisions of the laws of war which prescribe the behaviour of combatant craft toward merchant vessels, and which particularly contemplate the safety of non-combatants; it asserts with emphasis the fact that submarines fall under the prescription of those rules. To this resolution all the conferees, of course, agreed.

The second resolution goes much farther. It would altogether ban use of the submarine as a commerce destroyer by any of the Big Five; would make such use by any person in the service of any of the five Powers an act of piracy. It would invite the assent of other Powers, with a view to ultimately making such prohibition and such piratical definition articles of international law. To this startling resolution the British delegation assented at once "in principle"; the other delegations must consult their Governments. Answers from Tokyo and Rome are still awaited; the French Government has assented "in principle."

The resolution is now in process of redrafting by a sub-committee. The French, with typical logicity, demand that the resolution in its final form shall be precise and comprehensive. It must, for example, define "merchant ship." Should a merchant ship (in view especially of its immunity from attack by submarines) be allowed to carry armament; should it not by virtue of such armament enter the category of combatant craft? In the latter case, it would be easy to mask light guns, and the submarine, being forbidden to halt and search merchant vessels, might, through excess of scruple, not merely be estopped from making a proper bag, but might be destroyed. Should combatant craft, then, be allowed to mask their character? May merchant ships run down submarines? Is a submarine to be forbidden to attack a merchant ship employed as a mine-layer? Is the prohibition respecting the submarine to be carried to the point that the submarine may not be used for commercial blockade? Is a merchant ship attempting to

run a blockade to be immune from submarine attack? The French say that these and other like questions must be answered in the redrafted Root resolution or in separate determinations of the Conference (such as rules to govern action of and action toward merchant craft in time of war and their conversion to warcraft) before they will vote the resolution. This attitude is not obstructive, and it is said that Mr. Root does not so regard it.

The prompt and cordial French acceptance of the second Root resolution "in principle" gives the lie to the charge, so loudly asserted by some British and American journals, that the French have deliberately and in the spirit of Potsdam opposed themselves to the humanitarian aims of the Conference. The French may be wrong in their high estimate of the defensive value of the submarine, and they may have been ill-advised in their naval demands, but it is clear that they were sincere in their indignant and passionate assertion that they never entertained the thought of using the submarine in the German way.

If the submarine is not to be abolished, Mr. Root has done the next best thing (for there is little doubt that his second resolution will be so redrafted as to be acceptable), and so shares with Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour the chief honors of the Conference. Many think, not without reason, that the submarine will soon receive the *coup de grâce*. Lloyd George might make one of the conditions of granting the alliance the French so much desire (*i. e.*, promise of British military support against German aggression), French agreement to abolition of the submarine. It is not likely that France would make much difficulty about that.



Morris

"Be not discouraged, Mars! There's plenty of material yet for another conflagration."

[As we go to press, we learn that the Big Five have voted the two Root resolutions, redrafted so as to form three resolutions, but so as to exclude the definition of violation of the law governing the behaviour of submarines toward merchant ships as an act of piracy. Such piratical definition will be presented as a fourth resolution and voted on later. The Italians, to their honor, fought for a definition of "merchant ship"; strangely enough, the French did not stick for such a definition. It seems to us great pity, and to very greatly reduce the value of the resolutions, that it should be left to each nation to determine the answer to the question: "When is a merchant ship not a merchant ship" (*i. e.*, through the extent and character of its armament)? We hope the French and Italians will insist on determination of this important matter before the Conference breaks up. Baron Kato raised the question whether submarines might be used for commercial blockade, but withdrew it "in the

interest of harmony." The British tried to persuade the conferees to add a pledge not to use aircraft bombs against merchant vessels, but failed. It is difficult to see why merchant ships should not have the same immunity from attack by aircraft as from attack by submarines; but such immunity should be granted by a separate resolution.]

The Five-Power Treaty

The Five-Power Naval Treaty is nearing completion. When it is published, the reader will be interested to compare it with the original Hughes plan (see our issue of November 26). The original capital ship programme is substantially realized; it is enlarged to fix allowances for France and Italy. Indulgence of Japan's passionate wish to retain her beloved *Mutsu* mars the naval holiday. In consequence the United States is permitted to complete and retain two post-Jutland ships, scrapping two older vessels; and Britain is allowed to build two projected super-Hoods within the holiday period, scrapping four old ships. France also is allowed to build several capital ships within the holiday period, in response to her just plea that she abandoned an important construction programme during the war for the common good, in consequence of which her ships are now obsolescent. The ultimate tonnage allowances will be: 525,000 tons for Britain; 525,000 tons for the United States; 315,000 for Japan; 175,000 for France; 175,000 for Italy; the ratio being 5—5—3—1.87—1.87. No ship of war shall carry guns of calibre greater than sixteen-inch (an important new provision). Capital ships may not be built by parties to the treaty for other Powers. [We presume the same as to airplane carriers.]

The entire original programme relating to submarines and "auxiliary surface combatant craft" goes by the board. It is not even forbidden to the signatory Powers to construct such vessels for other Powers. The subject of the submarine has been exhaustively treated by us. We may add that if, as seems probable, the submarine is abolished in the near future, an agreement is likely to follow as to limitation of "auxiliary surface combatant craft." A very important new provision limits the size of all warcraft built in future, except capital ships and airplane carriers, to 10,000 tons, and limits the calibre of guns carried by any such craft to eight-inch.

The original programme for airplane carriers has been considerably modified. The allowances in that programme

were too small; proportional allowances for France and Italy would give them only one carrier each, which would be manifestly absurd. The allowances agreed on are: 135,000 tons for Great Britain; 135,000 for the United States; 81,000 for Japan; 60,000 for France; 60,000 for Italy. Existing airplane carriers are not con-



Thomas

Which is safer, weapons or friends?

sidered in the allowances, being regarded as merely experimental. The new provision limiting the size of airplane carriers to 27,000 tons, is easily one of the most important provisions in the treaty.

It remains to see what the treaty shall provide concerning aircraft, revision of the laws of war, and the "new agencies" of warfare; the "leaks" indicate small accom-

plishment by the subcommittees appointed to consider these matters.

China, Etc.

The negotiation on Shantung, which was suspended on December 20, unto such time as the decision of Tokyo upon the last Chinese proposal should be known, was resumed on January 4 at the request of the Japanese delegation, who had at last received instructions from Tokyo. Report has it that those instructions were to stand pat, which they did. The Chinese did likewise; therefore the deadlock continues. Suspicion grows that the Japanese are using the Shantung issue as a pawn in the Manchurian game; that their instructions really permit full compliance with the Chinese demands provided such compliance



The London Daily Express

Alas, poor Yorick! I knew him well.

may be necessary or valuable to Japan in connection with the issue of Manchuria and the Twenty-one Demands.

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern questions met again on the 5th. The question asks itself: Will the Japanese, constrained to assert in committee their attitude respecting Manchuria and the Twenty-one Demands, consent to grant China's Shantung demands on condition that the Committee sanction Japan's Manchurian policy or let the subject alone?

And after Manchuria, Siberia? That is another story, and a very strange and complicated one.

[We have before us, as we go to press, the report of the January 5 meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions. Subcommittee recommendations concerning Chinese customs duties and concerning foreign troops in China were submitted and adopted. The recommendations of Mr. Underwood's committee provide for gradual revision of customs duties such as to almost double the present yield. The *likin*, of course, is to be abolished. The Chinese Government is advised to take steps to reduce the military forces of the Tuchuns, which are a terrible drain on the public revenue. Nothing is said about tariff autonomy; an omission which Mr. Koo in a very fine speech protests. Mr. Underwood's reply to that protest admirably sums up the general Conference position on Chinese questions:

I do not think there was any doubt in the minds of the men on the subcommittee as to the question that if China at present had the unlimited control of levying taxes at the Customs House, in view of the unsettled conditions now existing in China, it would probably work, in the end, to China's detriment and to the injury of the world. I am sure there was no desire on the part of the other powers to be selfish, or not to recognize the full sovereignty of China, and I only arose to say this, that if I am a judge of the situation, a judge of the temper of conditions in the balance of the world, I feel sure that when China herself establishes a parliamentary government of all the provinces of China and dispenses with the military control that now exists in many of the provinces of China, so that the outside powers may feel that they are dealing with a government that has entire and absolute and free control of the situation, China can expect to realize the great ideals of sovereignty that she asks for at this table.

The report concerning foreign troops in China recom-



International

Ski-racing at Lake Placid

mends that that issue be referred to a committee to consist of three representatives of the Chinese Government and the diplomatic representatives of the other eight powers represented in the Conference; said committee to investigate the facts and report their opinions thereon to the several Governments, which Governments are at liberty individually to accept or reject "all or any of the findings of fact or opinions." The "reaction" of Mr. Koo to this report (which, like the report on customs duties, was unanimously approved by the delegates of the eight powers, China not voting) was not enthusiastic; we do not blame Mr. Koo.

The Irish Situation

ON January 3 the Dail Eireann resumed discussion of the London agreement, which discussion has been of an extreme bitterness. Mr. de Valera has declared his intention of offering as an amendment to the motion for ratification of the London agreement an alternative agreement which omits the oath of allegiance, and of which the more important paragraphs are the following:

Status of Ireland—That the legislative, executive and judicial authority of Ireland shall be derived solely from the people of Ireland.

Terms of Association—That for the purpose of common concern Ireland shall be associated with the states of the British Commonwealth, namely, the Kingdom of Great Britain, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa.

That when acting as an associate, the rights, status and privileges of Ireland shall in no respect be less than those enjoyed by any other component States of the British Commonwealth; that the matters of common concern shall include defense, peace, war, political treaties and all matters now treated as of common concern among the States of the British Commonwealth, and that in these matters there shall be between Ireland and the States of the British Commonwealth such concerted action founded on consultation as the several governments may determine.

That in virtue of this association of Ireland with the States of the British Commonwealth, the citizens of Ireland in any of these States shall not be subject to any disabilities which a citizen of one of the component States of the British Commonwealth would not be subject to, and reciprocally for the citizens of these States in Ireland.

That for the purposes of the association, Ireland shall recognize his Britannic Majesty as head of the association.

That so far as her resources permit, Ireland shall provide for her own defense by sea, land and air, shall repel by force any attempt by a foreign power to violate the integrity of her soil or territorial waters, or to use them for any purpose hostile to Great Britain and the other associated States.

The reader may judge for himself whether this "alternative agreement" proposes advantages sufficiently greater than those proposed by the London agreement, to justify the rejection of the latter, with the probable consequence of renewed war and utter ruin of Ireland. (The London agreement is printed in our issue of December 17). It is a nice parliamentary point, apparently not yet decided, whether the amendment is in order. Should Mr. de Valera be allowed to submit it and should it be voted by the Dail, the hurly-burly will be on again.

The Supreme Council Meets

AS we write (on the 5th), the Supreme Council is meeting at Cannes. The New York Times gives the following as "the gist" of a statement made by M. Briand when leaving Paris for Cannes:

The key to the whole European situation is France's safety. Let there first of all be a compact or alliance between Great Britain and France—a compact which we offered and asked for, but have not obtained.

Such a compact would be the platform on which the reconstruction of Europe could best be based. It would also be the best proof that our naval building program is not, and never can be, directed against our English friends.

To such a compact other alliances, embracing our other allies, might be attached, perhaps in the form of the Pacific compact. But a Franco-British compact must be the kernel, the basis of them all.

In return for such an alliance, how far will Briand go with Lloyd George in his plan for the reconstruction of Europe? Not less important: How far will the Nationalist group in the French Chamber allow Briand to go? What is that plan?

Cannes, the Dail debate, the Washington Conference;—the news of the coming week will be varied and interesting. The Supreme Council must give some consideration to the Turkish Question. That is in itself a very great question, but it is dwarfed by the other stupendous issues which loom at Cannes.

Cabbages and Kings

By Henry W. Bunn

Chinese Achievement

WHAT is to become of China? What is to be the future of that race, the most numerous in the world, one of the most capable, physically and mentally? Will China proceed (I will not say "progress") to a democracy in the American sense; or will she relapse to an empire based on the parental principle; or will some mean be found which, while providing efficient administration and a strong central authority, while adopting whatever is truly admirable in western systems, will yet be found conformable to the Chinese psychology? Or are we to expect a complete break with the past; a period of disintegration, of chaos, to end one knows not how? Stir 'em up, and then 'ware the Chinese; for, as I observed, they are one of the great races, hardly surpassed in mental and physical capacity.

Some few enlightened persons excepted, the Western attitude towards China and the Chinese is one of superiority or condescension, or one of rather amused contempt. Either attitude is absurd, and due to ignorance.

To be sure, there have been great western Sinologues, such as Wells Williams, Legge, Giles, de Maillac, Chavannes, and St. Denys. But there is no adequate history of China in the English language. The in many ways incomparable achievements of the Chinese in poetry, painting, pottery, philosophy, etc., have not been brought home to the general Western mind. The ordinary Westerner of average culture has a fairly just notion of the "glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome," of the importance of Byzantine mosaics, of Gothic architecture, of Dutch paintings; of the achievements of Chinese genius he knows little or nothing.

Alas! the Hellenic and Roman races are clean submerged, obliterated quite; but the Chinese race subsists, practically unchanged, capable, under happy conditions, of artistic achievements equal to those of the past. And those artistic achievements of the past, in the view of competent judges, rank with those of any other race.

Yet gradually (though known to few) there is developing a competent body of Western criticism of things Chinese: which criticism finds in the Sung landscape painters a spiritual interpretation of Nature more profound than Wordsworth's; which discovers in the author of that historical romance, the "San Kuo Chih," a romantic genius not so inferior to Sir Walter Scott's; in the creator of the "Hung Lou Meng" a gift for plot, for varied incident, for depiction of character, nearly suggesting Fielding; in P'u Sungling a congener of De Maupassant; which is fain to admit that even Emerson might have got from Chuang Tzu both delight and instruction; that the horses of Han Kan and Chao Mêng-fu are quite as notable achievements as Raeburn's dogs; that one could not be criticised for finding the "Annals of Lu" (originally compiled by Confucius, and enlarged and artistically transformed by Tso K'iu-ming) more enjoyable than Froissart; which derives from Sun Wu's "Art of War" (sixth century B. C.), with its delightful illustrations, more entertainment and, indeed, edification, than from any modern military treatise; and to which is revealed the fact that in the most delicate and difficult of all provinces of art, the Art of Symbolism, the Chinese have achieved unique success. Western Symbolism almost invariably has an obfuscating and refrigerating effect. But gaze upon a tiger by Chao Tan Lin, a bamboo by Wu Chên, or a plum tree by Lu Fu. The symbol and the thing symbolized become one, never afterward to be dissociated in the mind's eye. The plum petal is virginal purity.

It would indeed be a much wiser, a much more cultivated

world to which Ssu-ma Ch'ien should be as familiar a name as Macaulay; Ma Lin as Corot; Chuang Tzu as Plato; Po Chü-i as Horace; Wu Taotzü as Raphael. A world which should recognize (what is in fact the truth) that in philosophy, in history, in the novel, in the short story, in poetry, in painting, in manners, in the cuisine, in the supreme of arts, the Art of Living, the best Chinese achievement generally equals, often surpasses, the best Western achievement; such a world would be immensely wiser and more liberal than our present one.

"Margot"

Mrs. Asquith ("Margot") is due in New York this month for a lecture tour of the States. A curious instance of American enterprise is the formation (against her coming) of an American company to insure reputations. On inquiry at the office of the company, I learned that everyone entered in the American "Who's Who" had applied for insurance, but that at least 50 per cent. were being rejected as too hazardous risks.

The Oedenburg Plébiscite

The so-called *plébiscite* in the city of Oedenburg and a small surrounding area went overwhelmingly in favor of union with Hungary. *Plébiscite* in this case meant a vote of the people to the same degree that "prohibition" in Chicago means an end to bibation. According to my information, the Hungarian bandits in control at Oedenburg evicted all the resolute Austro-Germans from the *plébiscite* area and terrorized those who remained. The Allies never acted more meanly or timidly than in the Burgenland business.

Portuguese Cabinets

"The Portuguese Cabinet is out."—Well, what of it? Portuguese cabinets are always just going out or just coming in, their tenure of office being "momentary as a sound, brief as the lightning in the collied night." Yet the peasantry, *i. e.*, the bulk of the people, are perhaps the happiest in the world.

Modest and Veracious

Mayor Hylan issued the following New Year's Greeting:

City of New York.
Office of the Mayor.

NEW YEAR'S GREETING.

To the people of the City of New York:

"I like to see a man proud of the place in which he lives." Those are the words of Abraham Lincoln. They have a particular pertinency for all New Yorkers.

There is much to be proud of in the City of New York. It is a clean city—morally, as well as physically. It is admittedly the best governed, the healthiest, the most progressive, the most intellectual and the richest city in the world.

The above deserves praise for its modesty and meticulous veracity.

An Important Event

One of the most important of recent events is the publication of "Fir-Flower Tablets," a volume of translations from the Chinese; *i. e.*, poems literally translated into English prose by Florence Ayscough and transmuted therefrom into English poetry by Amy Lowell.

If you don't believe it, read the following:

AUTUMN RIVER SONG

ON THE BROAD REACH

By Li T'ai-po

In the clear green water—the shimmering moon.

In the moonlight—white herons flying.

A young man hears a girl plucking water-chestnuts;

They paddle home together through the night, singing.

Hon. Lemuel Hooper, J. P., on Matrimony

By Ellis Parker Butler

OUR eminent jurist, Justice of the Peace Hooper, had been reading one of the recent realistic novels, but he put down the book and swung his swivel chair to give ear to Court-officer Durfey.

"If it please your honor," said Durfey, grinning as he indicated the young man and woman standing just inside the court-room door, "them kids would like to be joined together by the holy bonds of matrimony."

"By the what?" asked Judge Hooper.

"By the holy bonds of matrimony," repeated Durfey.

"Durfey," said Judge Hooper severely, "you disgrace this court by coming to me with such a request. You are a hopeless back-number, Durfey. I have been reading this book and others of the same breed and I am educated. The petition is rejected until it is amended by the elimination of 'holy' and 'bonds.' And while you are about it, Durfey, you might as well eliminate the 'matrimony.' According to the best realists there is no such thing. What these young folks want is a license to commit divorce."

"Well, I dunno," said Durfey. "They said they wanted to be married."

"Married!" exclaimed Judge Hooper. "And have they properly prepared for the muss? Have they read the guide-books? Have they perused the volumes produced by the bright young minds of the day—some of them almost through cutting their eye teeth—on the lives and crimes of two hearts that beat as one? Do they know how modern married life is conducted in the best realistic novels?"

"They do not, Durfey! I can see by the look of them that they are no worse than they should be. Their married life would be a mid-Victorian disgrace. The poor untutored things are liable to live together in helpful amity and decency for the rest of their lives. They don't know what's what in the best realistic circles."

"And you are no better than they are, Durfey. You don't conduct yourself with the opprobrium and shamelessness due from a husband having easy access to the fiction shelves of the Riverbank Public Library. Not once have you asked me for time off to elope with your neighbor's wife. How can you expect to brighten your home with the proper grade of bigamy and adultery if you don't read the instruction books our younger set of literati are sitting up nights to write for you? I'll bet the moral atmosphere of your home wouldn't so much as poison a canary, let alone qualify the goldfish to be interesting witnesses in a divorce court. You're a dead one, Durfey!"

"The trouble with you, Durfey, is that you are bone-headed and can't take in the truth when it is spilled on you. You go here and you go there and you see ninety-nine one-hundredths of your friends and neighbors living in married love and content and, in your poor untutored

way, you think it is real. Because they have children and love them, and homes and are happy in them, you think that is real and exists. You're wrong! Because you can see for yourself that nearly everyone is still decent you think nearly everyone is still decent. You're wrong, Durfey! There's nothing real but what is set down in the realists' novel books. The novel writers say so and they ought to know; they wrote the books. And they get the royalties on them, Durfey."

"It is time you learned, Durfey, that all marriage is of two sorts, the real and the unreal. There's the real kind, that is told about in the books I'd be ashamed to read aloud to my wife, and there's the kind everybody outside of those books is living day by day in the strange misapprehension that it exists. It does not; those bonny boys, the realists, could tell you so. It never did. It is nothing but cheap romantic fiction nonsense of the old and forgotten school. You can't be real unless you are drunk, disorderly, or indecent."

"I bet you don't know whether Freud is a cloak-and-suit maker or one of the men let out of jail when Debs was. I bet you don't know that if you eat the three pieces of mince pie you find in the ice-box before going to bed and dream of an elephant sitting on your stomach the only hope for you is to cart your repressed emotion next door and get rid of it by eloping with the lady of the house or anyone else that uses a lip-stick."

"I honor these young realists, Durfey. They are sworn to tell the truth and they'll do it, whether it is the truth or not, so long as it smells strong enough to penetrate their nostrils, but most of them can't smell anything weaker than a dead

cabbage. Not one of them but will fearlessly call a spade a manure fork. Not one but is ready, at whatever cost to the publisher, to describe life as he sees it from the bottom of his own garbage can. Shoulder to shoulder they march dauntlessly across any intervening flower-beds to unlimber their typewriters on top of the garbage dump."

"Their imperishable works, Durfey, will last forever. I would mention the names of a few of them but unfortunately they have slipped my memory. They have established a school of literature that will never decay, or not until five o'clock tomorrow—or was it eight o'clock yesterday? They carry the glad tidings that 'tis only interesting to be vile and that if the husband is not a bad egg the wife is sure to be, if not both. If you're not, your wife is."

Durfey flushed.

"That's not so, your honor," he said.

"What! What!" exclaimed Judge Hooper. "You don't believe me?"

"No, sir; I know better," said Durfey.

"Well, maybe that's why we don't take much stock in these realists, Durfey; maybe we know better," said the judge."



ON MATRIMONY

You can't be real unless you are drunk, disorderly or indecent

New Books and Old

ON the afternoon of New Year's Day—it was bitter cold and indoors was much pleasanter than out—a man stood looking at his bookcase. He was what the short-story writers might have called the Very Tired Man. But he was not really tired; it would be more correct to give him an Indian name, and call him Man-Tired-of-Modern-Novels. He was tired of novels of the Kitchen Sink School, and of novels of the Mud Puddle School; he was tired of reading about rotters acclaimed as "intellectuals," and of slackers whose little speeches and actions were advertised as "the cry of American youth"; he was tired of long and careful descriptions of somebody's repulsive table manners and somebody else's minor uncleannesses which should be proclaimed "fearless realism" and "brave facing of the facts of life." Having a regard for genuine realism, for liberalism and progress, he was somewhat weary of the writers and critics who are trying to steer American letters into a narrow rut, to prescribe for the writers of novels a set of rules which were tried and discarded fifty years ago. To him it was an absurd spectacle to observe American writers, frantically insisting upon their own youth and rebelliousness, but arraying themselves now in the dingy velveteens of Oscar Wilde, now in the wornout duds of Emile Zola, and now in the sackcloth of second-rate Russian pessimism.

Looking at a shelf of novels, with a realization that any one of them which purported to be about America would only turn out a second-hand picture of Lithuania, he happened upon a book which a week or two before he had set aside. He had, for some reason or other, an impression that it might turn out to be interesting. It was without preface or dedication or announcement of other writings by the author. The title page said: "Enter Jerry," by Edwin Meade Robinson. New York: The Macmillan Company. And that was all. Afterwards, he wished that the publishers had let it go out entirely on its own merits, without even the conventional blurb on the jacket. For three or four hours later, when he had put "Enter Jerry" back on the shelves, he went out to the pantry and poured himself out a glass of—I mean, he made a cup of tea, came back and sat down in an easy chair. He lighted a cigarette, raised his glass—I mean his teacup—toward the book, and said: "Mr. Robinson, I drink your health: yours and your book! I hope it will give a great many other people the pleasure it has given me. I was getting despondent; I thought no more novels would be written except in the futuristic school of prose, and in the cubist school of patriotism. It was Mr. Roosevelt who originated that phrase—how all the characters in these books, the Erik

Dorns and the Three Soldiers would sneer at him! He talked a good deal about duty; while they were forever whining about their rights, so they would naturally be contemptuous of him. But they are contemptuous of everything, for that matter—that is what marks them as the 'intelligenza.' Jerry's political consciousness seems to have begun with the nomination of Benjamin Harrison; the reference to that campaign was one of the many things in your book which made me chuckle. It seems long ago! Nowadays, I can only think of that respected President as a pouter-pigeon of a little man, with a grey beard. But I knew some boys who—a thousand miles from Hawbush, Indiana, where Jerry lived—became excited, too, and marched about at night with torches, and spilt kerosene on each other's clothes, and were pelted with mud by a lot of little Irish boys (who favored Grover Cleveland) and all for the purpose of getting your Indiana statesman into the White House. And in he went, too.

"Mr. Robinson, the dexterity of your verse in that volume of last year, 'Pipings and Pannings,' is now explained. (Indeed, if skill with meters were the whole trick, you could rival Edwin Arlington Robinson, whose mail must get mixed with yours!) For when I read of Jerry's classical training, I guessed how you learned to write verse. Your book is that kind of an autobiographical story which sets the reader speculating on the question where the fact ends and the fancy begins. And how many of the characters did you know? At any rate, please accept my compliments on Candace, the little girl at the World's Fair, upon Dr. Wareham, and upon Max Cuthbert. These people walk upon their own legs.

"'Enter Jerry,' being a story about a boy, from the age of three or four to the day he enters college, at seventeen or eighteen, will probably be compared with all the other tales about boys—with Mark Twain's books, and with the 'Penrod' stories. It should be compared with none of them; it is not comparable with them; it will not, in all probability, last as long as they have done. But it has originality; it stands on its own merits, and is none the less a good book because it does not do what its author would never expect it to do—that is, equal the masterpieces of its class. Its nearer parallel, perhaps, would not be the great boy-stories of character, but the one American book about a boy which reproduces with memorable fascination the atmosphere of a place and a period: 'The Story of a Bad Boy.' But 'Enter Jerry' has a modern note, a rather sophisticated note, it is a product of 1921, and is solely for adults. No boy will read it, nor is it intended for boys.

"One fine thing about your book, Sir, is that its scene is the world in

which we live. Not the grey and grubby world of the ash-heap, which the brummagem realists are trying to sell us as the genuine article. The firm of Ickleheimer, Schweinkopf, and Gloomsky—who control the destinies of American letters, so we are told—insist that there is no magic in this world, no beauty, no fun, and no human being who is not despicable, excepting Kommissar Lenin (if that's what he is) and War Minister Trotsky. Their Winesburgs and other towns are not in the United States. Partly, they are drawn from an imaginary Russia, and partly they are composed of professional bitterness. If that really were the world, it wouldn't be worth writing about. Jerry Tracy lived in the real world—usually commonplace enough, sometimes sordid, sometimes cruel, sometimes even bestial (see Dr. Wareham's less happy moments), but touched now and then, as all of us *know* that it is, with the light that never was on sea or land. Out of this sunset glow, in your first chapter, Sir, walks old Mr. Osborne, come back a day or two after his funeral to fish up the lost ten-cent piece out of the snow. A curious little unexplained incident, perfect in its relation.

"There is magic, too, in Candace, the strange little kid who turns up for an hour on the Midway, but haunts the whole book. She so clearly lives—still in 'Cleveland-Ahiah'? Max Cuthbert is unexplainable, his final place in life is so logically illogical that I can believe in him a thousand times easier than in some of the dreary scare-crows that the 'realists' tell us are human beings. Your Osborne Academy is a tougher morsel to chew—the boys I knew, a thousand miles nearer to England, would have never believed that anything like that existed outside 'Tom Brown.' But the school-boy adventures, not especially novel, are somehow, in your telling, fresh and amusing. And it is a long time since I have read anything better than the amusing contest with the High Church rector, and Jerry's father's acid comments upon ritualism.

"You have admirably managed the love affairs with the little girls. Tom Sawyer's passion for Becky was always incomprehensible to me. Boys, at that age, simply detested girls—at least, they did when Cleveland and Harrison were consuls. But you have waited until Jerry Tracy was older, and then let him plunge into these comedies, which were tragedies when they were enacted. The distress about neckties—you have wisely not tried conclusions with your fellow Hoosier, whose epic of the first 'dress suit,' in 'Seventeen,' is inimitable. But the sleigh-ride, with Hank and the two girls, the oyster supper, the thawing snow, and the dismal return—let me fill my glass, Sir, and drink to you again."

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

Book Reviews

The Jeune Fille and Her Successor

YOU. By Madeleine Marx. Translated by Adele Szold Seltzer. New York: Thomas Seltzer.

A VIRGIN HEART. By Rémy de Gourmont. Authorized translation by Aldous Huxley. New York: Nicholas L. Brown.

MOST recent translations of French novels have come to us garlanded with the laurels of the French Academy or the Prix Goncourt, or otherwise more or less officially certified. "You" does not so come; but its predecessor, "Woman," was unofficially crowned by a remarkable company, or series, of readers, including Barbusse, Rolland, Brandes, Bertrand Russell, and Zangwill. All of these judges, being men, seem to have agreed that the book had said almost the first and virtually the last true word about woman. "You," however, may be taken as a not insignificant corollary or codicil. The publisher says that the book is an international event, and that it is "appearing simultaneously in practically all European languages." It is a striking book of the documentary sort. In one aspect it presents a kind of thing with which we are familiar enough, the feminine confession, the temperamental disrobing of woman by herself. But where it strikes the new note, where it truly represents the "new woman" is in its blending and fusion of emotional egotism and mystical devotion to a cause. A novelty as "new" as Rousseau: like most other novelties, a reversion. However, the fashion is always new, and the present fashion demands more than "temperament." The later indiscretions of a Mary McLane have fallen flat, and even a Bashkirtseff, thirty years after, would make little stir. Let our confidential sister be an egotist, let her be amorous as Camille or as Lesbia; but let her be something more. Let her discern, beyond the heaven and the hell of passion, beyond the paradise of self, a higher heaven of mystical self-identification with the universal soul and body of humanity: meaning always by humanity a numerical majority of the individually undeveloped or insignificant.

Of such is the young Anne Breven of "You." A Frenchwoman of twenty-six, she has passed unawakened through "the stifled years of a Christian childhood," the oppressed years of the war, and a not unsuccessful apprenticeship in Parisian journalism. She lives with an uncle, a novelist; it is a chance word of his which rouses her to the quest of her own self. The first step of the quest is to become the mistress of a fellow journalist. The affair flames and passes. A second man aspires to her in vain. She flings herself at the head of a third, and he declines with thanks. This reverse cures her of love, or rather convinces

her of its incidental nature, and she dedicates herself to the cause in whose service she has already made sacrifice. Or, let us say, she devotes herself at the altar of that deity whom she has now satisfactorily compounded of self, and love, and nature, and humanity.

Tomorrow, always, immediately, she would never be anything but a little Anne Breven, neither better nor worse than others; some day she would die, be dead like the dead. But what of it? What of it when in your flesh, in the sun of your breast, you have what is called love, when you see it here, everywhere, up to the skies, borne by the chalice of the earth, by the leafage of the forest, the morsels of villages, the winging of the day, the ashy names of the dead, and the sparkling air like a vise clutching at your shoulders.

What of it when one can say for a second, touching the place where it beats: not me, not the wall of the tabernacle, not any person, not those I love or those I am going to love, but you, regulated pulse of the universe, mysterious mandate, you who placed your limpid aureoles on the eyes of my lover, you who resembled me, who give your blood to a simple idea to make an infinite ark of the covenant of it, you who dwell in me at this moment, who make me waver, who lift my head, who run in my arms like burning lava, you of whom one never knows anything, you whom one merely feels, you who are here, who will continue forever after me.—God—God: You!

In this vein of emotional mysticism, and in this strain of rhapsodic eloquence, an Anatole France or a Rémy de Gourmont would greet, with ironical smiles, a new extravagant flowering of romanticism. A Latin feminine romanticism against which their Latin male classicism shows in strongest contrast. "You" may be called an after-product of a civilization based on mediaeval inhibitions. The woman in it is terribly excited over the process of escaping from the prison of conventions (not social but mental) and finding her actual self. She tears the passion of her self-consciousness, which is largely sex-consciousness, to tatters. Having once assented to love, that egregious enterprise, she casts off all reticences, is importunate, flings herself at her lover. There is as much fever as health in her devotion to him, as in her other devotion to humanity. Whatever she may attain, it will take the form of ecstasy, not of quietude. Nothing could be more remote from the pagan acceptance, the unstraining hedonism to which France and de Gourmont among all moderns have most nearly attained. It has remained an object of attainment. Even they have not possessed it utterly. There is unrest, the modern consciousness, in the irony of "The Amethyst Ring," and in the anatomy of "A Virgin Heart."

De Gourmont was among early remonstrants against the French theory of the "jeune fille," and especially against the fact of her influence upon French letters. "A Virgin Heart" represents a deliberate attempt to show that there is no such person as the "jeune fille" of French tradition, the "Virginie" of the sentimentalists. In

his original preface De Gourmont said that he had considered two subtitles: "A Novel Without Hypocrisy," and "A Physiological Novel"; but feared to attack anything so fashionable as hypocrisy or so earthy as physiological fact. But he owned that he has "attempted, by an analysis that knows no scruples, to reveal in these pages what may be called the seamy side of a 'virgin heart,' to show that innocence has its instincts, its needs, its physiological dues." The note is that of a modern iconoclast rather than of an observer on Helicon. This was written years ago, and is by now, in English, a little belated. The young Britons and the younger American novelists (bottle-fed on De Gourmont) have long since thoroughly polished off and disposed of the myth of innocent girlhood; so that if the publisher of this translation looks for any considerable success of scandal, he may find himself disappointed. The book made more sensation in the Paris of its day than it will in the New York of this day. It is a marvelous piece of by no means dispassionate analysis. With all its wit and its frankness, it ill represents the artist of "Sixtine" and "Une Nuit au Luxembourg."

H. W. BOYNTON

Sir Philip vs. Pollyanna

MORE THAT MUST BE TOLD. By Sir Philip Gibbs. New York: Harper and Brothers.

IN a recent issue of his journal, *The Nation*, of London, Mr. H. W. Massingham, writing as an Englishman in England, tells us that Liberalism over there is weak, that Labor is inexperienced, that French Socialism has foundered over the Third International, that the war has completely demobilized the churches, and that the "one force of rescue" is to be found among "the writers and the thinkers" who are "at least awake." His one hope is "the deeply exercised conscience of the intellectuals." It is, of course, only too true that the spiritual impulses in Britain which led men and women to become missionaries, to distribute Bibles, to start settlements among the poor, to follow Newman to Rome, Moody to Geneva, and Ruskin to Venice—impulses emanating from all forms of religion—have driven numbers of the disillusioned away from dogma into a wilderness of enthusiastic pessimism in which the mood is to write and speak and talk only about—quoting Chesterton of ten years ago—"what's wrong with the world." Of these teachers, the happiest are perhaps those who, like Chesterton himself and Bernard Shaw, never believed, even before the war, that the world was wholly right; the saddest are they who put their trust in Liberalism, or Labor, or a war to end war, or some other thing, external to their own souls, and now find that their shibboleths are shattered.

Among the pessimists, perhaps the most popular and successful is Sir Philip Gibbs. He has bravely faced death. He has done his job as war correspondent, honestly, efficiently, and

with a deep sympathy for the suffering he described. A sensitive man, personally modest, he was a chivalrous knight of the Round Table in Fleet Street before he received any knighthood from King George, and on the platform in the United States, as in the press, he has brought home to the American people many of the realities of the Old World. No one could have done more to correct a shallow optimism, merely due to distance from the trouble. Like H. G. Wells, and Keynes, and Alfred Gardiner, Sir Philip Gibbs has assuredly educated Pollyanna. He leaves nobody, on either side of the Atlantic, with any undue excuse for feeling falsely cheerful. Pollyanna must in future get on without temperamental anæsthetics and must admit that she is hurt. In a sentence, she must be told.

In his latest book, Sir Philip Gibbs has given us an interesting, if occasionally a provocative, bulletin on the maladies of Europe, in which, perhaps, some pages might have been entitled "much that has been told." The book belongs to a certain actual, if unintentional, propaganda, calculated to influence the public opinion and policy of the United States, and it must be dealt with, therefore, not as literature only or even as higher journalism, but as an event, among other events. When Mr. Keynes issued his famous disclosures, the fate of the Treaty of Versailles at Washington hung in the balance. What Mr. Keynes wrote helped to seal that fate. He may have been right—he may have been wrong—but assuredly he made more difficult the relations, as then conceived, between the new world and the old. The United States did not join the League of Nations.

Similarly, we had Sir George Paish preaching Europe's bankruptcy; and Bernard Shaw announcing war between England and America; and H. G. Wells explaining the end of all things; and A. G. Gardiner on Lloyd George. Of Sir Philip Gibbs, it may be said that he summarizes, often acutely and sometimes with undue emphasis, the depressions of himself and his friends. Again, I say, such writing, even where justified by the facts, will not help the bankers and diplomats of Europe to arrange their debt to the United States—still less to obtain new credits. The thing for Europe to do now is resolutely to wash her dirty linen at home and then approach the United States with dignity, candor, and a clear case. No one in the Americas, whether north or south, can respect a querulous continent, three thousand miles away. After the Civil War, the United States was hit as hard as much of Europe is today. But she worked out her own salvation. Europe has limitless resources, and a potential wealth fully as great as that of this country. What she has to do is to establish within her borders a fiscal union and let trade start again. In an incredibly short period of time, if she were wise, she would cease to talk like a pauper.

There is in this book a note of exaggeration, doubtless symptomatic of the



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mood of tragedy. On page 228, Sir Philip says:

The interest on our national debt is each year three hundred and forty-five millions of pounds, nearly three times as much as the pre-war annual budget.

It is an overstatement. In 1914, before the war, the British budgeted for an expenditure of £214,000,000. If today the interest on debt is £345,000,000, it is not "nearly three times as much," but only one and a half times as much. Sir Philip is wrong by exactly 100 per cent. On the same page we read that "the adventure" in Mesopotamia "served no other purpose than to 'boost' up the oil sharks." Assuming that sharks is not a misprint for shares, one must ask why people should be called sharks because they seek to obtain gasoline for use in automobiles, possibly of service, at times, to Sir Philip himself. The fact about Mesopotamia is that one of the most fertile of ancient lands lies desert, largely because centuries of tumult have destroyed its irrigation, which Britain, rightly or wrongly, proposed to restore. The Arabs preferred their nomadic simplicity and the British cleared out, leaving Mesopotamia still the wilderness that it was. It may be happier as a wilderness, but, even if one thinks that, one need not see sharks in the River Euphrates. With oil one rather associates the whale.

In this book there is much salutary truth, but there is also some slander. Sir Philip describes the British Government, at whose recommendation, after all, he accepted an honor and a title, as "the liars, the sharpers, and low-bred adventurers who surround the Prime Minister, like Poins, Bardolph, Nym, and Pistol, and the wild cronies of Harry's youth." These "ministers of the Coalition and their rabble of sycophants" were guilty of "intrigues, bargainings, sinister adventures, and callous indifference to the ideals which had been the watchwords of the war." Well, the United States has some of the rabble as guests—Mr. Balfour, for instance, and Sir Auckland Geddes, and Lord Lee. The accuracy of the description can be tested by a visit to Washington. The fact is that there is no futility, more proven by experience, than abuse.

Sir Philip Gibbs has today the ear of a wide public. When he concludes his book with an eloquent appeal for moral and material reconstruction in Europe—"the reshaping of social relations between classes and nations; the pursuit of spiritual truth and beauty; the killing of cruel and evil powers; the conquest of disease; the resurrection of art and poetry and lovely handicrafts; the calling back of song and laughter to human life"—he exclaims, "God! If I had youth again, I should like that good adventure, and take the chance." A man is no older than he feels. Gibbs is not yet a septuagenarian. He criticises the "cynical old people" who are now running this human show of ours. Well, let him do it better. He has described many a fray—in war and in peace. Let him join the fray and assume responsi-

bility. He says that the new adventure will take a thousand years. So much the more reason for dropping adjectives and getting down to business. If we intellectuals are to be the "one force of rescue," we must take hold and put it over.

P. W. WILSON

Drama Made in England

THE DOVER ROAD. By A. A. Milne. Bijou Theatre.

THE GREAT BROXOPP. By A. A. Milne. Punch and Judy Theatre.

CAPTAIN APPLEJACK. By Walter Hackett. Cort Theatre.

AS a general rule, the professional humorist is more to be pitied than blamed. These poor creatures who are in the business of being conspicuously clever, diurnally diabolical, or industriously whimsical, who try to make two epigrams grow where none grew before, fail dismally, as a class, not because they are so totally devoid of a sense of humor—no one expects that of the professional humorist—but rather because they have never awakened to the realization that the primary requisite of the comic writer is to tell the truth. For it is the truth that wears the mask of fantasy and irony. Laughter is a mere incident, an after-effect. Obvious efforts to be funny seldom succeed in arousing the smile of intelligence. In the case of the professional humorist, the mountain labors, but too often the mouse fails to appear. And the dullest evenings in the theatre are usually those provided by the plays of professional humorists.

I do not know whether Mr. Milne can be classified as a professional humorist or not, though it is a fact that he emerged from *Punch* to the more important business of writing comedies for the British and American public. The latest of these to reach Broadway, "The Dover Road," leads us to the conclusion that he is not. For in it he avoids all the banalities, all of the conventions of the hack humorist. "The Dover Road" marks a decided advance in the ability of this dramatist. His first comedy to be presented here, "Belinda," was obviously an exercise in the Oscar Wilde "Importance of Being Earnest" vein. "Mr. Pim Passes By," it struck me, was too desperately, too determinedly delightful, in the British sense, though it was just as popular in Thirty-fifth Street as in Northumberland Avenue. Mr. Milne cut these comedies as thin as an English sandwich; and they were about as nourishing. "The Dover Road" marks an advance, it seems to me, because of its solid and firmly built foundation. The implications, the background, the bypaths in which one may wander, make one indulgent, even when Mr. Milne seems almost to have exhausted his resources. One of the first and greatest merits of this play



A scene on Broadway, New York, in 1890, showing the density of overhead wires



The same scene after the overhead wires were replaced by underground cables

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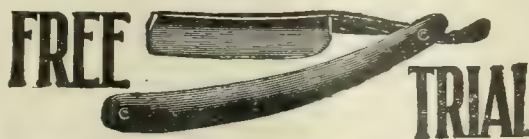
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The regular quarterly dividend of \$1.25 per share upon the Common Capital Stock of this company, will be paid on January 16, 1922, to shareholders of record at close of business December 31, 1921.

The Board of Directors also declared an additional dividend on the Common Stock of \$2.00 per share, payable to stockholders of record at close of business December 31, 1921, in common stock at par, issuable when approved by the Railroad Commission of the State of California.

The Transfer Books will not be closed. Checks for the cash dividend of \$1.25 per share will be mailed from the office of the company in time to reach stockholders on the day they are payable. The stock dividend of \$2.00 per share will be distributed to stockholders as soon as the necessary details for the issuance thereof have been completed.

A. F. HOCKENBEAMER,
Vice-President and Treasurer.

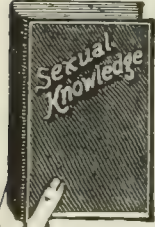
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The Board of Directors of the above Company at a meeting held January 3d, 1922, declared a CASH dividend of 1½ Per Cent on the Preferred Stock and CASH dividend of 1 Per Cent on the Common Stock, and a dividend at the rate of one share of Common Stock on every One Hundred (100) shares of Common Stock outstanding, all payable February 1st, 1922.

The Transfer Books will close at 3 o'clock P. M. on January 13th, 1922, and will reopen at 10 o'clock A. M. on January 27th, 1922.

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is its induction. Instead of indulging in an "exposition," Mr. Milne leads us into his play. In contemporary drama, exposition is as a rule synonymous with over-exposure. The author of this deft comedy does not descend to the art of the window-dresser, spreading out for the vulgar gaze the entire contents of his shop. Instead, he induces us to come inside. He is a subtle flatterer; he prompts us to run ahead of the action—to guess in advance—the facts of Mr. Latimer's extraordinary philanthropy.

This gentleman, effectively enacted by Charles Cherry, has converted his country house, situated just off the Dover Road, into a sort of compulsory caravansary for elopers—for selected couples who are "bolting" from dismal domesticity to the hectic freedom of the incontinent continent. We seem to hear in the distance the chugging of those motors on the Dover Road carrying pair after pair of fatuous romanticists to a new departure for Cythera, via the channel boat to Calais and Cannes. Mysteriously, magically almost, due to the benign omnipotence of Mr. Latimer, some of these motors come to a standstill at his very gates. The elopers seek shelter in his house. There he compels them to remain a week. And one week of reality, he has discovered, is enough to effect a cure of the most hopeless case of romanticism.

For it is part of the Latimer treatment that the hot passion of each gentleman eloper shall be temporarily cooled by the most disagreeable of colds in the head; and that the lovers may see each other in the disillusionizing light of the petty face from day to day.

Latimer, however, is no sentimentalist. He is not so much concerned in supporting the ancient institution of matrimony, as in pointing out that the man or woman who cannot live happily within the bonds of matrimony cannot attain it by a flight into the shifting clouds of romanticism. Leonard may run away from his wife; he cannot, as Mr. Latimer suggests, run away from himself. Progressively Mr. Milne gives us the various stages of the Latimer cure; the arrival of Leonard and Anne, protesting vigorously at this unforeseen interruption of their hectic flight; the abject disillusion of Nicholas (consummately interpreted by a young actor named Lionel Watts), Nicholas, of course, having eloped with Leonard's wife Eustacia. But this dramatist avoids the threadbare and the banal convention of pairing off his couples in the usual fashion. The two men themselves bolt for Cannes to escape, temporarily at least, the fatiguing solicitude of Eustacia and the smiling irony of Anne. Eustacia bored them; but Anne punctured their conceit. The little comedy ends with the arrival of another pair of elopers at the door. But they are refused admittance, because poor Latimer himself is now infected with that contagion he had been

so valiantly combatting; and Anne herself is left to cure him.

It is all light and frothy; but lightness and frothiness in comedy should not be greeted with condescension. Most of the critics of contemporary drama would convince us that any amateur can toss off a light and effervescent comedy. The truth is that in drama, as in life, gayety is the surest sign of breeding. To express piquant and penetrating truths about human nature in an amusing fashion is surely of greater value in our theatre than to pronounce platitudes lugubriously and sententiously—even though there seems to be a vast appreciation of the latter and a conspicuous neglect of the former.

It is for these reasons that the advent of Mr. Guthrie McClintic into the producing field is to be acclaimed. So skilfully, so subtly, so eloquently has he realized the values and the *nuances* of Mr. Milne's composition, so excellently has he cast this comedy, even to the minor characters, so deftly has he accented the clockwork perfection of Mr. Latimer's house, that "The Dover Road" must be set down as one of the very few presentations in New York during recent years of what may truly be termed comedy.

"The Great Broxopp," on the other hand, gives us the other side of the Milne medal. It leads us to suspect that for years and years before dramatic recognition arrived, Mr. Milne had made attempts at play-writing. And of these attempts "The Great Broxopp" gives every evidence of being one of the very earliest. The chief value of Mr. Iden Payne's production of this puerile effort is that it may give American playgoers some slight idea of the English theatre at its worst. "The Great Broxopp" struck me as the sort of thing that occasionally accentuates the soggianness of a damp evening in Shaftesbury Avenue. Over here we are usually only permitted to view English plays that have succeeded in London. "The Great Broxopp" is an object lesson in the type of British drama that fails even in London.

"Captain Applejack" possesses none of the distinction, the subtlety, the truth of "The Dover Road." But it is not devoid of rough-and-ready amusement. It may be described as the English idea of the Cohan school of dramaturgy. Mr. Hackett has perhaps also been influenced by a Fairbanks film or two; and his dream-scene, in which the ingenuous Ambrose Applejohn, a timid, repressed, and dull-witted gentleman of the Cornwall coast, becomes the primitive, cursing pirate Applejack, is of course inevitably reminiscent of Barrie's "A Kiss for Cinderella." Despite the slapdash, slapstick fun of it all, Mr. Hackett's revelation of his central character possesses something more of truth and insight into human nature than is to be found in many dramatic efforts of a far more pretentious character.

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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. How Prohibition Is Working.

1. What purposes does the writer fulfil in the introduction of the article?
2. Prove that the body of the article is based upon what is said in the introduction.
3. What type of conclusion does the writer employ?
4. Find a single sentence that gives the principal point of the entire article.
5. Underline the topic sentences of the principal divisions. Explain every sentence.
6. Make a numbered list of the benefits conferred by prohibition. Make a similar numbered list of the disadvantages brought about by prohibition. Give your reasons for believing, or for not believing, that the advantages are greater than the disadvantages.

II. America's Terms.

1. What principle of letter-writing is illustrated in the first paragraph?
2. Write a single sentence that will express forcibly the thought that the writer wishes to impress upon Mr. Lloyd George.
3. Write a numbered list of the dangers that the writer says are now threatening the peace of the world. In a single paragraph tell what remedy he proposes.
4. Write a brief that will show Mr. Landfield's arguments against the so-called Stinnes plan.
5. In a single paragraph summarize Mr. Landfield's beliefs concerning the past, the present, and the future of Russia.

III. Remission of the Allied Debt.

1. Imagine that you are to debate on the question discussed in the article. Give that part of your debate in which you define the terms that you will use.
2. Write a brief of the points presented by the affirmative. Write a similar brief of the points presented by the negative. Explain your reasons for believing that one side has the stronger arguments.
3. Explain the allusion to Shylock in the third paragraph of the second column.
4. Write a paragraph that will explain how "Cuba, China, and the Philippine Islands have attested our unselfishness."

IV. Hon. Lemuel Hooper, J. P., on Matrimony.

1. Mr. Butler's article satirizes a certain type of modern fiction. Underline at least ten sentences of marked satire.
2. Write a single sentence that will give Mr. Butler's principal reason for not approving of the type of fiction that he satirizes.
3. What advantages does the writer gain by casting his thought into dialogue and monologue?

V. New Books and Old.

1. Point out the relation that exists between "New Books and Old" and "Hon. Lemuel Hooper, J. P., on Matrimony."
2. Explain what is meant by "Novels of the Kitchen Sink School," and "Novels of the Mud Puddle School."
3. Explain in full the last sentence of the first paragraph. Give suggestive details concerning the literary work of the writers who are there named.
4. If you have read Thomas Bailey Aldrich's "Story of a Bad Boy" tell something about the book. If you have not read it borrow a copy from your librarian and read it as soon as possible.

VI. Book Reviews.

1. Prepare a report concerning the work of the French Academy, and the Prix Goncourt. Consult any encyclopedia. Explain the first sentence of the review.
2. What are the writer's reasons for calling Sir Philip Gibbs a pessimist?
3. Explain the reference to "Poins, Bardolph, Nym, and Pistol, and the wild cronies of Harry's youth" in the second paragraph of the last column.

VII. Drama.

1. What is "Threadbare and banal convention" in a play?
2. Show that one of the plays you have read in school "expresses piquant and penetrating truths about human nature in an amusing fashion."
3. Show that one of the plays you have read in school has "truth, and insight into human nature."

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. America's Terms.

1. State the essential features of the plan supposed to be urged upon Lloyd George.
2. What is Mr. Landfield's argument against it?
3. Why is he especially concerned for the attitude of England on the question?
4. Look up and explain why Germany considers Russia to be her "natural field of operations."

II. The Lusitania—Never Again!, The Conference.

1. In a text of International Law look up the development of the "humane provisions of the laws of war" stated in Mr. Root's resolutions.
2. Review the controversy referred to in the statement: "the principle whose violation by Germany was the cause of our country's entry into the Great War."
3. Show why "It is impossible for the submarine to operate with any effect as a commerce destroyer without flagrant violation of the principle now so solemnly reaffirmed."
4. What argument can you think of that applies to submarines but not to bombing air-planes?
5. State carefully the agreement of the Conference on the submarine at present.
6. What are the main features of the final draft of the Five-Power Naval Treaty as here stated?
7. What progress has been made on Far Eastern questions? What difficulties still remain?

III. America the Trouble-Maker.

1. Explain these instances of "trouble" made by America and see if you can add to the list.
2. State the warning sounded here and show its relation to the present position of America in foreign affairs.

IV. How Prohibition Is Working.

1. How far do you think the writer's general conclusions apply in your section?
2. Summarize the views of this article as to the economic, governmental, and social effects of prohibition.
3. What are the chief sources of the "wetness which has slaked the great American thirst since the Volstead Law"?
4. What, in the writer's opinion, decides whether "prohibition crumbles . . . or wins"?
5. How is the question of "liberty" involved?

V. Equality Before the Law.

1. Summarize the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, stated here, which tend "to establish clearly and firmly the generally accepted American doctrine that all men are entitled to equal access to the law of the land and equal protection by it."
2. Show how labor unions are involved in the decisions.
3. Look up the "guarantees of the Federal Constitution," the Trades Disputes Act, and the Clayton Act.
4. From all your study do you tend to be in sympathy with the point of view of the majority of the Court or with the dissenting members?

VI. Philanthropic Silliness.

1. Look up the history of the movement for minimum wage laws in this country.
2. Upon what grounds are they urged?
3. How do you think the standard of the minimum wage should be fixed?
4. What do you think of the argument that a minimum will tend to become a maximum?
5. If your state has a minimum wage law, find out how it is working. If it has not, write your opinion of the advisability of such a law.

VII. Remission of the Allied Debt.

1. Review your earlier study of the remission of the debts. What new arguments for or against can you add to your summary?
2. What modifications of the plan of remission are urged by some?

VIII. The Irish Situation.

1. Compare Mr. de Valera's alternative agreement with the London agreement. What differences do you see and how important do you think they are?

IX. Chinese Achievement.

1. Pick out from this discussion the laudable features of Chinese civilization.

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

January 21, 1922



Aftermath

Derelicts of the War

By Maria M. Lewis

“THE dressing cart is at the other end of the ward, Sister, but it’s all right, you can start in.” And the orderly, his white duck slacks pulled over the army khaki, grinned cordially, eyeing my Red Cross supply basket with a longing sweep.

“If a cigarette should be left over that these ‘gold-brickers’ don’t need, I know a hard working boy could use it, Lady; yes, nurse, coming with the Dakins.” And off he goes to his grim labors, whistling the “Love-Nest.”

It is no sentimental orgy that you are engaged in, no “voluptuous enjoyment of wounds and death” that impels you—rather a journey that requires a tightening of your mental belt, a resolution to gaze on distressing sights unshrinkingly, the will to smile cheerily into distorted masks of faces that are being rebuilt into human semblance, the need to discipline a fastidious nose against assaulting smells, strange blends of beef-stew and carbolic, and the pungent fragrance of the Army’s favorite cigarette—which makes you look with doubt on the poster announcing that the gentleman “would walk a mile for a ‘Camel,’” when you would run a mile in the other direction, so evocative is it of the wards!

You look over your baskets to see that your supplies are attractively arranged. There are knitted socks for the outdoor sleepers, whose toes get cold toward morning; bed-jackets with big sleeves to slip over arms in casts or frames; matches, writing paper, pencils, “housewives, the kind that does the work—but you don’t have to dress ‘em,” as my ward boy Connolly says; neat bags with compartments for toilet articles that fasten on the bed-rail; and tooth-brushes and tooth-paste. You have to be very stern about tooth-brushes.

“Have you really got one, Lavinsky?” “Sure I got one.” You demand ocular evidence.

“Well, I ain’t got it here wit’ me; I left it at Camp Jackson, but I got one.”

You leave him pledged to a morning and evening ritual. Sergeant Allen calls across the ward, and, under cover of a request for postage stamps, asks if you ever had any brain trouble in your family. You scan his rugged countenance with suspicion, but he explains that his father’s aunt has lately refused to wash herself and hides the spoons, and the

family in Arkansas is deeply concerned. You do your Freudian best in words of one syllable, leave a package of “smokes,” and pass on; this time to Lawrence, young, fair, blinded, one-armed, one-legged, wondering what ray of light or cheer can be made to penetrate the darkened world where he spends his days.

Lawrence loves detective stories; so you sit down and read aloud to the breathless end, put beside him a box of strawberries that you have tucked away for him, and go on the rounds with the memory of a radiant smile and a wistful “Come again soon” for company.

The wards are long wooden shacks built like the temporary barracks familiar to us during the war. Frail and dangerous housing for these disabled and bed-fast men, and full of potential tragedy. Here is concentrated the human wreckage of the war. As the base hospitals close, the slow-healing, chronic, and incurable cases are gathered together that everything possible may be done to occupy the minds and coax back activity to benumbed limbs, and hope to hearts grown heavy with the long ordeal of pain. Everything that medical science and careful nursing, skilful appliances, therapy, massage, and reconstruction aides can devise to heal the broken bodies is done without stint. It has escaped the official taint in some marvelous fashion, and is a kindly human business.

I have six wards to do today: tuberculosis, the facial and jaw cases, the isolation and contagious wards, the “bone” ward, and the empyemas. I go into T. B. first. A batch of men have come in at six o’clock this morning from an Army transport. Thirty of them are from the occupational area in Coblenz; their kits, bedding-rolls, tin hats, German helmets, and other trophies are piled beside them. They seem belated followers of Odysseus, coming with eager hearts to tell their tales of victory to a deaf world, indifferent to the human pledges of its idealism.

“Hello, Red Cross,” and “Say, Bill, come here and listen to the English language—it sure sounds good.” And in a moment you are surrounded by all the boys able to be up. Kits are lost. You promise to look them up. They all clamor for tickets for a baseball game, and want to know Babe Ruth’s batting average. They eagerly display their trophies, and many little treasures and foreign souvenirs,

pictures of frowning Castle Ehrenbreitstein and smiling German Mädchen, who seem to have a tender confidence in their late foes.

"Sure, the Dutchies are crazy about us—we ain't asking no indemnity like the rest of the bunch, and that makes a hit for fair."

A small bale of German marks is fished from various pockets for redemption in Uncle Sam's coin, and one boy mourns the loss of that "millionaire feeling" which made the doughboy on the Rhine watch so cheerfully.

You turn to the bed cases, worn with the rough voyage, and gasping with shortened breath in the grip of the terrible plague that moves with deadly swiftness. You write the letters that they huskily dictate—to Maine, Mississippi, Kansas, Minnesota, the same messages:

"Am feeling fine, a little tired from the trip, sure am glad to be back, hope to be sent to Denver to get well, love to all." And then, after a talk with the medical major, you add your "no hope" postscripts, advising some member of the family to make the journey on before it is too late. "Sister Mabel," who teaches school, will answer you, or "Dad" in cramped handwriting, or "Mother," grateful to you for anything done for her boy. Those who can, come. So many are too poor to make the journey, but when they can come you meet as old friends, and sit beside them in the last speeding hours of the boy's life, and see these toil-worn people, broken by their sacrifice, set their faces homeward again.

At a Washington dinner party one night my left-hand neighbor, a Congressman, asked impatiently what there was to do.

"The boys are well taken care of; all damned nonsense, this coddling."

I appeal to General Blank on my right, who leans across, to tell him that what the Government does not do, and the Army cannot do, and the overworked nurses are too tired to do, the trained Red Cross ward worker *can* do, and *does*; and I give him half of my almonds for forcefully enlightening the world. It's a beautiful fact that the Army does welcome one, and surgeons, head-nurses, generals, and orderlies all make you feel that you belong, and, like the traditional fool who rushes in where the official angel would wisely fear to tread, you become a glorified errand boy, pleader of lost causes, and a general refuge in and out of season.

Isolation wards next. Everything here from chicken-pox to sleeping sickness. I leave fruit and flowers, and a big batch of newspapers for these shut-ins, and go on to the facial and jaw cases. Carey takes me over to the window that I may behold his new glass eye, with which he fondly announces he can wink, even if he can't see!

A section of Randall's rib has been used to splice his smashed jaw. His face is swathed in bandages and his eyes look out at you with a trapped animal expression, as if he could not quite figure out why he should be in that particular fix. A jar of home-brewed broth and some wine jelly are put on his bedside table to cheer him until real chewing time comes.

I sit down beside O'Keefe, a stalwart young giant with a face like a gargoyle, shattered by a hand grenade and remodeled far from his heart's desire. He shows me the picture taken when he enlisted, remarking rather wistfully that "he was a fine figger of a lad then." We write a letter to his girl in Brooklyn, who has kept the faith in spite of the "mess," as he calls it, that the Boches made of him.

And I try to mould into sentimental eloquence the halting sentences that he wrings from his inarticulate but throbbing bosom.

The boys are busy weaving, making scarfs on cleverly designed hand-looms, or working with long strips of willow, forming lamps and baskets, carving wood and leather, or laboring over school books and wondering audibly "Who in hell invented the least common denominator?" As I start

into the amputation ward, Johnson, a big but gentle psychopathic case, who wanders happily about, takes one of my heavy baskets, while he tells me of such a nice talk he had with John the Baptist yesterday, which I cordially envy him.

This is a cheerful ward in spite of recurring operations when the stumps do not heal and the grim work has to be done over again. Many are in wheel chairs, and they fly up and down the aisles between the long rows of beds with incredible swiftness. Blake says he lost his driver's license Thursday for exceeding the speed limits and colliding with Allen and breaking his leg cast. Down at the quieter end of the ward, sheltered by a muslin screen, a high-cheek-boned Lithuanian boy from the Pennsylvania coal region is drowsily coming out of ether. He clutches at my apron and begs me to stay a while—he is "so lonely." I know that strange anguish of coming back to life again out of an ether-clouded oblivion to a world of pain. You do need a warm human hand to cling to and pull you safe to shore. So he holds hard, and, after some murmured talk about the "damned doctor" and "my old man," he drifts into a troubled sleep, and I unlatch the grip of his big fingers, one by one, and go on down the aisles of pain and patience.

Now for Empyema—nearly all bed cases these. Boyish faces on thin, bent bodies, with the sidewise twist that the operation for the removal of pus from the pleural cavity gives them. "A sick ward today," says a hurrying nurse; "six operations, and do see Carsen—he needs bucking up, poor kid! He is terrified in here with these old cases."

The air is heavy with the brain-befogging odor of anesthetics, and I find the boy, face buried in his pillow, the kind that goes A.W.O.L. rather than face the music. I talk and plead and explain and get the kindly senior surgeon to say clearly just what is going to be done, and why. You promise a motor ride the first time he can go out, and finally find out that the real trouble has been the fear that his girl won't have him if they mutilate his body and scar him up. You assure him that women will marry anything—look at what they do marry, poor dears! Armless, legless, brainless men. Anyway, the world is full of "fine romping women," as the Playboy puts it; and you win a smile after a bit, and the battle of lost nerve into the bargain.

"Bones" last—all old stubborn cases these, and you abandon your baggage of fictitious hopes, and with the boys face the game that you all know is a losing game. Simple creature comforts are needed here—a bunch of illustrated supplements for the Greek lad who cannot read but loves to look at the pictures; a writing clip for Walker, who sends innumerable letters and spends most of his pay for stamps. He is always writing, and I wonder what he finds to tell, and whether the names on the envelopes are of real people. He has lain stagnating there for two years now, slung in a frame over his iron bed. What is his news, and whence come his inspirations?

Bauer waves a welcoming hand. His eyes are almost all of him, big, brown, and sombre; his rotting spine and hip, a legacy of quarters in Brest mud. He wants you to read a home letter about his sister's new baby and to tell you that Ma is having someone to help with the wash with the money he sends home. "That's great for my old woman," he says proudly. And it is.

Your long day is over. The baskets are empty and your heart is full. They are common men, of strange blends of blood and manner of upbringing. Literate, yet innocent of letters; crude, but never vulgar; tender to each other, gentle to women, modest, rarely talking of their wounds, but shyly proud of a citation; full of humor and Rabelaisian wit; hopeful when they know there is no hope; and imbued with a courage born of a forward vision into future agonies. Derelicts of war who bear their burdens with smiling faces, and wear the scars of wounds, and pay the price of pain in the long night watches.

Britain's Debt to the United States

Viewed From a Canadian Standpoint

By T. B. Macaulay, President Sun Life Assurance Society, Montreal

[The following article was written before the appearance of our discussion of the general question of the Allied debt to the United States. The immediate occasion for it was the suggestion, to which Mr. Macaulay attaches far more importance than it deserves, of a transfer to the United States of Britain's islands in the West Indies; but his analysis of the underlying question of the debt is so interesting, especially as giving the Canadian view, that we present it as a valuable contribution to the discussion.—EDITORS.]

THE suggestion has from time to time been made in a number of the leading journals of the United States that Great Britain should transfer her West Indian colonies and Bermuda in part payment of her American debt. As these views are being widely quoted and canvassed throughout the States, may I ask permission as a Canadian speaking to Americans to make a few comments for the consideration of your readers?

Canada has no direct interest in the British debt. As one of the nations which compose the Empire, she is united to the Mother Country by strong ties of sentiment, but she is also united to her great southern neighbor by strong ties of friendship, business, and constant intercourse. Canadians think, therefore, that they can view this matter impartially and in the kindest spirit.

From the outbreak of the war Canadians have considered that the men of Britain and of the Dominions were fighting the battles of the United States as well as of our own Empire and of our Allies. In the early days of the war I have heard many Americans express that opinion. Though it took some years for your people as a whole to recognize that fact, it was as true in August, 1914, as it was later when the gallant boys of both nations were fighting side by side. Germany aimed at world domination and, had she won the war, her political and commercial control of all Europe, all Africa, and much of Asia would have been at once established. She would probably soon have made an alliance with the rest of Asia. She would have been the Colossus of the world. Her eyes were already fixed covetously on South America, and developments there would have followed rapidly. With the naval, military, and financial resources then at her back, what would she have cared for the Monroe Doctrine?

We do not claim that the United States should have entered the war at its outbreak, for the people had to be awakened. It is doubtful if they were sufficiently informed as to the merits of the struggle prior to the *Lusitania* incident. What would have happened, however, if the United States had intervened even then? The war would have been shortened by two years, millions of lives and tens of billions of dollars would have been saved, and the condition of the world today would not be what it is.

When at last you threw your vast power into the scales, that great addition to the cause of civilization and righteousness was decisive. When you did act you acted vigorously, whole-heartedly, and effectively. We are all unspeakably appreciative of the part played by the United States in bringing the war to a conclusion. It was some considerable time, however, after you declared war before your armies were organized, trained, and transported to France, and during that period you could render but little help other than financial.

For whom did the Allies sacrifice the lives of their men before the United States entered the war, and from that date until the American troops arrived? For all who did not wish a German world, for all free peoples, including Britain, Canada, and the United States.

The war was fought not merely with lives, but with money. The financial burden fell chiefly on Britain. She had to advance huge sums to her Allies. Had she not done so, Germany would have achieved a speedy victory, and the turn of the United States would then have come.

If we Canadians are right in believing that the United States had as great a stake in the war before she entered it as afterwards, do you wonder that we ask ourselves whether it is fair that the Allies should bear alone the crushing financial burden of those earlier years during which your people accumulated much of the wealth of the world? Surely their awful losses in life, before the United States lost a single man, are enough of a handicap.

Americans are a proud people. I know that they do not wish in this matter to stand on legal technicalities. In coming to a decision, let them remember the stake they actually had in the early years of the war, and the purpose for which the money was borrowed in the later years. I feel sure that they need but to know the facts.

The suggestion has been made that even if the war debts be not cancelled the United States might accept from Great Britain a transfer of an equal amount of debts owing to Britain by other Allied countries. That might be fair to Britain, but how about the others? Do Americans think that either Britain or the United States should exact payment from France, which has bled at every pore? What would they think if Britain were to demand a transfer of some of the old French colonies in return for cancelling the debt of France to her? Britain will probably cancel the debts owing to her by her Allies without bargaining or reward. Can the United States afford to be less generous?

Lists of territories have been quoted, chiefly tropical, which have been as a result of the war placed under British control. Many of these will be for years to come bills of expense. In any case the Allies would gladly have given to the United States a generous share in these allotments had she been willing to accept. Even at this late date it is probably not impossible for her to obtain a share in the mandates, but of course she would be expected to assume the expense and responsibilities of governing, defending, and developing these territories, and not merely to share in any commercial benefits that might accrue.

The proposal, however, that Britain should transfer the British West Indies and Bermuda is something very different. To transfer these ancient colonies would be to begin the dismemberment of the Empire. Is that to be Britain's reward? Even if the Mother Country should be willing, and I am sure she would not, there are two further objections. I know these colonies fairly well. They are incurably British, and would violently protest at being taken out of the British family and transferred as if they were mere property. Furthermore, if there is to be any transferring, Canada considers that she has a first claim. The commercial relations between the Dominion and these tropical colonies are already important, and are becoming steadily more so. They are necessary to our future. The United States is indeed fortunate in that she has within her own boundaries vast areas of most productive land with all climates from arctic to tropical. We are not so blessed. These tropical colonies of the Empire are vital to us, and certainly not at all vital to you. Surely our American friends, who are themselves so fortunately situated, do not grudge Canada this small tropical connection?

It would not be fitting for a Canadian to speak here of Canada's sacrifices or services in the war. But of all the Allied nations that were in the war from the beginning, Canada alone has neither asked nor received reward of any kind. No charge of selfishness can be made against us. We ask nothing, and we want nothing. But we would protest against any settlement that would positively injure us, such as the transfer of our tropical partners to another nation. There can be no transfer except by the wish of the West Indians themselves, but if there is to

be any transfer of these colonies do you not think that we have reasonably a first claim?

One of the strongest desires held by responsible men in Canada is to do their share in drawing ever closer the bonds of friendship between Canada, the American member of the British Federation of Nations, and our great neighbor. To this end each should have a knowledge of the other's views and a sympathetic respect for the other's rights. For this reason I have ventured to set forth what is, I think, the Canadian attitude on these questions.

Leaders in the Dail

Outstanding Figures in Ireland's Crisis

By Stephen Gwynn



Mulcahy

DeValera

McKeon

Griffith

Collins

MacNeill

THE country wants peace. The genuine spontaneous response of Ireland made itself heard and felt before Mr. de Valera launched his bombshell. Nobody had ever taken quite seriously this Republic or its President. As leader, Mr. de Valera was fully accepted and was popular; but people spoke of "the President"—well, with a certain inflection. It was a courtesy-title, not the recognition of a *de facto* office. Nevertheless, they had all declared that the Republic was there, that it was their creation; they were pledged to it, and when Mr. de Valera suddenly insisted on the fact that this agreement involved a repudiation of much that they had affirmed, there was a general shock.

You should remember in America that this Dail was elected during the campaign of repression; people were out to make a demonstration, not to choose men to look after their affairs. A great many men were elected simply because they were in prison, others because they had supposedly the love of relatives; this covers the case of, I think, all the women members, who are probably the fiercest in their logical adherence to the Republic at all costs.

But apart from this, there were the serious leaders, in action and thought. No one can be surprised that Mr. Griffith should support the selection that has been reached: it is what he has always preached—the dual monarchy, which makes of Ireland what Hungary was. It is true that Ireland retains a military control which Austria did not keep; she is entitled to hold four naval ports. Yet this really recognizes the facts of the situation. England's land force must be always far stronger in relation to Ireland's than that of Austria was in relation to Hungary, because of the relative numbers of the population: but, above all, because Ireland is an island, England's strategic control of her must be absolute because of England's naval strength. On the other hand, so far as actual intervention is concerned, the link of the Crown in the British Empire is far looser than was the bond in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, where the monarch retained great personal authority. So then, Mr. Griffith has got what he always wanted, and he naturally is content.

But with him there is ranged also the speaker of the

Dail, Professor John MacNeill, a man with historical talent of the first order, with complete mastery of the Irish language, ancient and modern, who has been applying these gifts to the study of Irish history for all the period in which native Irish historical record was kept. He is the strongest intellectual champion of the conception of a Gaelic nationality: he finds in the Irish record and in the Irish laws a sense of Irish nationhood existing at a period in which I at least am somewhat sceptical about it. But nothing that he says can be disregarded, and if anybody wants to prove that Ireland in 1169 and onward thought of itself as a nation, and that as a nation Ireland through succeeding centuries struggled to keep out English rule, Professor MacNeill is the indispensable ally. Yet Professor MacNeill is for acceptance of this compact; he with Griffith made the solid intellectual force of Sinn Fein on its academic side.

Then, to the surprise of many, the young men and the fighting men fall in with those who want no more fighting. They say, one after another, "We hate to be in the British possessions, we do not like to acknowledge a British King; but this thing gives us the substance of freedom, materially and morally; above all, it gives, for the first time since the conquest, a complete withdrawal of British troops."

Mr. Collins takes that line, but he was a signatory of the treaty. It is more significant that Mr. Mulcahy, the chief of the staff of the Republican army, supports him. This young man speaks with great frankness to the Irish people who think that the British army has been defeated in war. He says, "We have never dislodged the British forces from anything more important than a police barrack. We do not like to see these forts conceded to England: but England holds them today: how do you propose to dislodge her?" That is the brain of the Irish military organization expressing its sense of facts. Add to it that Mr. Griffith in his motion for acceptance is seconded by Commandant McKeon, a young blacksmith who distinguished himself as a successful leader of commandoes, and also in their affairs behaved like a civilized soldier toward the wounded and prisoners: so that, when he was finally captured and sentenced to be hanged, the British army

itself was strongly against the sentence. He stands for the popular ideal of the company leader: and many other of the young men are with him.

Who then are the opposition? Mr. de Valera, master of phrases and a slave to them; Miss McSweeney, sister to the late Lord Mayor of Cork, who died of his hunger strike after some eighty days. She who watched that agony and led the multitudes in prayer outside his prison cannot be expected to have normal feelings and balance. The case of others is like hers. But one finds for instance a pacifist, Professor Stockley of Cork, declaring against ratification because ratification would be a concession to the threat of force. If war ensues, at least this pacifist will not have recognized the right of force. Further, there is Mr. Erskine Childers, major in the British army, holder of the Distinguished Service order, a most gallant and able man, with two years' experience of Ireland, and without

more than a tincture of Irish blood. Very much under his influence is his cousin, Mr. Barton, a Protestant landlord, born in Ireland of English parentage: he up to the rebellion of 1916 was also in the army. These men when they swore allegiance to the Republic did not feel that they were bargaining. These Englishmen have not the Irish bargaining instinct: Mr. Childers is a theorist in the Constitution, and seems to attach more importance to the form of the treaty than to its essence. Both men carry weight because both are profoundly respected: but they are not representative of the normal Ireland. The representative of normal Ireland of today is Mr. Collins, and he has above all the instinct for bargains. He has got the last ounce out of his bargaining, and he decides to strike hands on it. Ireland, a good judge on such matters, will go with him and will disregard the theorists.

Dublin, Ireland, December 23

Bourgeois Life in an Optimist's Mirror

By J. Brooks Atkinson

Heaven is not built of country seats,
But little queer suburban streets!

LIFE on the stage gleams through stiff-bosomed shirts and resplendent evening-gowns; even the routine vaudeville skits flourish dinner-coats and spangling jewels. Life in the novel is either of similar tone, or squalid, drab, repressed. But the informal essayists whose

volumes give color to the Christmas bookstalls celebrate middle-class life—and none more seductively than Christopher Morley. As it goes by, he pops off with enthusiasm. Indeed, at times it seems to march by for him alone; no one else stands on the reviewing platform. Its greatest treasures surround him. Grub Street, old London inns, the robust roistering of the eighteenth century, the Woolworth Building; sunsets and sunrises over Manhattan, the fog on the East River, quaint nooks and corners in lower New York, a John Street chop-



Christopher Morley

house, the Camden ferry, Walt Whitman's tumble-down house in Mickle Street—exist for his untiring pen. He first gourmandizes on familiar life, and then as a newspaper chef serves it up in tasty dishes—sometimes quite un nourishing—for the readers of his ubiquitous books and "The Bowling Green."

To see life as Christopher Morley sees it is to be slightly detached from it even at the moment when revelling in it most; to be in love with the idea of life more than with life itself. He is a neighborhood tourist who travels independent of the guide-book, and who uses his own eyes and experiences his own emotions. Nothing becomes to him so familiar that it no longer warms his heart; the accommodation train from Long Island, bookshops, and lunch-rooms repeatedly "intrigue" him. Standing agreeably though not priggishly aloof from life, and smiling upon it through tinted glasses, to him only the virtues appear. Truckmen smoking their pipes in Hudson Street and two burly men loading ice into a yellow refrigerator-car are to him as sweet as the workers of whom Walt Whitman sang. At home they may beat their wives, and snatch bread from the mouths of their children. They may be

sinister, sordid, or dull. But in Hudson Street they fit into the picture and for that reason alone are good. Broken-spirited streets, like Broome Street, which have long since lost heart, where the shutters hang by a single hinge and the porticos are grimy, excite Mr. Morley's sensibilities as they delighted Charles Dickens.

Standing apart from the hurly-burly of life about him, Mr. Morley likewise stands aloof from the contemporary. Things are more charming when seen from a distance, as the gallery-trotter stands back from an oil painting—and what is more charming than the past? Looking back via the printed page to the days when Dr. Johnson supped at the Turk's Head, when Charles Lamb scratched a quill across South Sea House invoices, when Kit Marlowe lost his life in a drunken brawl, is to drink deep of the brave glory of olden places where even the evil seemed good. Alas! those days are past. Wine-Office Court no longer rings with the footsteps of Goldsmith, but rustles with the chatter of Fleet Street journalists. Yet if that day is past, lo, Mr. Morley can recreate it as he imagines it from those dusty volumes.

Fetid odors from social festers which offend the nostrils of many of his contemporaries do not penetrate to the spot on which Mr. Morley stands. Gentle zephyrs blowing across blossoming fields keep the atmosphere about him sweet. No acrid, spleenish sentences creep into his essays, or essay-stories, essay-novels, and essay-poems. No insinuating ironies pique the flavor of what he writes. He enjoys Samuel Butler, Hilaire Belloc, Logan Pearsall Smith, Max Beerbohm, and others of the kind, but reflects none of their subtlety in his own work. His enjoyment of writers in English for many years is at once catholic and characteristic; his indifference to the sophistication of writers in foreign tongues is, if not catholic, also characteristic.

However, he does not stand aloof from the evils of journalistic style as he stands aloof from the raw spots of life. As the functionary of a daily newspaper he writes much and ill. His vogue becomes his damnation. In such earlier volumes as "Parnassus on Wheels" and "Shandygaff" he loved picturesque and savory words, and put them together with an ear to rhythms and contrasts. But before he was settled in that style, he ran up the white flag and opened the fort to his enemies. In those earlier books, on delightful, glowing pages there were anachronisms which indulgent readers gladly forgave him. In "Mince Pie," "Pipefuls," and "Plum Pudding" there are vulgarisms, barbarisms, solecisms, and slang which no one forgives him.



EDITORIAL



Economics and Politics at Genoa

PRESIDENT HARDING would do well to aim at greater clearness and precision in his informal statements at press conferences. Not all of the correspondents at Washington measure up to the finest traditions of journalism, and not a few are ready to seize upon a casual remark or a loose expression and elaborate from it opinions which Mr. Harding assuredly had no intention of conveying. A case in point is the President's response to inquiries concerning the proposed Economic Conference at Genoa and the invitation extended to America to participate in it. Out of a non-committal comment of approval, somewhat carelessly expressed, implying that the summoning of the Genoa meeting testified to the success of the method of conference inaugurated at Washington, certain correspondents deduced that the Administration was heartily in favor of accepting the invitation. Fortunately such is not the case and a canvass of opinion in official circles indicates that the more the proposal is studied the more the acceptance of the invitation to participate in the Genoa Conference is seen to be inadvisable if not positively dangerous.

The trouble is that between the principles and purposes of the Washington Conference and those of the proposed Conference at Genoa lies an unbridgeable gulf. The Washington Conference has two main purposes, closely related—the limitation of armament and the settlement of certain Far Eastern problems. The principle proposed by America for the settlement of these problems is that of justice, the open door, equal opportunity, and fair competition. America has not in the past and will not in the future enter into the game of using the power of Government to secure for her citizens monopolies, special privileges, or spheres of influence. Although this is a game that has led to war in the past and promises war in the future, the other Powers seem loath to give it up.

Indications have not been wanting that these Powers would not be disconsolate if the Four-Power and Naval Treaties were concluded and the remainder of the Washington programme sidetracked. They would thus obtain relief from the burden of naval expenditure without committing themselves to the American formula in regard to China and Siberia, and, inferentially, to the countries of Eastern Europe. The American formula of the "moral trusteeship" for Russia would be particularly inconvenient in view of the schemes that are already on foot for a German exploitation of that country by an understanding with the Soviet Government and under terms of special privilege.

Suddenly the centre of interest was shifted to Europe and particularly to Cannes. With the laudable object of solving the economic problems that face Europe, a conference was summoned to meet at Genoa in March

and to it were also invited representatives of Germany and Soviet Russia. It was clear that if America could only be persuaded to send delegates to sit down around the table at Genoa—if only she could be induced to enter the caucus—her moral leadership would be seriously compromised, and the rest would be easy. Her delegates would be up against the same game as Wilson was at Paris with even greater odds against them. America would be hopelessly entangled in the game and induced to underwrite the European commitments.

But there have been some serious hitches in these plans. In the first place the American public, noting the number of delegates and advisers as well as prominent correspondents that were quietly leaving for home and the inspired news items to the effect that the Conference had accomplished all that it could and would shortly close, felt that the American delegates were being tricked and outmaneuvered. Responsive to public opinion, President Harding intervened and let it be known that the delegates were expected to complete the programme and that he would send the treaties to the Senate only at the end of the Conference when all of them had been concluded. Many steamer passages were canceled and the work is now proceeding with renewed energy. The Administration was not slow to realize that the present Conference is being weighed in the balance with President Wilson's negotiations at Paris and that its failure would be a great blow to Republican prestige. And it is obvious that nothing could better ensure failure, and with it Republican defeat, than to get entangled in the Genoa Conference, the principles and purposes of which are so at variance with those announced at Washington and shared by the rank and file of our people. It is not likely, therefore, that President Harding and his associates will fall into the trap.

This does not mean that we wish or intend to stand aloof from Europe or withhold help. Rather it means that we are in a better position to render assistance if we stand firmly on the rock and throw out a line than if we plunge into the mire of political, racial, religious and economic rivalries and animosities. There is nothing self-righteous about this attitude—it is simply that history and geography have saved us from the ills that beset Europe and placed us in a position to do a great service. Our perspective is better, our vision clearer. Take for example our policy toward Russia. While other nations have been alternately fighting and flirting with the Bolsheviks, and trying to steal advantage one over the other in making futile trade agreements, dealing in Soviet loot, or negotiating for special concessions, we have stood for the integrity of Russia and the interests of the Russian people and have refused to have any dealings with the enemies of civilization who now oppress them. It is our steadfast and honorable policy that has wrung from the Soviets concession after concession, where recognition would have confirmed the maleficent power of the usurpers and deprived the peo-

ple of all hope. We are today showing our friendship for the Russian people by famine help and they know that they can depend on us for that other more important help, the maintenance of that policy which will finally force their tyrants to yield them liberty.

We recognize that production must start again in Russia if Europe is to regain health, and Secretary Hughes has laid down clearly the conditions under which alone production is possible—sanctity of contract, free labor, the right of private property. We recognize that the Germans by reason of their proximity, experience, and equipment must play a large part in the rehabilitation of Russia, and we shall undoubtedly work with them in this. But we cannot join in a scheme which proposes to conspire with the Soviet Government for the spoliation of Russia, a scheme which by its very nature would bind the beneficiaries to support and maintain this unspeakable tyranny for the protection of their special privileges and monopolies and keep the Russian people in vassalage. Let the statesmen of Europe meet together at Genoa and elsewhere and make their own efforts to put their house in order. If they work out sound and just plans for reconstruction they will find our capital and our enterprise ready to assist. But we do not propose to join in undertakings which violate the principles for which America stands, or enter conferences whose decisions would commit us to such undertakings.

Labor Enjoins Capital

PERHAPS the most interesting among the many aspects of the injunction obtained last week by the New York Cloakmakers' Union against their employers' association is the statement of the union president, Mr. Schlesinger, and the union's permanent counsel, Mr. Hillquit, that this victory does not at all reconcile them to the principle of using the injunction in labor disputes. Mr. Untermeyer, who determined the suit, holds a contrary view.

To most of us, who are not identified with this labor hostility to the idea of equity relief, it seems not only proper, but desirable, that a labor union should turn to the courts for protection of its clear legal rights in employment disputes. The only alternative, which is some variety of industrial warfare in which the victory usually goes to the party having the greater economic endurance, seems to us an undesirable substitute. Many who feel themselves to be at heart friendly to organized labor have long argued that it was a mistake for labor leaders to leave the development of the law applying to labor disputes so largely as it has been in the hands of lawyers representing employers' interests. The law, at any given moment, represents the stage of progress at that moment in the application of social and ethical standards to the manifold aspects of human relations.

Organized labor has been active in shaping statutory law; but it has, it seems to us, neglected its equally great opportunity to shape and liberalize the applications of the law that must necessarily be left to the discretion and judgment of judges. We cannot help feeling, quite aside from any opinion on the merits of the case, that the bringing of the Cloakmakers' injunction suit on the explicit ground that the workers are en-

titled to have the courts compel the employers to perform their part of the joint contract, is a real gain for everyone concerned. For the public, it means the hope of relief from some part of the recurrent industrial warfare. For the employers, it means a heightened responsibility for their word pledged to labor. For labor, it should mean, among other things, greater confidence of securing justice in any quarrel in which labor is clearly in the right. If the present case should aid in teaching labor so to draw and so to observe its contracts as to make enforcement of them by the courts a practical certainty, the gain would be a very great one. The wise course for labor, it seems to us, is to abandon its present attitude of mere resistance to the law as it is, and instead to take an active part in so developing the application of legal principles as to secure greater recognition and protection for the real rights of workers.

As Justice Wagner remarks in his decision, the only novel feature in the present case is the fact that the action was brought by a labor union to enforce the terms of a contract with its employers. The law applying to the situation has long been well settled, and Justice Wagner created no precedent, from the legal point of view, in directing the cloak manufacturers to abandon their collective plan for introducing piece-work, lengthening hours, and reducing wages—all these measures being in conflict with the agreement with the union which he held was still in force. The practical effect of the decision on the immediate quarrel in the cloak trade is likely to be submerged by other influences. The manufacturing season for spring clothing normally begins in mid-January, and the manufacturers are therefore already under the practical necessity of making some compromise with the union if they mean to continue business. The investigation announced by Secretaries Hoover and Davis is an even greater force for at least temporary peace, and for an ultimate reordering of relations on a better basis. The manufacturers may appeal from the present decision, and may secure a reversal. The union may—and may not—prosecute the suit to the point of obtaining damages. The landmark of the suit and the decision remains, in any event.

It would be slighting the very interesting facts of this case to omit a word of admiring recognition for the skillful strategy which has directed it since Mr. Untermeyer took hold. When the quarrel first broke loose, at the end of last October, the union charged the manufacturers with breach of the agreement of June, 1921—a temporary measure dealing with productivity. The article on the subject published in our issue of November 26 dealt only with this alleged breach. It was apparently not until Mr. Untermeyer entered the case that the union and Mr. Hillquit discovered that it was not the agreement of June, 1921, but the agreement of May, 1919, that had been broken. Newspaper condemnation of the manufacturers for making the first breach was emphatic, but had begun to simmer down when Mr. Untermeyer discovered the real issue. What will appeal to the legal-minded as the joke in all this is that Justice Wagner's decision hangs on his own deduction from the record that the union all along believed the agreement of May, 1919, to be in full force.

Bonus and Allied Debt

A PREPOSTEROUS scheme for tying up the soldiers' bonus question with that of the Allied debt occupied public attention for a little while. It was, in effect, that the soldiers should get the bonus out of the payments made by the Allied nations on account of their debt to the United States, interest or principal. The almost universal comment on this was that it was a swindle—that the soldiers would have no assurance of getting their money at any given time, or perhaps at all. Consequently, the scheme was very soon abandoned.

There has now come to the front a modification of that scheme, which gets rid, or at least apparently gets rid, of that particular objection. It is now proposed that the soldiers shall get the bonus not out of payments actually made by the Allied nations, but out of the proceeds of the sale of their bonds—bonds to be given to our Government in pursuance of a proposed funding of their debt to us. If such funding is effected, it would of course be possible for our Government to sell the bonds to private parties, and devote the proceeds to this particular purpose.

But it is fundamentally wrong to link the two things together. The way we treat the bonus question should be determined by the merits of that question, and the way we treat the question of the Allied debt should be determined by the merits of that wholly different question. To tie them together is to make impossible a straightforward and right-minded consideration of either.

A correspondent has taken this paper to task for advocating the remission of the Allied debt, on the ground that if we are too poor to give the soldiers the proposed bonus we are certainly too poor to make a present of ten or eleven billion dollars to the Allied nations. The criticism is perhaps not surprising, in view of the fact that hardly any public man, from President Harding down, has had the courage to oppose the bonus scheme on its merits. The President, during the extra session of Congress, took refuge from a discussion of the merits of the proposal in the fact that the financial condition of the country did not permit of any such addition to Governmental expenditure at this time. It is to this objection that the scheme to get the bonus money out of the Allied debt owes its origin. But were there no such thing as the Allied debt, it would be the duty of the country to raise the bonus money if it was right that that money should be given to the ex-soldiers. It might be hard to do, but the country is not so poor as to permit the plea of poverty to stand in the way of doing what is right to the men who filled the ranks of its army and navy in the Great War. It is rich enough to give the bonus if the bonus ought to be given; and it is rich enough to remit the Allied debt if the Allied debt ought to be remitted. It should do both of these things if both of them are right; it should do neither of them if neither is right; and it should do one and not the other if one is right and the other is not right.

We set forth recently with some fullness the reasons why, both as a matter of sound ethics and as a matter of direct material self-interest, the Allied debt should be remitted. And we are opposed to the bonus,

not because of any immediate embarrassment about raising the money, but on far more fundamental grounds. The men who were disabled by their service in the war should receive most liberal aid and attention at the hands of the Government; not only money, but efficient care directed to their restoration and vocational training, should be supplied in ample measure. But to the great body of men who came out whole from the war it would be wrongful extravagance for the Government to hand out a bounty based on the mere fact of service. That service did, indeed, in the case of many men, involve a great sacrifice through the interruption of plans or the breaking of connections; on the other hand, in the case of probably an even greater number of men, it meant a gain, and not a loss, for the future of their lives. But whether it was a gain or a loss, it was the kind of chance which every citizen ought to expect to take in time of war, without any special compensation. If we once admit any other principle, we plunge into a sea of extravagance, and give boundless scope to the possibilities of political blackmail. If this bonus is granted, the two billions or thereabouts which it would immediately require would be but a beginning. Not many years would elapse before pressure would again be brought upon Congress to remedy the frightful injustice of having paid to the men who saved the country only a paltry three or four hundred dollars apiece for a sacrifice which many times that amount would not suffice to compensate. The time to resist is now, before the habit has become fully formed; but, unfortunately, to make a stand on this issue, as on others in which resistance means offending a compactly organized body of voters, requires a degree of courage which extremely few of our public men possess.

Costly Parsimony

STARVING the United States Patent Office is about as expensive a bit of false economy as can be imagined. How far this policy has been followed, and with what serious consequences, is brought home in the compact statement which Mr. Frederick C. Fish has issued upon the subject. Mr. Fish is by common consent ranked as the foremost patent lawyer in America; but it requires none of the authority attaching to such a position to make his statement convincing. "The principal examiners," he tells us, "who must be men of both technical and legal education, of high character and of large administrative ability, receive today but \$2,700 per year, which is only 8 per cent. more than the figure (\$2,500 per year) at which their salaries were fixed seventy-three years ago," and the Commissioner of Patents himself gets only \$5,000. The consequence is what might be expected:

Resignations have recently been occurring in such large numbers that more than half of the present examining force is made up of men appointed within the last two and a half years. Those new men are inexperienced; they have generally no knowledge of patent law and no legal training.

The resultant conditions in the Patent Office are most deplorable. More than 49,000 applications for patents are awaiting examination. In several of the divisions the examining force is so overburdened that it takes from eleven months to a year before the first action is taken.

When it is considered that large and complex industrial interests are vitally affected by the way in which the Patent Office operates, it can readily be seen that

for every dollar saved by a policy which cripples its efficiency the country loses a hundred. As Mr. Fish says, "it is universally recognized that the industrial progress of this country is to a great extent based upon its patent system, which is considered to be the best in the world and largely responsible for the country's remarkable industrial development." To permit this instrumentality of general well-being to fall into disrepair at this time, when industrial activity needs every possible assistance and encouragement, is little short of a crime. And it is peculiarly inexcusable in view of the fact that the fees received from inventors more than cover the cost of running the Patent Office, and would suffice to pay the expense of proper salaries.

A bill to remedy the evil is pending in Congress, but its consideration appears to be blocked by Mr. Mondell, the Republican floor-leader in the House, on the ground that the Patent Office will be taken care of in the general reclassification bill for government employees. But this will at best not go into effect for a year and a half, and in the meanwhile enormous mischief will be done through the inefficiency of the Patent Office. There is no excuse for delaying the restoration of that office to its former condition of competent and adequate service.

A Poser for Liberals

THOROUGHGOING believers in Bolshevism are easier to cope with than those open-minded persons who see in the Russian system a central principle which must be established at all costs. The former stand ready to take their medicine when all is lost; the latter, in similar circumstances, are sure to point the finger knowingly at the reactionary features of any subsequent Government. What will they say about the condemnation of the Soviet just uttered by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman? Perhaps they can get some comfort out of the fact that, though printed in a radical labor paper in Sweden, it was given out in New York by a "capitalist" journal.

Here, at any rate, are some bitter words of disillusion, as printed on January 10 in *Arbetaren* (the *Worker*), a syndicalist paper of Stockholm, and cabled to the *New York World*:

The persecution of revolutionary elements in Russia has not abated with the changed political and economic policies of the Bolsheviks. On the contrary, it has become intenser and more determined. The prisons of Russia, the Ukraine and Siberia are filled with men and women—in some cases even with children—who dare to hold views differing from those of the ruling Communist Party.

* * *

Lenin's warfare against anarchistic tendencies has assumed the most revolting Asiatic form of extermination. Last September numerous of our comrades were arrested in Moscow, and on the thirtieth of that month the *Isvestia* published the official statement that ten had been shot "as bandits." None had received a trial or even a hearing.

* * *

"I came to Russia," said Goldman, "with burning enthusiasm for the revolution. I left America with rejoicing and hope, but now I have nothing left but crushed illusions. I am depressed when I think about it and the words stick in my throat. But I must talk, so that the proletariat can learn by my mistakes."

One would think that such a revelation from such high authorities as Emma Goldman and Berkman

would give pause to our liberal-minded press. We recall their earlier arguments: The Bolsheviks had to suppress and coerce in the initial stages in order to get their Government firmly established and the people educated to it. Ruthlessness was only a passing detail. Brotherly love would begin to flow one of these days. We have waited for that event. So have Goldman and Berkman. Are they too narrow-minded for the liberals? When the Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution came to America a few years ago, a special delegation of liberals went to San Francisco to escort her across the continent. In amazement they listened to her denunciation of Bolshevism, and thereupon concluded that Mme. Breshkovskaya had outlived her usefulness. Goldman and Berkman haven't her years, for which reason dotage cannot be conveniently trumped up against them. But the liberals are quick on their feet and will doubtless contrive to remove any real significance from these latest bitter words.

Yet what a pity that "liberal"—that word which for a century has brought hope to the rank and file of mankind—has come to signify persons who will see only what they wish to see; who would gladly make the world stand still unless permitted to prescribe and enforce their own recipe for universal brotherhood! They wish to save the world in their own way, much as an overzealous Newfoundland dog insists upon saving every child it sees in swimming. Is this attitude so very much less intolerant and self-seeking than that held by the despised capitalist who cries, in and out of season, that the freest play of *laissez-faire* is the only means to real happiness?

Pennsylvania's New Senator

A MASTER stroke of selection was Governor Sproul's appointment of George Wharton Pepper as successor to Senator Penrose. It is of men like Mr. Pepper that the Senate stands in acutest need. In character and intellect alike, he represents what one likes to think of as the standard of membership in that small and potent body; but how few of the ninety-six Senators come anywhere near fulfilling that standard, everybody knows. To satisfaction in the personal merits of the new Senator is added the welcome fact that it is to these merits, and not to any hold upon political machinery, that the appointment is due. It is to be hoped that Mr. Pepper's exceptional qualifications, and his fine personality, will enable him to make himself felt in the Senate despite the almost insurmountable barriers which its senseless rules of seniority interpose. In any case, we trust that Pennsylvania will feel sufficient pride in being represented by such a man to make sure his return by popular election. To Governor Sproul a special tribute is due because, in appointing Senator Pepper, he not only acted upon a high standard of selection, and not only showed his independence of political rings, but cut off his own chance of a seat in the Senate—a deliberate sacrifice, it is generally believed, of his personal ambition.

Not the least interesting possibility connected with this event is the emulation it may arouse in other States. If the people of the various States could be got to feel as much pride in the quality of their Senators as they do in the figures of material growth, we should soon have a Senate worthy of its great tradition.

The Story of the Week

Ireland

ON Saturday, the 7th, the Dail Eireann ratified the London agreement for association of Ireland with the British Commonwealth of Nations, by a vote of 64 to 57. Michael Collins proposed a joint committee representing both those who had voted for and those who had voted against ratification, to make arrangements for a Provisional Government to operate until the constitution of a Parliament and a Government in accordance with the London agreement. The proposal was rejected by de Valera with scant courtesy. Mr. de Valera then made the following important statement:

I have to say to the country and to the world that the Irish people established a republic. A vote of Dail is simply approval; the republic can only be disestablished by the Irish people. Therefore until the Irish people in regular manner disestablish it, this republican constitution goes on.

Whatever arrangements are made, this is the supreme sovereign body in the nation. This is the body to which the nation looks for its supreme Government, and it must remain, no matter who is the Executive, until the Irish nation has disestablished it.

Concerning the first part of the above statement, it may be said that it has a certain plausibility. At any rate, it is difficult to see how the noisy and threatening Opposition can be silenced except by a plebiscite. Undoubtedly a plebiscite taken now would overwhelmingly indorse the ratifying action of the Dail. Why then does not Griffith move for a plebiscite? The answer probably is that Griffith, a most scrupulous man, fears that a direct reference of the agreement to the people might be thought to put in question the validity of the ratification by the Dail Eireann. Ultimately, however, the people must decide. Ultimately, as we shall show, they will have a chance, not to ratify or to reject the agreement, but to elect representatives pledged to fulfill or to repudiate.

As to the second part of the above statement, it is not likely that the British will oppose any objections to the continued functioning of the Dail up to the constitution of the Parliament of the Free State.

The fact has been pretty generally overlooked that the London agreement has not yet been ratified in Ireland in the manner required by the terms of that document. Those terms call for ratification by the members elected to the House of Commons of Southern Ireland under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. The elections to such a House of Commons were duly held in the spring of 1921, but since all those elected (except four Loyalists to represent the University of Dublin) were Sinn Feiners and refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King, the House was never constituted. It happened, however, as stated in our issue of December 17, that "the above-mentioned elections were held about the time that election of a new Dail Eireann had been contemplated, and so election to the House of Commons was by a Hibernian fiction considered an election to a new Dail Eireann" (except for the four Loyalists).

Now, to cure the defect, Mr. Griffith, the new President of the Dail Eireann, has summoned that House of Commons, which never met as such, to meet on the 21st, to act on the London agreement. Since that House will consist of the Dail plus the four Loyalists above mentioned, ratification should be a mere formality. But this little difficulty suggests itself: Can that House be legally consti-

tuted without taking the old oath of allegiance to the King? [One may be quite sure that the Dail members will not take that oath.] That is a delightful question. Presumably the British authorities will have the good sense to waive the oath.

On Monday, the 9th, de Valera resigned as President of the Irish Republic. His reelection (as "President of the Irish Republic," observe) was moved, and the motion was defeated by only the narrowest of margins, 60 to 58. Reelection of de Valera would have been equivalent to repudiation of the agreement just ratified. For, as well stated in the *New York Times*, the following was the platform on which de Valera stood for reelection:

He proposed to form a republican government of his own, to take full executive control, to use the funds of the Dail and "everything else we are entitled to for the preservation of the independence of and the maintenance of the republic until the people decide otherwise." At the same time he offered to let "the plenipotentiaries or others" take the further steps necessary to give effect to the treaty while he carries on in the Dail Eireann. He thinks, or affects to think, that the British authorities could or would hand over authority to an unofficial committee while a republican government was in existence denying the validity of the treaty.

On Tuesday, the 10th, Arthur Griffith was elected President of the Dail and the Cabinet by the unanimous vote of sixty-four members, the Opposition having walked out of the House. Griffith nominated a Cabinet as follows (the Dail approving):

Finance, Michael Collins.
Foreign Affairs, George Gavan Duffy.
Home Affairs, Eamon J. Duggan.
Local Government, Alderman W. T. Cosgrove.
Economic Affairs, Kevin O'Higgins.
Defense, Richard Mulcahy.

A very strong Cabinet.

Griffith outlined his program. He would summon the members of the Southern House of Commons; the latter would elect the Provisional Government (it may be assumed that they will elect Griffith and his Cabinet); [presumably the House of Commons would then cease to exist]; he would keep public order until the election to the Free State Parliament. "Then the people could decide." How? As we interpret, by choice of representatives pledged to fulfillment or repudiation of the London agreement.

Whereon it is to be remarked: There must be a considerable interval before elections to the Free State Parliament. It seems certain that in the meantime the Opposition will furiously exert themselves for the election of persons pledged to refuse to take the oath of allegiance prescribed in the London agreement. We doubt their success. But in that interval tension will be



Morris

"Senator Borah Discovers a Germ"



International

Bodyguards of the Prince of Wales during his visit to Jagmander, India

high. Throughout the history of their relations with the Irish, the British have shown a singular and fatal genius for indiscretion. A little thing might spoil all. But at present the great majority of the southern Irish are strong for the agreement. If they so continue, all will be well.

Such is the delicate posture of affairs in Ireland. Who does not feel a singular interest in that so gifted people at this crisis of their fate? [After the election of Griffith, the Dail adjourned to February 14.]

Cannes, Etc.

THE Supreme Council met at Cannes on January 6. Lloyd George at once offered a startling resolution, supported it by an ingenious speech, and procured unanimous acceptance of it. The resolution follows:

The allied Powers, met in conference, are unanimously of the opinion that a conference of an economic and financial nature should be called during the first weeks of March, to which all the European Powers, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Russia included, should be invited to send representatives. They consider that such a conference constitutes an urgent and essential step toward the economic reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe. They are of the firm opinion that the Prime Ministers of each nation ought, if possible, to take part themselves at this conference so that the recommendations can be acted on as quickly as possible.

The allied Powers consider that the restoration of the international commerce of Europe, as well as the development of the resources of all countries, are necessary to increase the amount of productive labor and lessen the suffering endured by the European peoples.

A common effort by the most powerful States is necessary to restore to the European system its vitality, which is now paralyzed.

This effort ought to be applied to the suppression of all obstacles in the way of commerce. It ought to be applied also to granting large credits to the most feeble countries and to the co-operation of all for the restoration of normal production.

The allied Powers consider that the fundamental and indispensable conditions for the realization of an efficacious effort are capable of being defined in general terms as follows:

(1) The nations cannot claim the right to dictate to each other the principles according to which they must organize within their frontiers, their régime of property, their economy and their government. It is the right of each country to choose for itself the system which it prefers.

(2) Nevertheless it is not possible to place foreign capital in order to help a country unless the foreigners who provide the capital have a certitude that their property and their rights will be respected and that the fruits of their enterprise will be assured.

(3) This feeling of security cannot be re-established unless nations or their Governments desiring to obtain foreign credits freely engage: (a) To recognize all public debts and obligations which have been contracted, or will be contracted or guaranteed by States, municipalities, or other public organizations, and to recognize also obligation to restore or, in case of default, to indemnify all foreign interests for loss or damage which has been caused by the confiscation or sequestration of property; (b) to establish legal and juristic punishment and assure the impartial execution of all commercial or other contracts.

(4) The nations ought to have available convenient means of exchange; in general, financial and monetary conditions ought to exist which offer sufficient guarantees.

(5) All nations ought to engage to abstain from all propaganda which is subversive of the political systems established in other countries.

(6) All nations ought to make a common engagement to abstain from all aggression on their neighbors.

If, with a view to assuring the necessary conditions for the development of the commerce of Russia, the Russian

Government claims official recognition, the allied Governments cannot accord this recognition unless the Russian Government accepts the preceding conditions.

The conference is to be held in Italy (probably at Genoa), and the United States has been invited to send representatives.

The most interesting feature of the above resolution is, of course, the statement of the conditions which must be

accepted by the Moscow Government before it may expect recognition. Though the thing is put in a roundabout way, the resolving Powers have certainly committed themselves to recognition of the Soviet Government should it accept the conditions named. Surely "faith, hope, and charity" are demanded, if the mere signatures of the Soviet representatives, without guarantees of



Morris

"The Harp Again in Tara's Halls"

good faith, are to be deemed sufficient. Whether, in view of the above commitment, the United States Government will consent to send representatives to Genoa, is one of the world questions which most loudly clamor for answer. The reader has doubtless noted the grim humor of the statement (glancing at Russia) in the resolution: "It is the right of each country to choose for itself the system which it prefers."

From the 6th to the 11th Lloyd George and Briand were engaged upon the memorandum draft of a treaty of alliance between France and Britain, of which the most striking features are: a guarantee by Britain to assist France as in 1914 in case of unprovoked German aggression; agreement that there shall be no naval competition between the two countries; agreement to recognize the Moscow Government should it accept the conditions named in the resolution above quoted; agreement to "march together to restore the economic structure of Europe" [while French desires regarding reparations and security are to be met so far as possible, they must be subordinated to the grander question of the reconstruction of Europe]; agreement to immediate coöperation for peace in the Near East; and in general agreement to confer and coöperate as to all matters of common concern. Reduction of French land armament is faintly hinted.

On the 11th Briand rushed off to Paris with his copy of the memorandum draft. If the Cabinet disapproves it, it is said he will resign. If it approves, he will present it to the Chamber and ask for a vote of confidence.

[Just as we completed the above, on the evening of the 12th, we received the news of Briand's resignation. He had obtained the unanimous approval of his Cabinet; he was addressing the Chamber in the most wonderful of his speeches, the Chamber was won over and ready to give him a vote of confidence, when he announced his resignation. He felt, it is thought, that, despite the present effect of his eloquence, he could not count on a majority in the Chamber much longer. President Millerand had disapproved his course at Cannes; and President Millerand, unlike previous French Presidents, counts. His enemies, he said, had taken

a perfidious advantage of his absence to misrepresent him and to obstruct a delicate negotiation. He could not carry on, on such terms.

The Washington Conference

THE original two Root resolutions were redrafted into four resolutions, which were adopted by the Committee on Limitation of Armament.

The first of these resolutions restates the existing provisions of the laws of war relating to behavior of combatant craft toward merchant vessels.

The second resolution invites "all other Powers to express their assent to the foregoing statement of established law;" in the interest of publicity, so to speak.

The third resolution states: "To the end that the prohibition of the use of submarines as commerce destroyers shall be universally accepted as a part of the law of nations," the five great naval Powers "accept that prohibition as between themselves and they invite all other civilized nations to adhere thereto."

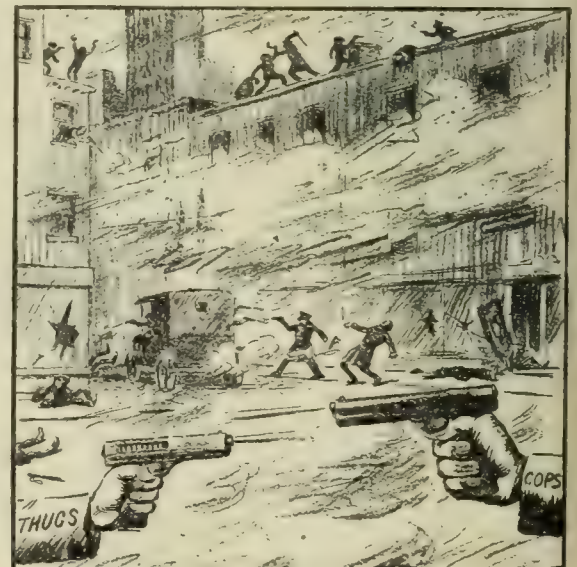
Resolution IV follows:

The signatory Powers, desiring to insure the enforcement of the humane rules of existing law declared by them with respect to attacks upon and the seizure and destruction of merchant ships, further declare that any person in the service of any Power who shall violate any of those rules, whether or not such person is under orders of a governmental superior, shall be deemed to have violated the laws of war and shall be liable to trial and punishment as if for an act of piracy and may be brought to trial before the civil or military authorities of any Power within the jurisdiction of which he may be found.

This resolution calls for analysis. It seems to offer to establish a rule of international law; a thing which, as the conferees have repeatedly declared, five Powers cannot do. It declares that violation by any person whomsoever of the existing rules of international law relating to behavior of combatant craft toward merchant ships shall be deemed an act of piracy, and that the offender may be brought to trial before the civil or military authorities of any Power whatsoever. It does not invite other Powers to adhere. It has no application to Resolution III. It would be much more satisfactory did it give teeth to Resolution III.

On the 6th the Committee on Limitation of Armament adopted a resolution offered by the American delegation, denouncing the "use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials or devices," expressing the hope that prohibition of this use shall be universally accepted as an article of international law, declaring agreement of the five Powers to be bound by such prohibition as between themselves, and "inviting other civilized Powers to adhere thereto." The obvious criticism of this resolution is that it lacks teeth.

The Committee, having listened to the dreary report of the aviation experts, adopted the following resolution: "The Committee is of the opinion that it is not at present practicable to impose any effective limitations upon the numbers or characteristics of aircraft, either commercial or military."



Nelson Harding

"The Battle of New York"

Cabbages and Kings

By Henry W. Bunn

An Ideal Government

THE opinions we form on current developments in Great Britain, France, or Italy are very deeply and justly affected by what we know of British, French, or Italian culture and character, as well as history. Our opinions on current developments in China should be affected in like manner; but, as most of us are not informed at all, or badly misinformed, about China, our opinions about China cannot be so affected. I remarked in a previous paper that the customary Western attitude toward China and the Chinese is one of contempt, or, at any rate, of superiority or condescension; and I tried, by citing Chinese achievements in poetry, philosophy, painting, etc., to persuade the reader that such an attitude is preposterous.

I imagine some reader saying: "For the argument's sake I concede the Chinese genius for arts and letters, as you have described it. But surely you will not ask me to credit the Chinese with a genius for government. You will admit that the Chinese Empire was, the Chinese Republic is, a bizarre affair, a sort of continuous *opera-bouffe* performance."

I will admit nothing of the sort. About 100 B. C. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, greatest of historians, drew up from the ancient annals a history of China from 2698 B. C. to his own day. This history, with its supplements closely modeled on Ssu-ma Ch'ien's work (each dynasty had its historian in the succeeding dynasty), is an unbroken record of unparalleled accuracy and fairness, covering the period 1122 B. C. to a recent time. I say 1122 B. C.; for in general the Sinologues will not admit the authenticity of the records farther back than the Ch'ou dynasty. The high state of civilization at the beginning of the Ch'ou dynasty implies a substantial Chinese polity for many, many centuries before. But 1122 B. C. is far enough back in all conscience. Consider, then, the astounding fact that the Chinese Empire had a practically unbroken existence (broken only by insignificant interregnums, corresponding to dynastic changes) from 1122 B. C. to our own day. It is true that there were many dynastic changes and some successful invasions and consequent alien dynasties; but the essential character of government did not change. That empire subsisted through the many rolling centuries in which so many empires tumbled to ruin or crumbled to decay. It is not conceivable that an empire of the *opera-bouffe* kind could have lasted that long.

The truth stands in "diameter and sword's point" with the *opera-bouffe* conception. The empire has enjoyed (I say "has," because I do not choose to consider the empire dead) its unparalleled longevity because of the august and excellent character of its mode of government: a government by *literati* or philosophers; the kind of government of which Socrates dreamed, but which he considered quite unrealizable; in other words, *ideal*.

It will be remembered how, at the end of the Ninth Book of the "Republic," Socrates remarks that, as for the government which he has been at such pains to describe, it makes no difference whatever whether it ever be realized or not; its pattern is doubtless laid up in heaven for him to contemplate who so desires. Well, the pattern of the Chinese Government is doubtless laid up in heaven; it has never been realized on earth, and questionless never will.

The greatest philosophers, I think, are agreed that the best type of government is that which governs least. By this criterion the Chinese Government is the best, indeed the ideal, type of government; for it has never really governed at all.

It is then, apparent that it is by reason of its ideal quality that the Chinese Empire has subsisted substantially unchanged since immemorial antiquity; has subsisted through the many rolling centuries in which so many empires have tumbled Lethe-wards: by reason of this ideal quality, and by reason of the singular character of a people adapted to, worthy of, such a government or no-government. Thus, with practically no administration, no laws, only by the moral suasion exercised by the *literati* ("philosopher-guardians," as Plato would call them), the Empire has held on its serene way: the Empire of a people the most industrious, the most law-abiding, the most happy in the world; and the most humane, for among them the great tragedy of the West does not exist—the tragedy of neglected Old Age. A wonderful people: who submit imperturbably to the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune; who make little pother about those cosmic arrangements which bowl over the identical; who are Stoics without the self-consciousness of that interesting cult; whose mourning color is white. [I shall conclude this beautiful speculation in another paper.]

"That Is the Question"

Will the United States participate in the Genoa conference? It is commonly said that the decision must depend on our Government's view of the intentions of Britain and France respecting Russia. But, it is pertinently asked, supposing those intentions to be repugnant to our Government, would it not be possible, through strong American representatives (one thinks of Mr. Hoover, of course), to swing the conference at least part of the way to American views; and should the chance of that be missed? There is no doubt that the resolution proposing the Genoa conference contemplates recognition of the present Moscow Government provided it accepts certain conditions and gives satisfaction as to its good faith in such acceptance. Assuming that the United States Government should entertain the idea of recognition of the Lenin Government (a very unpleasing assumption), its representatives might procure rigid definition of the conditions of recognition, and ironclad guarantees of their fulfillment; what is more important, they might insist that the programme for Russia's reconstruction shall primarily contemplate benefits to Russia, and not merely reconstruction in so far as it may serve Germany's turn, that so a Germany enriched through exploitation of Russia may pay reparations and restore to Britain her lost market (Germany of old providing Britain's richest market); they might prevent a programme which should involve economic and (however disguised) political domination of Russia by Germany—the old German dream, the present dream of Hugo Stinnes, and others of the same kidney. For a great many people find that the programme tentatively outlined by Lloyd George smells strongly of Hugo Stinnes ("whiffs," as Stalky & Co. would say—a "dark-blue" odor); at any rate, there is an extraordinary resemblance (fortuitous, perhaps, like the simultaneous discovery by Leibnitz and Newton of the same law) between a programme attributed some weeks ago in the press to Hugo Stinnes, and Lloyd George's tentative programme revealed at Cannes. Through Mr. Colby and Mr. Hughes the United States has announced itself the champion of Russia; it is obvious, then, that, if American representatives participate in the Cannes conference, they will very narrowly examine the programme for Russian reconstruction.

But will the American Government entertain the idea of recognition of the present Moscow régime? "That is the question."

A Simple Household Test of Spiritualism

By Edwin E. Slosson

THE Society for Psychical Research has during the last few years been developing a new form of evidence for spirit communication and reports brilliant success. This consists in getting the spirit to describe a passage in a certain book in a distant place. Here, as the psychical researchers rightly say, telepathy and mind reading are out of the question, for no one present or probably anywhere knows what is on the page.

One of the cases considered most convincing has lately been published in the proceedings of the S. P. R. and is reported by Miss Lyttelton in the *Fortnightly Review* of September. Here the late Colonel Beadon told his widow through the medium Feda that "in a squarish room on the top shelf, running by the wall to the window, but not quite in the corner, of a row of books the fifth book, counting from right to left, contains on its page 71 a message. On the same shelf is a book in dirtyish brown cover and a reddish book and an old fashioned book." The message is in the second paragraph and "will not be so beautiful as he would like to make it," but is distinguished by these seven characteristics: "(1) It refers to a past condition; (2) but it has an application to the present; (3) it refers to a thought which was much more in your mind at one time than it is now; (4) on the opposite page is a reference to fire, and a reference to (5) light and a reference to (6) olden times, and (7) on the same page or opposite page or perhaps over the leaf a very important word beginning with S."

These are the test specifications, copied literally, though slightly condensed, for I have left out some of Feda's fumbling for the page and place. There are fourteen specifications, counting the description of the room and books. Imagine, then, Mrs. Beadon's amazement when she went to her room and found in the book and on the page indicated a passage that could fairly be construed as previously described by the medium. So Miss Lyttelton concludes:

It is difficult to think that chance can account for the seven different points. If telepathy between the living is to be given as an explanation, we must suppose that the mind of the medium learned from her sitter of a book, in a house the medium had never entered, discovered an appropriate quotation from poems the sitter had never read, and succeeded in conveying seven different indications of the chosen passage. . . . It seems easier to accept the statement of the supposed communicator that an attempt is being made to provide evidence of the continued life and identity of those who have died to our life.

This is indeed wonderful, but the half has not been told. I have even stronger evidence to present to the S. P. R., for it seems that the deceased colonel visited my library, three thousand miles further away, instead of, or in addition to, his own. For when I read this test I naturally wanted to try it for myself and I found it worked, which for a pragmatist is proof enough for anything.

First, the room, "squarish" is just the word for it since one corner is cut off. My bookshelf runs by the wall to the window, but not quite in the corner, and on it are "a book in dirtyish brown" (a rubbed and soiled copy of Balzac's "Contes Drolatiques" and "a reddish book" (sure, a whole set of 'em, Shakespeare in morocco) and "an old fashioned book" (hit it again! Could anything be more old fashioned than "The Old Yellow Book" of Browning, date 1697?). Right in between the volumes so accurately described is the fifth book, Thompson's "City of Dreadful Night." Somewhat shaken by these mysterious coincidences I take down the volume with trembling hand and turn to page 71. This is what I read in the second paragraph:

The war was over for the time: and men
Returned to heal its wounds, repair its waste,
And thus grow strong and rich to fight again.

Could anything be apter? It "refers to a past condition"; the Great War is officially over. "But it has an application to the present." Yes, indeed, for even now in this very city of Washington the delegates to the armament—or disarmament—conference are assembled. "On the opposite page is reference to fire, light and olden times." Well, I should say so. Here is the opposite passage:

Whence Hassan sang his sudden daring ode
Of Beauty revelling in the storm of flight:
For if the warriors into battle rode,
Their hearts were kindled by her living light:
Either as sun that in pure azure glowed,
Or baleful star in deep despair's black night:
And whether by despair or joy she lit
Intenser fires perplexed the poet's wit.

When I first read the article I was puzzled by Feda's uncertainty over the page on which the "very important word beginning with S occurs," for surely that is a safe statement to make of any page of English print. But when I looked at my book I saw the reason; for the stanza in which "seek" is the key word runs over two pages:

Seek not the captains where the steed clouds thunder,
Seek not the elders in the council hall;
But seek the chamber where some shining wonder
Of delicate beauty nestles, far from all.

Mrs. Beadon found "steamboat" on one of the three pages designated by the medium and "felt at first that (7) was hardly fulfilled." Anyhow it fits my poem of "Weddah and Om-el-Bonain" better than the poem of Holmes's that she hit upon.

It is always best to try these things out for yourself. You find out how easy it is. I was once quite mystified by a clairvoyant who would hold a letter to her head and tell things startlingly true about the writer or the recipient or somebody mentioned in the letter or living in the town to which it was addressed or from which it was sent. But when I went home I found I could do almost as well at reading sealed letters through my skull if I would only let my imagination have rein and say whatever queer thing popped into my mind without considering probabilities. I also got some striking communications from rappings in a circle of honest-minded friends, but later discovered that I was doing the raps myself by unconsciously creaking my chair.

Shaw says that the art of fortune-telling ought to be taught in all the schools, for nothing else gives so convincing a demonstration of the common characteristics and fates of the human race.

Anyone who attends seances knows that the medium has no difficulty in getting recognition for her messages and manifestations. Sometimes, indeed, there is unseemly strife between two mothers who claim the same ghostly child or widows who receive a confidential communication from the same husband. Word a "Personal" as particularly as you please, putting in pet names and allusions known only to you two, and still you are likely to get answers to your advertisement from several strangers. It is said that the police in pursuit of a fugitive criminal sent out a set of five photographs of the man in various poses to insure identification, and that a country sheriff, eager for the reward, telegraphed in "I have four of them in jail and know where I can find the fifth." When Jerome K. Jerome read through the medical dictionary he found that he had symptoms of all the diseases except housemaid's knee. The patent medicine man and the medium make their money in the same way—because a given shoe fits so many people.

The Irish Settlement

By Ellis Parker Butler

OUR eminent jurist, Justice of the Peace Lem Hooper, after glancing over the unimportant legal document handed him by Lawyer McElroy, scratched his name on it and handed it back.

"Judge," Mr. McElroy asked, "what do you think of the way this Irish matter has been settled?"

"What say?" asked Judge Hooper.

"I said, 'What do you think of the way the Irish matter has been fixed?'" said Mr. McElroy.

"Oh, I thought you said 'settled,'" said Judge Hooper.

"Well, Mac, I couldn't find words to express my whole-souled admiration if I tried for a week. There were two things I was afraid of, Mac. One was that Lloyd George was going to turn Ireland loose, the way you trap-shooters let a pigeon out of the box—turn it loose for a couple of seconds so you can up with your gun and shoot the everlasting daylights out of it. And the other thing I was afraid of was that he would rig up some plan that would take the joy of living right away from Ireland.

"He didn't do that, Mac. He's a genius. As Mark Hanna might have put it: 'God rules and the shillalah still lives.' When the Irish dollar is coined, the dove of peace may be stamped on one side, but there is still room for the black-thorn cudgel—unbroken—on the other.

"When I heard that Lloyd George was going to fix things, Mac, I was scared. He has the grin of a cat that has known the flavor of too many canaries, and one or two more or less mean nothing to him. I did him wrong. There is still a chance that the broken brick and the broken head may flourish in the green isle and joy be unalloyed—except by the honest odor of arnica.

"The start was auspicious, Mac. 'Gentlemen of Ireland, one and united,' said Lloyd George—'One minute, please!' said Ulster; 'I object to the "united." I dissent and take exception and wish to be recorded as against everything in the agreement, from Article I to Article XVI inclusive, including race, religion and previous condition of servitude and the period at the end.' 'Gentlemen of Ireland, one and united, except Ulster—' said Lloyd George, always willing to oblige, and the preliminary disagreement was agreed to and put on record.

"So Mr. Griffith and the others carried the glad tidings to the Dail Eireann. 'Gentlemen of Ireland, free and united, except Ulster,' he said, 'it has been agreed—' But Mr. de Valera got up. 'One minute, please!' he said; 'before a vote is taken kindly jot me down as dissenting.' 'From what?' Mr. Griffith asked. 'From everything,' said Mr. de Valera; 'from the agreement and the disagreement and the way the delegates delegated. Make a note that the President of the Irish Republic disagrees wholesale and retail. Make a note that the Irish Republic also disagrees.'

"So Mr. Griffith tried again. 'Gentlemen of Ireland, one and united, excepting Ulster, Mr. de Valera, the President of the Irish Republic, and the Irish Republic itself, you have heard the agreement. We will now vote on it.' So the vote was taken, Mac, and the agreement was unanimously adopted."

"Unanimously?" exclaimed Mr. McElroy. "Why, judge, the vote was 64 to 57!"

"I referred to *Irish* unanimity, Mac," said Judge Hooper. "In Ireland anything is unanimous that splits other than fifty-fifty. So, you see, there is still hope that the joy of living will exist in Ireland as of old. There's no dissension in regard to the Free State agreement except by 57 to 64, by Ulster, by Mr. President de Valera, by the Irish Republic, and by others. The outlook is hopeful. Reports from the interior indicate that the rumor that the frost had blighted the black-thorn crop was greatly exaggerated.

"I notice by a photograph of Lloyd George taken after the signing of the Irish peace treaty that he was still smiling. He looked to me like a man that thinks this is a funny world, Mac, and no doubt someone has let him into the secret that Ireland is still a part of it.

"Well, anyway, it is a fine thing for the shamrock to be a free and equal citizen of the vegetable world once more, Mac. We all wished for that. We've all often sung heartily the sad words:

Oh, Paddy dear, and did ye hear
Th' news that's goin' round?
Th' shamrock is forbid by law
To grow on Irish ground.

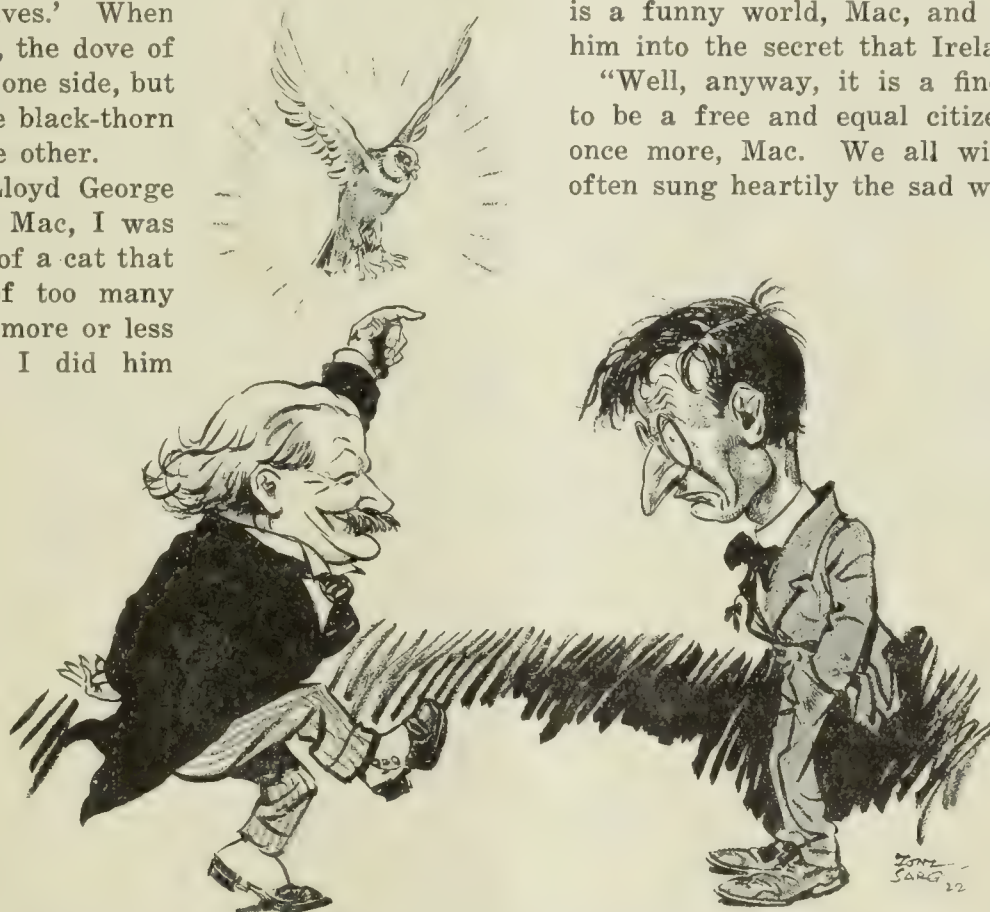
"For ages the shamrock has been shamefully trodden under the heel of the Sassenach, Mac, and no son of Erin dared grow it except in a flowerpot in the darkest corner of his cellar. I shouldn't wonder if every potted sprig of shamrock would be fetched out into the light of day now. A spray of shamrock in a neat pot filled with good Irish

soil makes the next best missile to a brick. They may come handy.

"The wise men of Ireland should see that the best job now is growing shamrocks and not throwing them. I think they do. But how many of the Irish people know a wise man when they see him, we can't quite tell yet. To my notion it is better that Mr. de Valera should resign because the agreement went through than that Lloyd George should resign because it didn't. To my notion the lips of Mr. de Valera are too thin to smile a hearty Irish smile, and it is full time that the sons and daughters of Erin should have a bit of fine weather and learn to smile again, Mac, for to my notion the Irish smile is one of God's gifts to the world."

"Even when it is a grin," agreed Mr. McElroy.

"When the Irish smile is a grin," said Judge Hooper, "it is more than a gift, it is a benediction."



Messrs. Lloyd George and de Valera immediately after the signing of the Irish Peace Treaty. (Note that de Valera's lips are too thin to smile.)

Music

"Le Roi d'Ys"—Albert Coates—Reappearance of Calvé

By W. J. Henderson

THE production of Edouard Lalo's opera, "Le Roi d'Ys," at the Metropolitan Opera House on Thursday evening, January 5, was one of the important incidents of a musical season which has been marked by strenuous activity, but which has been comparatively barren of real events. The opera found its way to the Parisian public in 1888 after much labor on the part of its composer to obtain a hearing. Since that time it has held its place on the French stage and has even been performed in the seclusion of the New Orleans opera.

It is not a work of the first order, but it has certain merits which may possibly win for it a life of more than one season at the Metropolitan. The libretto is good operatic material of the conventional type, lacking in poetic distinction, possessing no brilliant dramatic qualities, yet having a theatrical value which might be made more impressive by a better performance. The story is founded on an old Breton legend of a city protected by a dike from incursions of the sea and inundated by the rash act of the king's daughter, who while intoxicated steals the key of the flood-gate and admits the waters.

Upon this foundation Edouard Blau, the librettist, constructed a story of a king with two daughters, both in love with the same valiant knight, absent in a foreign war. During this absence the king, to propitiate a neighboring and always hostile princeling, arranges a marriage of the elder daughter with him. But at this moment the absent knight returns and Margared refuses to wed him. He threatens a new war, one of extermination. Margared learns that her sister and Mylio, the knight, love one another, and she vows vengeance. She becomes an ally of Karnac, her father's enemy, and to aid him floods the city. At the last moment, when her father and his few remaining subjects have ascended the highest territory in his domain in their flight from the waves, she repents, and hurls herself into the sea, which is thus appeased and retires.

The music is entirely respectable and equally it is undistinguished. It is the creation of a man who knows his business, but who shows no imagination. The best portions of the work are those publishing the tenderer feelings and those embodying fancies of a tenuous but graceful type. The tumult of passion which rages in the soul of Margared emerges in music of conventional patterns, correct according to stage traditions, but wholly undisturbing to the mental poise of the comfortable society persons in stalls and boxes. It is a pretty opera to look at with its mediaeval Breton costumes and its piquant contrast of blonde and brunette sisters, honorably represented by Mme. Alda and Miss Ponselle. The latter lived an excessively strenuous life for two hours and a half, and one felt that when she threw herself into the painted ocean she was entitled to all the rest usually attributed to the painted ship. Mr. Gigli as a fat and solemn knight, singing like a somnambulist troubadour, Mr. Danise as a long-haired villain with nothing to sing, and Mr. Rothier as a pasteboard king were the other principal singers.

Other operatic incidents of recent occurrence were the reappearance on December 28 of Lucrezia Bori, singing Mimi in "La Bohème" with indescribable charm of voice and person, and Fiora in "L'Amore dei Tre Re" on January 2. Nor should the record of the lyric drama be closed without mention of the most admirable Kundry of Florence Easton on January 2 and the less successful Elsa of Marie Jeritza on January 6. The Viennese soprano is demon-

strating with slow certainty that she is more successful in vigorous acting rôles than in those demanding mastery of the technique of pure singing. Her Elsa was histrionically adequate, while musically it was intelligent but deficient in beauty of tone and elegance of style.

The final concert of Richard Strauss on January 1 removed from the concert field its most commanding figure and left patrons of orchestral concerts leisure to give ample consideration to the doings of Albert Coates, the English conductor, who has replaced Walter Damrosch for the time as director of the Symphony Society concerts. Mr. Coates began his proceedings with immense vigor and made at least one kind of mighty noise in the world of music. He also introduced new music, some interesting and some commonplace. Having learned that the populace loved not to have its ears beaten in, Mr. Coates amiably desisted from the habitual practice of fortissimi and began to roar as gently as a sucking dove. After the first concert his dynamics became delightfully sane and his readings correspondingly enjoyable.

Mr. Coates dotes on Scriabine, and therefore revived his "Divine Poem." It will surely have to be revived again, for after the performance it was deadlier than before. More pleasure was derived from hearing John Gerrard Williams's delicate suite called "Pot Pourri," nine little pieces singing of the mixture of dried flowers on an old lady's mantel. Unpretentious, charming, exquisite in style and treatment, this fragile music perfumed the passing hour of a winter afternoon as the original pot-pourri might have done.

Pablo Casals, the distinguished Spanish 'cellist, was heard on Saturday, January 7, after a protracted absence. It should be enough to say that this great artist played a sonata and a suite of Bach in succession and in such a manner as to arouse enthusiasm in an audience that crowded Aeolian Hall. Bach is not for the masses, but Mr. Casals plays his music so sympathetically, and with so complete and satisfying an exposition of its subtle intimacy, that he makes it a common musical language comprehensible to the youth, the maiden, and the old.

On Sunday, January 8, Emma Calvé, who twenty-eight years earlier had made her début here as Santuzza and afterward became "the rage" as Carmen, reappeared, singing a recital of operatic airs and songs in Carnegie Hall. According to the books Mme. Calvé was born in 1864. There must be some error. She must have been born in Provence in the early thirteenth century, amid the flowering of troubadour song, when the gods gifted her with immortality. The state of her voice was astonishing. The youthful velvet, the springtime voluptuousness, is gone, but the range, the fundamental quality, the blending of registers, the iron chest tones, the aerial upper notes, and the capacity for color are still there. Furthermore Mme. Calvé brings back to our concert platform the knowledge of style, the grand manner of declamation, the splendor of delivery, which have so long been absent that younger music lovers have come to believe the tales told by their elders to be mythical. Her recital could have accomplished no better end than the exposition of the emptiness of the sensations created by some of the second and third-rate singers who are nightly acclaimed by the foot soldiers behind the rail at the opera. Mme. Calvé is the only singer left in active service of the incomparable company that made the Metropolitan famous in the early nineties the foremost opera house in the world. Some enthusiastic young persons are still claiming that place for it.

New Books and Old

Books of the Week

MY DIARIES; being a Personal Narrative of Events 1888-1914, by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. Two volumes. Knopf.

WASHINGTON AND THE RIDDLE OF PEACE, by H. G. Wells. Macmillan.

His newspaper letters about the conference on limitation of armaments.

CYTHEREA, by Joseph Hergesheimer. Knopf.

WILFRID BLUNT was born in Sussex in 1840, and educated in the Roman Catholic faith. He seems to have retained a flickering belief in its miraculous teachings, but otherwise to have gone over to skepticism at an early age. The thing sounds contradictory, but so does Mr. Blunt's attitude toward many worldly affairs. After some years in the diplomatic service in various European capitals (he is said to have entered the bull-ring in Madrid as a *matador*) he retired, and has devoted most of the past fifty years to the life of a squire in Sussex, where his father was squire before him. He has been a frequent traveler in the East, especially Egypt, a poet of distinction, and a breeder of Arabian horses.

His two volumes of "My Diaries" (Knopf), now available in a handsome American edition, form a work of unusual and curious interest. There are at least two men in it: the professional revolutionist, or sympathizer with revolutions, and the lover of country life and friend of poets, politicians, artists, and literary men. As a persistent politician—never in office—but a pamphleteer and "writer to *The Times*," he rejoices in the fact that he is always "agin the government," agin nearly all governments, everywhere, and at all times. Beginning with his espousal of Egyptian Nationalism in the seventies, continuing with his imprisonment in Ireland for the cause of Irish freedom (although himself an Englishman), he has defended the under dog with a ruthless spirit which often plainly showed that it was a matter of supreme indifference to him whether the under dog was right or wrong. So bitterly has he been opposed to the side of power that he was often led into ridiculous and contradictory positions. Thus in the war of 1898 between Spain and the United States, he instantly declared for Spain, as "the older and more barbarous country." So the Cubans, the real under dog in this war, were to be left in subjection, if Mr. Blunt should have his wish, since "the Yankees as the coming race of the world would be worse even than ourselves." Mr. Blunt seems to cherish feelings of the most cordial hatred toward America, and toward nearly all Americans. He does not mince words. Roosevelt, who made him sim-

ply boil with rage on the occasion of his Guildhall speech about Egypt, is "that swine." This, however, is only natural; Roosevelt's speech was, as a matter of course, maddening to the Egyptian Nationalists. What is far more peculiar is Mr. Blunt's insistent attribution of demoniacal qualities to English statesmen who seem, at this distance, quite unable to rouse anybody to fury. Curiously enough, he thought well of General Boulanger, whom he visited in Paris, and he never has anything but praise for Winston Churchill, the object of determined opposition from most "anti-imperialists." Sir Edward Grey, now Viscount Grey, is seen by Mr. Blunt as the foster-child of the Prince of Darkness, just as the devout followers of ex-President Wilson in this country regard Senator Lodge as a demon. Mr. Blunt was opposed to the entrance of England into the Great War of 1914, and gloried in an attitude of "severest abstention." But, quite true to form, he had indulged, during the Russo-Japanese War, and at the time of the Dogger Bank incident, in an outburst of jingoism. He thought that Balfour should order out the Channel Fleet and attack the Russian squadron at once—probably because he (Mr. Blunt) had found that the Cabinet were acting with calmness and good judgment in the interests of peace and common sense. If you must always be in opposition you find yourself advocating strange things now and again. There were not wanting in this country, in 1915-1916, pacifists and fervent defenders of Mr. Wilson's long-suffering policy toward German submarine murders, who truculently called for our fleet to enter the North Sea and defy the British Navy to delay our mails and our commerce with Germany. In its comments upon current politics, Mr. Blunt's diaries are simply waspish. But he is honest enough to leave in print many predictions which time has falsified—such as his prophecy in July, 1914, that there would be no war. He says that the Irish, for whom he worked, would, if they gained their freedom, be more tyrannical than the English in the treatment of any subject races or peoples. His attitude was "I long to help the whole world—damn its eyes!" He was a firm believer in birth, and seldom liked the self-made man.

Turning to his social life, his love of animals and of the English countryside, his friendship for poets, and his acquaintance with Egyptian leaders, Orientalists, Members of Parliament, religious mystics, Irish agitators, French and German soldiers and statesmen, actors, and others, the book becomes not only a repository for curious anecdotes and reflections, but the mirror of a personality charming in the highest degree. The character sketches—not to be accepted without reserve when political prejudices were aroused—are extraordinarily frank and amusing. There are more interesting revelations—many of them probably true enough—about public characters than in any book of the kind I have seen.

These are especially interesting, and probably especially reliable, when they concern artists and writers. Some of them may be mere gossip; but it is good gossip. The portrait of Francis Thompson, who spent some days visiting Mr. Blunt, is a notable instance. Other portraits are those of Sir Richard Burton, the Tichborne claimant, Queen Victoria, King Edward, Lord Rowton (Disraeli's secretary), Herbert Spencer, Cardinal Manning, Alfred Austin, and numerous Khedives of Egypt. There are hundreds of brief encounters with other famous folk. There are many odd stories—one of his visit to a holy well in the hope of a miraculous cure, and one of an Egyptian dignitary, who, seeing at the Khedive's court, for the first time in his life, European women in evening dress, was overcome with embarrassment, and feared that he—a good Moslem—had entered a den of shame.

Mr. H. G. Wells's "Washington and the Riddle of Peace" (Macmillan) contains his recent newspaper letters on the Washington conference, reprinted with little change. His disappointment because Germany and Russia were not there, his apparent regret at the failure of the delegates to bring on the brotherhood of man by resolution, are indicated here, as they were day by day in the *World* and other newspapers. He is persuasive and appealing in his good wishes for the world, and I am less stirred by his internationalism, impractical as it may be, than by his readiness to get angry with France. It is easy for an Englishman, and extremely easy for an American, to accuse France of being frightened, and of being suspicious of Germany. I can too easily imagine the state of American nerves if Germany, instead of Canada, were our neighbor, and if northern New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine were now lying desolate and ravaged by the work of "Hans," for whom Mr. Wells sheds such tender tears. The extreme patience with which the admirers of Mr. Wells's political philosophy treated Germany would now be well extended to France—where it is even less needed. To be ready to shake hands with your fallen foe is a noble trait, but I am aware of no reason for hitting your friend in the eye with your elbow at the same time.

My favorite character in Mr. Joseph Hergesheimer's "Cytherea" (Knopf) is Cytherea herself. She is quaintly but well dressed. She is quiet; she does not gossip about her neighbors. She does not consume too much drink—thereby annoying the Prohibitionists, who hate to think there is so much drink left, and irritating the drinkers, who wish they could have some of the quarts of cocktails which Cytherea's friends enjoy. She is not given to promiscuous philandering. She is indeed a model of decorum amid a crowd of roysterers. She is—but you must read the novel to see how she does it.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

Book Reviews

Unconscious Caricatures

POLITICAL PROFILES FROM BRITISH PUBLIC LIFE. By Herbert Sidebotham. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

BOOKS of this sort are becoming a public nuisance. The serious study of prominent leaders is so rich with suggestiveness and instruction as to make good biographies an invaluable side of historical work. But we are now being deluged with mere impressionist sketches, which are written to amuse readers that are in a hurry, and in which anything like adequate treatment is sacrificed to the mania for smartness and epigram. So instead of biographies we are getting pictures and mirrors, portraits and silhouettes. For some reason best known to himself—and, let us trust, more important than the mere fact that the possible names are becoming exhausted—Mr. Sidebotham presents us with "Profiles." It remains for the next artist of this class to offer us snap-shots. Perhaps the best name for most of them would be Caricatures. The metaphor underlying them all, namely, that of features of character depicted in an essay like features of the countenance depicted with brush or pencil, was a good metaphor until it became overworked. Now it is almost as completely worn out as the comparison of the state to a ship, and should be as carefully avoided by writers of taste.

Mr. Sidebotham is not a bad performer, as performers of this sort go. He was for eighteen months a reporter for the *Times* in the gallery of the House of Commons, and undertakes to show us how "the wonderful game below" looks to one who views it from that elevation. His first chapter is entitled "The Press Gallery," and gives an account of the appearance of the House, with its disposition of members and ministers, and with the elaborate provision in the background for "The Fourth Estate." The British Parliament is a sufficiently famous assembly to make this a matter of interest to everyone, and for those who have never visited that historic scene it is presented in these pages with a vividness that will be appreciated. Incidentally Mr. Sidebotham tells us of his press brethren, "If only these men could write what they think and say, what wonderful documents newspapers would be! Alas, all newspapers—well, nearly all—write down to the level of propaganda."

This opening chapter is followed by a series in which notable people have their profiles exhibited one by one. We have Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Asquith, Lord Grey of Fallodon and Mr. Winston Churchill, Lady Astor and Lord Birkenhead and Lord Carson and various others. It is not too much to say that in most of these cases the information given is about as familiar to those who have watched public af-

fairs as the description of the House itself is to those who have frequented the Strangers' Gallery. But it is plainly not to give information that these personal sketches have been produced. Mr. Sidebotham has a collection of *bon mots*, witty aphoristic jibes which he wishes to scatter, sharp summary statements about each which he thinks very fine indeed, and some of which—though by no means all—were well deserving of a place in those *Times* articles to which he originally contributed them. Whether they were worth reprinting in a volume is more doubtful. It is amusing to read of Lord Hugh Cecil that he is "intellectually athletic on a diet of dilemmas," and of Lord Reading that in early days an office stool and stock-broking "in turn engaged his romantic inattention." Mr. Winston Churchill is described as always carrying heavy guns, but guns that at first were not mobile. Lady Astor, in her impatience with mere men who have not courage for a root-and-branch campaign against the liquor trade, is made a symbol of that feminine resoluteness with which Lady Macbeth exclaimed "Give me the dagger." Of Lord Robert Cecil we read that his failures are due to his inability to fight, and that something always gets in his way when there is something to be done as well as said. The arguments of the other side, it seems, have an intellectual fascination for him. "If he is so respectful to his opponents' arguments when he himself is stating them, is it wonderful that when they come like fire from the mouth of that redoubtable dragon of debate, the Prime Minister, Lord Robert should be no St. George?" Perhaps the very best thing in the book is the author's analysis of the party man, one that could at first think for himself, but upon whom somebody affixed a label and who ever afterwards was expected to illustrate what was written there. If he departed from it, he was judged a man "of no principle." By far the most valuable of these personal sketches is that of Mr. Lloyd George, which shows us that Mr. Sidebotham has powers of a higher order in scrutiny and evaluation than this ephemeral journalese has allowed him to display. Too often one meets with those screaming superlatives which a moment's thought shows to be unjustifiable, and which found their way into the text for the sake of sensational or aphoristic brilliance. And an occasional carelessness of style, in an author who has undeniable gifts of writing, makes one think that the habit of saving time—so precious to the journalist writing for next day's paper—has a corrupting influence upon the author issuing a book.

It is but fair to say that the slight, jejune character of a great part of this work is in a measure redeemed by some excellent reflections at the end upon "The Future of Parliamentary Government." Mr. Sidebotham feels that the chief danger of parliamentary

institutions lies in the fact that to an increasing extent the executive is adopting towards the legislature tactics comparable to what is called "Direct Action" in the world of labor. Through the power of the press appeal is being made on every sort of occasion over the heads of the representatives to the public itself. "The printing press, in fact, does enable a prominent politician to gather forty million people in a forum and address them as though they were a crowd of a few hundreds." Some may regard this as a more democratic, and consequently a preferable, method for a self-governing community. But Mr. Sidebotham points out that, with all its imperfections, an elected legislature is superior as an instrument of government to "the casual readings and ponderings on what they read of millions of separate electors." The remedy he proposes is that the executive should be deprived of that most dangerous weapon for coercing Parliament which is at present available in the right to force at any time a general election. The threat of sending members back to their constituencies, and compelling them to face the vast expenditure of a campaign, is too often enough to crush all independence of judgment. "What, then, is needed? Simply this: that a Parliament, elected for four or five years, should sit for its natural term, unless it agrees by a vote that it cannot carry on." "If the Government is defeated in the Commons, it is *prima facie* a sign, not that Parliament should be re-elected, but that the Government should be reconstructed." This final chapter is brought in, without any very obvious relevance, as an addendum to the "Profiles." There is more to think about in the irrelevant addendum than in most of the substantive text.

HERBERT L. STEWART

The Literary Shop

FORTY-ODD YEARS IN THE LITERARY SHOP. By James L. Ford. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

"YOU may enjoy Jim Ford's book," said an old New Yorker to the writer of this, "but you can't really appreciate it unless you remember the New York of the seventies and eighties which he describes." How then can a New Yorker, with a residence of less than a decade, expect to travel back to the "Flash Age," to the days of Jim Fisk and Jay Gould, to the era when "The Black Crook" was scandalizing the rural districts as the depth of theatrical depravity? Well, he may have recollections of New York which antedate his residence. (Few of the best-informed New Yorkers are natives: Mr. Ford and Brander Matthews were born, one in St. Louis and the other in New Orleans.) He may remember a period—absurdly recent to both of those gentlemen—but so remote that a dismal Egyptian looking reservoir stood where the Public Library is now, and the fifth or sixth floor of the Ho-

tel Bartholdi, now an obscure dwarf of an office building, seemed to his imagination a fearful height at which to try to sleep. And why should one try to sleep at all when Madison Square below, with no Madison Square Garden, no Metropolitan tower, and no Flatiron Building, was a delightful place in which to wander (holding one's father by the hand) in order to watch the first electric sign he had seen—a marvellous series of disappearing letters—emblazoned on the side of an enormous building? This great piece of magic implored everyone to "Buy Homes on Long Island. Swept by Ocean Breezes. Gilmore's Band. Brock's Fireworks," and it was altogether the most wonderful spectacle he had ever witnessed.

Such recollections as these show even the most recent of New Yorkers that they can always look back with pleasant feelings of regret at the continual changes in their city—seldom beautiful as she is, but always fascinating, always extraordinary. And it is this spirit of affectionate regard for the past, together with the power of observation and a good memory, which have enabled Mr. Ford to select exactly the right incidents, to recall exactly the most interesting personages to describe in a book about New York.

"Forty-Odd Years in the Literary Shop" is a delightful performance. The well-bred sarcasm, the irony, the detestation of humbug which marked the author's "The Literary Shop," published twenty-five years ago, appear undiminished in the new volume. There is more geniality in this; more actual reminiscences. Mr. Ford writes from first-hand observation of New York, its politicians, its theatres and theatrical folk (wisely not forgetting the variety hall artists nor even the dime-museum freaks), its journalists and authors, pugilists, bartenders, dancers, criminals, newspaper owners, wealthy men, and ward heelers, from Civil War days to the present.

In his book he touches on Jim Fisk and Josie Mansfield. He writes of some undiscovered murders of the "Flash Age" and of the later seventies. Here is "Mother Mandelbaum," a shrewd old "fence," who lived at Clinton and Rivington Streets, in whose house important robberies were planned. Here is the story of a criminal group who lived peacefully and with outward decorum in a house with a good garden, in Brooklyn. All went well, and they deceived respectable and pious Brooklyn into accepting them as desirable neighbors, until one Sunday morning they horrified the community by playing croquet upon the lawn! Croquet has always been in high esteem in Brooklyn; there is something about the game which makes it flourish there as nowhere else—but not on Sundays. Good heavens, no! Police were quickly summoned; the crimes which had really been flourishing behind this whited sepulchre were at last disclosed, when Sin bubbled to the

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surface in the shape of croquet on Sunday.

There are anecdotes of Charley Ross, and references to the Beecher scandal. Frank Stockton was an acquaintance of the author, and the latter heard of the genesis of "Rudder Grange" from the lips of the "Boarder" on that canal-boat home.

In the eighties, through H. C. Bunner, editor of *Puck*, the author came to know Mr. Brander Matthews, and through him Richard Grant White, W. D. Howells, Mrs. C. H. Gilbert, Mrs. Agnes Booth, M. Coquelin, and others. In another chapter appears Steve Brodie, who made his fortune by jumping off Brooklyn bridge, and living. Interesting foreign exiles in New York, in those or somewhat earlier days, included a natural son of Napoleon III. The Emperor, in his obscure days, had lived in New York on West Ninth Street. Here also are glimpses of a Count Bellegarde, who was reputed to have been a Cardinal; of a Lord Drummond, who died as a ticket-chopper on the elevated road; and of Baron de Grimm, a boyhood companion of one of the Russian Czars. Barney Rourke owned the saloon to which a President of the United States had to come to calm the troubled seas of politics. Boss McKane, the King of Coney Island, until his translation to Sing Sing, was another acquaintance. There are tales of Moretti's restaurant—Moretti having a claim on immortality since he introduced to these shores the first spaghetti, olives, and Chianti. Excellent are the pages about famous newspaper men, Dana and Bennett. There is an amazing anecdote of the latter in Paris. The great Fire-Chief Brennan, a less useful citizen named Hearst, and Edwin Booth all appear. Booth told Mr. Ford that in the Hawaiian Islands he could not get his advertising posters put up because the native bill-stickers would throw away his posters and eat the paste.

Mr. Ford's earlier book was mainly concerned with the business of the magazine editor and writer, with the

publisher and the poor hack. In the present volume he stands for the open shop—he includes all citizens in a capital book, a contribution to the history of the city.

Two Serious Efforts

PRIVILEGE: A Novel of the Transition.
By Michael Sadleir. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

GODS. By Shaw Desmond. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

IN his "Advertisement to the American Edition" of "Privilege," the author replies with vigor and some asperity to certain strictures made by English critics. He thinks extremely well of his work, and is frankly put out by the relatively temperate enthusiasm of others. It was not nice of them to judge his book to be "precocious" and "over-elaborate" and unreal; or to quibble about certain questions of fact. His story, he says, is a romance, "written up to the high level of its own emotionalism. The very landscape is conceived in a spirit of sombre luxuriance." It is, he owns, a deliberately stylistic book, which fits "to an impressive and tragic theme a fastidiously and purposely rhythmic prose." Well, after this modest fashion the post-Shavian preface is wont to run. The final question here must be whether the work succeeds or fails in its perilous attempt; for there is no halfway about tragic themes or fastidiously rhythmic prose. They must achieve grandeur or they are naught. The trouble with "Privilege" is that it falls short of greatness, and it is not the kind of book that can afford to fall short. Its net effect is of a clever and elaborate study in the heroic style. Its odd flavor, which belongs to the author, no doubt, suggests a blending of the Galsworthian and the Brontesque. And for all its dating of "Today," this is the rural England of "Wuthering Heights" rather than of the Forsytes or even the Caradoes.

To his story of the Bradens of Whern the writer has essayed to give the glamour of a passing aristocracy, of all that romance of pomp and privilege which our day is passionately and gratuitously lamenting. Blood and birth are not dead yet, by a long chalk; but commiserating the invalid is a pleasant and harmless office, and his day of convalescence is by no means fixed or fixable. The Bradens are a highly colored and sharply characterized group—giving "character" its stage meaning, not its ethical or "psychological" one. "Black Whern," the hunting, hard-drinking old lord, is just dead, having passed with the last tradition of that brutal aristocracy which he has so picturesquely represented. Already the family prestige and the family property are in decay. Mr. Sadleir makes open use, like Poe, of the "pathetic fallacy": "The year was rotting to its end. Along the carpet of trodden leaves, brown-yellow with an occasional slashing of vivid green, the trees crept like mildewed ghosts, an endless procession of noiseless specters, emerging from one tan-

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gled mistiness only to blend instantly with another. The solitude of this familiar woodland seemed peopled with melancholy sprites. Each raindrop clinging to a twig was a tear for the decay of Whern, each gurgle of the spongy ground a sob for the late autumn of an ancient race." . . . This is pretty obvious, and so is the characterization, and so the mechanism of the plot, which turns on two sensational hypotheses—*without disqualifying themselves as romantic figures*, an English grande dame could succumb as Lady Barbara does in Chapter IX, or her noble husband blandly permit her continued infidelity, sacrificing his family "honor" in order to protect the family reputation. No, this is not a tragic romance; it is, beneath its cleverness of style and seriousness of intent, a laborious bathos.

It is a pity, for in its cultivation of a Galsworthian gravity and its approximation of a well-ordered and well-rounded action, it is a far rarer phenomenon than the contemporary studies in the chatty amorphous manner of the Wellsians, with which the British presses still more or less groan. Of the latter type, in a general way, is the "Gods" of Shaw Desmond; with the grateful reservation that it concerns a youth's quest, not for the fascinating answer to the amusing puzzle of life, but for an undying God. I should find the book more impressive if he had avoided, instead of cultivating, the humors of portraiture and the vivacities of debate. Finn Fontaine is one of those eager groping idealists who are unable to find a working remedy for the wellnigh overwhelming troubles of the modern world, and can only hope to maintain their reason whole by clinging to some sort of faith in a spiritual being or power other than themselves. Finn Fontaine's wistful feet carry him, under our eye, only to a moment of mystical exaltation. It is the hour just before the outbreak of the Great War, when representatives of peoples of all nations, under the red banner, have met in London to protest against war. Finn sees them before him, helpless, fated, yet not without faith, not without hope for far rescue and beatification. Over the brooding and restless multitude a woman's voice lifts itself thinly in prayer: "And then the heart of the mass was moaning as some living, suffering thing. And then all—the face of Jew and Gentile, bond and free, those about to sacrifice and be sacrificed, had lifted up there toward that high altar—lifted up there with new staunchless hope shining. Shining to the prayer of the woman. . . . 'Love,' she said. 'Love, oh dear God! Love! Let there be love.' . . . Murmuring came the answering litany from beneath. . . . To Finn and Deirdre standing there, it came as a sort of voiceless chorus, all-pervading but noiseless—came as the scourge of countless feet upon the beaten roads of life, the footsteps of humanity shuffling onward to the one, unknown goal."

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Copyright 1921 by The National Weekly Corporation.

15 cts. a copy \$4.00 a year

Foreign postage, one dollar extra; Canadian postage, fifty cents extra. Foreign subscriptions may be sent to Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd., 24 Bedford St., Strand, London, W. C. 2, England.

Published Every Saturday by The National Weekly Corporation, 140 Nassau Street, New York.

Fabian Franklin, President; Harold de Wolf Fuller, Treasurer.

Western Advertising Office, People's Gas Bldg., Chicago.

New England Advertising Office, 44 Bromfield Street, Boston.

Entered at the New York Post Office as second-class matter June 10th, 1919, under the act of March 3rd, 1878.

How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

- I. The Irish Settlement.
 1. How early in the article does Mr. Butler introduce his principal thought? Express that thought in a single sentence.
 2. Point out examples of good-natured satire. What is the purpose of the satire?
 3. Explain the facts of current news upon which the article is based.
 4. What characteristics of Mr. Lloyd George and of Mr. de Valera are emphasized in the article? Write a short character sketch of each man.
 5. Explain what makes the last paragraph a peculiarly effective conclusion.
 6. Select, and read aloud, three sentences that embody sound wisdom. Explain every sentence.
- II. Aftermath.
 1. What does the writer accomplish by using conversation at the beginning of the article?
 2. Select, and read aloud, the sentences that indicate the spirit with which the Red Cross ward worker carries on her work. Explain the sentences that you select.
 3. Write a short composition in which you enumerate the kinds of work that the Red Cross ward worker carries on.
 4. Explain the reference to Odysseus in the third paragraph of the second column.
 5. Write a paragraph in which you set forward the spirit that characterizes wounded American soldiers.
 6. What does the writer gain by making such detailed references to certain soldiers, such as O'Keefe, Johnson, the Lithuanian boy, and others? Tell how you can make use of the writer's method.
 7. Explain in what respects the article is an excellent article to study in connection with "The Vision of Sir Launfal."
 8. Imagine that you overhear one of the wounded men telling a visitor about the Red Cross ward worker. Write an accurate and realistic report of what he says.
- III. A Simple Household Test of Spiritualism.
 1. Prepare accurate definitions of the following words: Spiritualism, Psychical Research, Telepathy, Medium.
 2. Tell what purpose the writer wishes to accomplish? What means does he employ to accomplish his purpose?
 3. What common characteristic does the article satirize?
 4. Prepare a report concerning James Thompson's "City of Dreadful Night." Consult the Warner Library of the World's Best Literature."
- IV. Book Reviews. New Books and Old.
 1. Define the following expressions: "Unconscious Caricatures," "Impressionistic Sketches."
 2. Explain the allusion to Lady Macbeth in column two of "Unconscious Caricatures."
 3. Prepare a report concerning the literary work of Frank R. Stockton, mentioned in the last column of "The Literary Shop." Consult any recent encyclopedia.
 4. By what means does the reviewer of Mr. H. G. Wells's new book lead the reader to sympathize with France? Explain how you can employ the reviewer's method when you prepare a debate.
- V. Music.
 1. Write a story founded upon the story of "Le Roi d'Ys." Make all the characters modern characters, and make the action concern modern events.
- VI. Bourgeois Life in an Optimist's Mirror.
 1. Give a clear explanation of the title.
 2. In what respects is Christopher Morley said to be like Charles Dickens?
 3. Explain in full the allusions to Dr. Johnson, Charles Lamb, the South Sea House, Goldsmith, and Fleet Street.
 4. Explain in full the meaning of the last sentence. Give definitions of vulgarism, barbarism, solecism, and slang.
- VII. Cabbages and Kings.
 1. Give an oral report of what the article says about the history of China.
 2. Ask your librarian to aid you in obtaining information about Chinese achievements in poetry. Prepare a report on Chinese poetry.
 3. Write a paragraph in explanation of the saying: "The best type of government is that which governs least."

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

- I. Economics and Politics at Genoa, Cannes.
 1. What are the stated purposes of the Genoa Conference? What more underlying considerations can you see?
 2. Compare the principles underlying the Genoa Conference with those of the Washington Conference.
 3. State the proposals in relation to the Soviet Government and compare the attitude shown there with the attitude of our Government on Russia.
 4. Give all the illustrations you can of European states "using the power of Government to secure for her citizens monopolies, special privileges, or spheres of influence."
 5. Show why the editorial is opposed to American participation in the Genoa Conference.
 6. Summarize the chief features of the proposed alliance between Britain and France. Explain the situation underlying each of the proposals.
- II. The Washington Conference.
 1. Summarize the decisions of the Conference described in this issue and attempt some estimate of their importance.
- III. Britain's Debt to the United States. Bonus and Allied Debt.
 1. Show "the stake they (America) actually had in the early years of the war, and the purpose for which the money was borrowed in the later years."
 2. What would be the argument for Great Britain cancelling "the debts owed to her by her Allies"?
 3. Locate on the map "the territories . . . chiefly tropical which have been, as a result of the war, placed under British control."
 4. Why was the United States unwilling to accept "a generous share in these allotments"? What was the division of "the mandates"? Explain what questions in relation to mandates we have had to decide.
 5. How did Great Britain acquire the British West Indies and Bermuda? Why does Canada consider them vital to her?
 6. What is the ground for saying that service in the Great War "in the case of probably an even greater number of men, . . . meant a gain and not a loss"?
 7. Argue the question of the Federal Soldiers' Bonus. Why should it not be tied to other questions?
- IV. Leaders in the Dail, Ireland.
 1. Look up and compare the situation of Ireland under the Agreement with that of Hungary in the Dual Monarchy. What differences can you find, as well as the likenesses which are the basis of this statement that the Agreement "nakes of Ireland what Hungary was"?
 2. What is there to support the statement that "Ireland through succeeding centuries (from 1169) struggled to keep out English rule"?
 3. Could the statement, "the fighting men fall in with those who want no more fighting," be applied in the United States after the Civil War or after the Great War?
 4. Characterize the chief leaders mentioned here.
 5. Summarize briefly the chief steps taken to realize the Irish Free State.
- V. A Poser for Liberals. Labor Enjoins Capital.
 1. Explain "capitalist" journal," "syndicalist paper," "the proletariat."
 2. Distinguish the views of anarchists and "those of the ruling Communist Party."
 3. To what does "the changed political and economic policies of the Bolsheviks" refer?
 4. In what ways has "organized labor . . . been active in shaping statutory law" in the United States? In England?
 5. Give the editor's ground for thinking that "the bringing of the cloakmakers' injunction suit on the explicit ground that the workers are entitled to have the courts compel the employers to perform their part of the joint contract is a real gain for everyone."
- VI. Costly Parsimony.
 1. Why was the control of patents placed in the hands of the Federal Government?
 2. What is the justification of granting patents? Would you be in favor of their abolition?
 3. Explain the handicaps of the present patent service and its effect upon economic life.

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

January 28, 1922



The Last Fifty Years of Irish Agitation

By Herbert L. Stewart

AT the beginning of a new epoch in Anglo-Irish affairs, it may be of some profit to glance backward, that we may learn what are the warnings which history gives us.

In one sense the Irish Question is many centuries old, for it dates from the very first contact in Ireland of Celt with Saxon. In another sense our survey might well begin at the year 1800, the year of that ill-starred Act whose parliamentary obsequies are so soon to be celebrated at Westminster, and which has been called with sardonic facetiousness the "Act of Union." But just now the suggestive date for those in a mood of reminiscence is 1870. For the settlement we now contemplate has as its principle a self-governing Ireland within the British Empire, and it was in 1870 that Isaac Butt



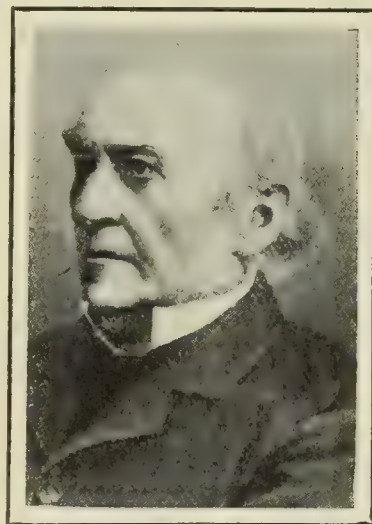
International
Charles Stewart Parnell

coined the new term "Home Rule" to signify just this as the national demand of the Irish people.

That demand grounded itself upon the demonstrated futility of the uniting Act of 1800. Macaulay well said of that measure that "it joined Legislatures, but left hearts as widely disjoined as ever." Seventy years of trial were more than enough to falsify all the predictions with which it had been recommended. Those years had seen the decay of Irish industries, the depopulation of vast rural areas, the development of a system of alien absentee landlordism which Gladstone characterized as having no European parallel except among the Poles, the enforced emigration of tens of thousands of Irishmen across the seas, the intensifying of racial bitterness, the crowning and unspeakable horror of the Famine. There were some who protested that this last, at all events, was an "act of God," for which the Union was in no way to blame. Isaac Butt knew better. He knew that, if God had sent the potato-blight, it was the obstinacy of politicians that had made the Famine. A common economic policy had been insisted upon for two countries whose economic needs were widely different. And, without imputing motives of race selfishness, without in-

sinuating any darker reproach than an error of judgment, Butt argued that the misunderstandings which had caused the Famine would cause other disasters as well, and that only a local Legislature conversant with local needs could prevent Ireland from continuing to bleed to death. For the effecting of this constitutional change he relied upon strictly constitutional means. He believed that the House of Commons could be persuaded by a reasoned appeal. That belief proved vain, and a leader of quite different mettle took up the cause, armed with new methods.

It is perhaps not fanciful to say that Charles Stewart Parnell stood in the same relation to Isaac Butt that Mr. De Valera occupied towards the late John Redmond. Parnell's demand, indeed, was not for a republic. The republican agitation of the last few years was the outcome of a hope so long deferred as to have given place to despair. But Parnell had no confidence at all in the decorous constitutional movement which his predecessor had directed with inexhaustible patience. He would rather accept the lesson of those fruitless years in which persuasion had been tried with no effect. He would rely upon making Ireland so troublesome and so dangerous to "the predominant partner" that a revision of the terms of partnership should be compelled. Hence Parnell's deliberate separation of the Irish party from both Liberals and Conservatives in the House of Commons; hence his support of both these sides in turn, reinforcing always the weaker that the government of the stronger might be embarrassed; hence his willful obstructing of public business and his countenancing—if not encouraging—of those Land League outrages by which the Ireland of his day made "the Irish Question" overshadow all others for successive British Cabinets. Gladstone once declared that Parnell was the only man before whom he had seen the House of Commons quail. The principle, in short, was that of making British rule in Ireland impossible, and its method was that of clogging the wheels of



international
William E. Gladstone

the parliamentary machine until the Irish demand should be conceded. The scheme was a bold one, and sagacious folk predicted that it must defeat its own purpose. Even Butt believed that England was more likely to be inflamed than to be terrorized. But in the event Parnell extracted concession after concession, including the vast fabric of the Land Laws. His whole campaign went far to justify that cynical maxim, "Nothing succeeds like Excess." The victory was obtained at the price of establishing a sinister precedent for the years to come. Parnell, Carson, and De Valera constitute the melancholy succession of those who have made plausible the view that in Irish matters England yields only to fear. That wretched doctrine it will, we trust, be the great glory of Mr. Lloyd George to have reversed.

But Parnell's victory was itself far from complete. The concessions were called "remedial legislation," but the time for that method was past, and no amount of *good government* would be taken as a substitute in Ireland for *self government*. The Irish had resolved no longer to risk their national interests upon the exigencies of English parties striving to outbid one another. How far Parnell might have succeeded if he had lived and had kept his personal reputation unsullied, it is impossible to guess. But he had already failed to carry the measure of Home Rule to which Gladstone lent all his strength in 1886. The excesses which had compelled many a minor concession had also exasperated resistance against the constitutional change. It had likewise stirred to fury the spirit of opposition among the Scottish-Irish in the north of the island itself. The seven years of Conservative rule which followed were marked by Coercion Acts succeeding one another in rapid series.

In John Redmond, the next leader of the movement, we discern elements of both the chieftains who had gone before him. From Parnell he inherited—and at least in his earlier years he displayed—a deep distrust of British promises. Hence the ferocity of some of Redmond's earlier speeches, and his obvious reliance on extorting reforms by menace rather than winning them by persuasion. Ten years had to pass before the broken confidence began to be restored. It was restored by Gladstone, and the restoration was being fast consolidated by Mr. Asquith. Those forces of British Liberalism which had, everywhere save in Ireland, produced the great united Commonwealth of peoples abroad by timely and sympathetic consideration of local ideals, were beginning to win Ireland too by the same gracious means. The alliance between Irish Nationalism and British democracy was being cemented, and Redmond had declared his readiness to accept Home Rule within the Empire "in full and final settlement" of the national demands.

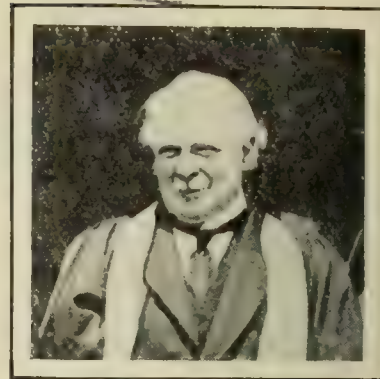
It was then that the spirit of party manœuvring, which is, in some degree, the inevitable curse of party government, upset the most promising schemes and for a time blasted the most sanguine hopes. This is not a fitting moment to rehearse the story, for some of those whom the historian will doubtless most fiercely blame have redeemed their reputation by

a courageous reversal of their own past. But everyone remembers how first the veto of the House of Lords and then the threats of civil war, uttered by those who should have known better, darkened the whole prospect and brought back the mood of trust in violence alone. The Home Rule Act of 1914 was suspended at the voice of menace. But the game was one at which two could play. Redmond's gospel of constitutional methods was laughed to scorn. As Mr. Chesterton has told us, throughout by far the greater part of Ireland an Englishman's bond became waste paper and his word was treated as wind. Sinn Féin and a Republic swept Redmond and his Home Rule before them like chaff. The British policy had discredited friends and reinforced enemies. The rest of the story is of events too recent to tell, and the less said of them for some time to come the better.

The most obvious lessons of the whole development are such as in their general significance popular institutions have again and again illustrated. The present settlement, by far the best which is now practicable, is such as everyone must feel to be markedly inferior to either the Gladstone Bill of 1893 or the Asquith Bill of 1911. But the opponents of those bills "knew not the day of their visitation." They stirred to life, for a cause which they thought good, forces that were inherently evil. They rejected a scheme which was moderate only to find themselves forced to the acceptance of a scheme which is not moderate. If the Treaty places Ulster in a worse position than Gladstone or

Mr. Asquith would have given her, this is because Ulster was *intransigent*. If threats and violence have been used against her, this is because she set the pattern of appealing to violence herself when the south was using no weapon but persuasion. If, as seems to be the case, she has been outmanœuvred by Mr. Lloyd George, she must remember that it was her own manœuvring which made a constitutional Act of Parliament a dead letter, and that, if the challenge is really to that sort of game, Mr. Lloyd George is—when he takes it up—the greatest master of political manœuvring in Europe.

But, though there are tactics in this settlement, there is also something far higher. The Treaty does not mean just that adroitness has devised a new expedient. All that could be done by mere dextrous manipulating had been done long ago, and might be dismissed as of tried and proved ineptness. The triumphs of such a method in such a crisis are, after all, but the triumphs of a day. What Mr. Lloyd George has done is to meet men who but yesterday were his mortal enemies, to speak to them a language that they can understand, to show himself genuinely ready for a burying of old feuds and for a new start in Anglo-Irish relations. Himself long the spokesman of a small nationality and the champion of a small race that was too often regarded with supercilious indulgence, he has known how to conciliate, how to show himself both in earnest and in sympathy. He has not indeed won over the "irreconcilables," but he has divided those whose ideal is Reason from



News Service

David Lloyd George



John Redmond



Herbert Asquith



News Service

Sir Edward Carson

those whose watchword is Unreason. He understood South Africa, and—thanks to the great Liberal party to which he belonged—South Africa is now not an enemy of Great Britain but a friend. He has a like vision for Ireland.

It is an encouraging omen for the success of the Treaty that the Canadian model has been avowedly followed. Men of different races and contrasted religions, with traditions of mutual antagonism in the past and temperaments that are far from being closely akin in the present, live side by side in Canada, tolerant of one another's peculiarities, and cherishing a common pride in their great Dominion. There are extremists of both parties, who would rake among the embers of forgotten feuds and kindle to a new life those almost extinguished fires. But the good sense and good will of moderate men have proved able to keep these fanatics in check, and the venture of trustfulness which left English and French settlers across the Atlantic to work out their

own destiny has been justified by the spirit of coöperation that has responded to it. One cannot wonder that on four distinct occasions the Canadian Parliament transmitted to London a resolution of sympathy with Ireland's claim to be given the same chance. Nor is it without significance that the great Canadian whom his countrymen a month ago elevated to the highest office in their gift, because they saw in him the embodiment of their national purpose, should have crystallized into a motto the principle of all racial reconciliations. Mr. Mackenzie King's public life has been that of a conciliator of industrial strife, and he has told us that the key to all his effort has been "the substitution of Faith for Fear." That noble ideal, tried now in Ireland at the long last when all other means have been tried and have failed, holds the promise of a much brighter day than ever dawned before for the distracted countries of the world.

The Dead and the Quick in Eternal Rome

By Grant Showerman

The Days of the Dead

THIS is the Month of San Lorenzo, the Month of the Dead. The first week in November is the Week of the Dead. The bells of Santa Maria Maggiore, across the housetops from my window, are adding to their regular striking of hours and halves and quarters, and their morning and evening three-for-the-Trinity, four-for-the-Gospels, five-for-the-Epistles, and one-for-the-Father, a special, chanting Ring-for-the-Dead.

All Rome is here on these Italian Decoration days to visit her departed ones. The air is heavy with the scent of rose and chrysanthemum and the odor of burning lamps. The great field is bright with flowers through the day, and with the fall of night thousands of lights of lamp and candle spring into being on grave and altar. On the Roman tables are steaming dishes of beans, and in Roman shop-windows are heaps of *fave dolci*, their pastry imitation to be eaten in memory of the dead. The association of beans and the soul was already ancient in Plautus' time. The Days of the Dead are the modern form of the Roman Parentalia. The flowers and the beans are a communion uniting the present age with ancient Rome and the mists of primitive Italy.

But the Week of the Dead this year is different from that of other years. On the fourth of November, three years ago, the Italian armies on the Piave destroyed the Austrian Empire and ended the war. In that war Italy left on the field five hundred thousand of her sons, and thousands of them still lie in nameless graves. On the anniversary of the great battle and in the fourth day of the Week of the Dead, the unknown soldier will be laid to rest in eternal Rome.

On the twenty-ninth of October, in Aquileia, the city already ages old when Venice was born, the rumbling guns announce a coming solemnity. In the venerable Roman basilica, before the altar, lie eleven of the multitudinous unknown awaiting the resurrection to fame. The soldiers' mass by the patriarchal bishop finished, the commandant of the day steps forward to the group of fifty mothers of unknown dead, and designates the *popolana* Bergamas of Trieste to make the choice of the one. Enveloped in black, the Signora Bergamas in trembling silence confronts the eleven caskets of wood. She kneels a moment in prayer, advances, and halts by the second casket on the right. She sinks to her knees again, and covers with her veil the unknown son of all the mothers of the unknown slain.

It is 12 o'clock noon. At 4 o'clock, on his gun-carriage,

in silence broken only by booming of cannon, through streets that rain flowers upon him from window and balcony, the unknown soldier rides in solemn triumph to the waiting funeral car. Between lines of kneeling and tearful people, through stations bright with flags and flowers, he traverses the plains and crosses the mountains of Italy. He halts at Venice to receive especial homage, he halts again at Bologna, where Communist and Nationalist alike do honor to him, he halts again at Florence. On the night of the first Day of the Dead he reaches the gates of Rome. On All Souls', the second and special Day of the Dead, he rests in the mighty church of Michael Angelo, Saint Mary of the Angels, surrounded by sombre censers blazing with Dantesque flames, and guarded by motionless men in uniform, the heroes of a hundred battles.

For a day and a night, and for another day and through another night, the population of Mother Rome and Mother Italy files through the portals and past the carriage and its burden, across the spacious pavement covered with flowers, beneath the soaring vaults and the canopies of flags, and out from religious dimness to the light of sun or stars. On the fourth day of the Week of the Dead and the day of an Empire's death, at ten in the morning, the unknown dead is lifted from the funeral car to the shoulders of his living comrades, and the waiting tomb, beneath the Altar of the Nation, midway of the giant staircase, receives its tenant. On the days that follow the steps of gleaming marble are covered with banners and crowns of flowers, and thronged with pilgrims ascending and descending. City and nation are bathed in the warm sunshine of patriotic love.

So pass the days of the Week of the Dead.

II

Days of the Quick

ON the ninth, the Fascisti descend upon the Capital—the Fascisti, in congress thirty thousand strong; the Fascisti, in black fezzes, and black shirts, and black sashes with white skull-and-crossbones; with their sticks in hand, and deadlier weapons not so easily seen; with their youthful, free, and resolute martial step, and their fearless glance; with their motto, *Me ne frego!*—*You can't scare me!*—with their hymn that breathes of battle, and their cry of *Eia-eia-eia, Alalá!* The Fascisti are the vigilance committee of Italy-after-the-War, a Ku Klux Klan in the open. They are the nationalism of before the war, with its metal hardened and heated by the war. They sprang

into being when the great conflict was over and Italy was settling back upon herself in the disorders of military triumph and economic disillusionment, the enemies of those who threatened King and country with subversion. They number scores of thousands; their ranks are filled with young ex-soldiers, students, and older veterans and mere boys, all physically fit, all accustomed to military ways, all filled to overflowing with patriotic fervor and the spirit of youth. Their raids and reprisals, and the reprisals and raids of their enemies, are familiar matter of the daily press.

The Fascisti have their enemies. The Republicans do not like them, though not all are sworn to monarchy; the Socialists are their cordial enemies, though many Socialists are in their ranks; the Communists and the anarchists, who are hardly to be distinguished one from the other, have seen in them the absolute veto upon revolution, and hate them with a fury indescribable. The Fascisti have not only the enemies natural to their cause, but they have their critics of less hostile spirit. There are many who lament their excesses though unable not to approve their result; there are many who deplore the employment here and there of Fascisti power in quarrels and feuds that have little to do with original Fascisti purpose. The Fascisti blood is young and quick, and never far from the boiling point, and sometimes rises to sudden vaporization. The Government looks on with interest, hoping for the best.

When the first thousands of Fascisti arrive at the gates of Rome, their enemies are expecting them. The Communists in the railroad yards and shops provoke them with whistle and hiss. Shots are fired and windows broken, but the train proceeds to the terminal. The second train has heard of the trouble by telegraph. Its occupants arrive excited, and the Communist temper too is running high. The Fascisti leap from the coaches, the shopmen seize their irons and wait, a noisy clash ensues, and the Fascisti go on, leaving a Communist railroad man in his blood. The railway employees drop their work. Succeeding trains are abandoned outside the gates. The Fascisti form, and with fearless masses and flashing eye, and songs, and the *Eia-eia-eia, Alalá!* march into the city. High words and threats accompany their progress. There are brawls, and revolvers are used, and stones are thrown, and the troops are out. At 12 o'clock in the night the order for a general strike goes into effect, to last until the Fascisti have left the city. The next morning there are no trains, no trams, no carriages, no papers, and places of business are generally closed.

The Fascisti intended a rapid visit to Rome, a meeting of their congress in the Tomb of Augustus, a great parade in pilgrimage to the Altar of the Nation and the unknown soldier, and peaceable departure; but the *Me-ne-frego* spirit will not brook the insult of the strike. The Fascisti hold their sessions, march in the parade that takes an hour and a quarter to pass, and defiantly stalk through the streets of the Capital three days beyond their first intent. For four days in all the general strike continues. The streets about the station are filled with disorder and bloody collision. The leaders on either side, with best intentions, are unable to keep all their men in check. Soldiers, horse and foot, are everywhere, but limit their effort to dispersing the combatants and keeping them apart. At the end of the four days, when the Fascisti have chosen at their own convenience the moment of departure, there are

five men dead, a score very badly wounded, and a hundred and fifty in less degree. The trams and carriages move again, newspapers appear, we know what has happened, and, possibly, what to think.

Possibly. The Fascisti and their sympathizers say that the Communists, spited by the success of the demonstration the week before, planned the strike deliberately, to destroy the effect of the unknown soldier ceremony, to prevent the Fascisti parade, and to spoil their congress. They insist that the congress was none the less successful, that the strike was only partial, and that the Roman people were overwhelmingly in sympathy with them.

The Communists say that the Fascisti comported themselves like bullies and bandits, that the Roman people rose in unanimous resentment, that the parade was a poor affair, and the congress a failure. They have taught the *prepotenti* a lesson.

And what do the half-million Romans say, who neither heartily sympathized with nor unanimously rose against either party, but stood aside and shrugged their shoulders

and endured with even patience until the storm had spent itself? They lay the blame judiciously where it belongs. They blame the Communists for bad blood and mean methods, the Fascisti for letting their temper go, and both for impudence to eternal Mother Rome. They are not excited or worried. They say: "We have seen and suffered from these brawls before, under other names, and we still exist. We have seen the Blacks and Whites at the same sort of work, and the Popes and the Emperors, and the Popes and the anti-Popes, and the Christians and the Pagans, and the Cæsarians and the Senatorials, and the plebeians and the nobles, and the men of the republic and the Kings, and the shepherd roughs of Romulus and Remus. Go on and strike, if it suits your pleasure;

be violent, if you choose, and disregard our comforts and our rights; but don't think you can worry us with your childishness. We are used to these little things. Rome was not built, nor will it be destroyed, in a day. We are eternal. We, too, snap our fingers at *you—che ne freghiamo anche noi*—and you can't scare us."

Rome, Italy



International

Church Procession in Rome

Victims of Freudism

SUICIDE may or not be a frequent result of absorption in the doctrines associated with the name of Sigmund Freud. The harm that is done by their dissemination is infinitely more important as affecting the thousands who continue to live than the few here and there whom it may perhaps drive to self-destruction. Nor does the word "dismal" begin to express the actual effect of that pernicious teaching. Lowering, degrading, besmirching, covering with slime what normally thinking persons hold in admiration and reverence—that is the real evil, in comparison with which all else is trifling. And, so far from all this being the tragic result of a recognition of scientific truth, it springs from the exploitation of a theory based on grotesquely inadequate foundation, condemned by scientists of the highest standing as the outcome of bad logic and unscientific thinking, and, in so far as it does contain an element of truth, requiring the utmost care and caution in its application even at the hands of persons of special training. Its popularization by glib-tongued writers and half-baked thinkers has been nothing less than a calamity to a large part of the rising generation.

The Fiat Money Peril

Fallacies of the Ford-Edison Idea

By George E. Roberts

Mr. Roberts is not only an authority on financial and monetary questions, but has the rare distinction of combining with expert knowledge a remarkable power of popular presentation. He is a vice-president of the National City Bank, New York, and was formerly Director of the Mint. He first came into national prominence by his effective fight in Iowa, as journalist and pamphleteer, in the sound-money struggle of 1894-6.

IT will not surprise anybody who is familiar with the history of cheap money agitation to learn that the old financial heresies must be dealt with again. They spring up spontaneously in every period of hard times, because people in distress are receptive to promises of speedy relief. The fiat money idea has an air of plausibility. Everybody is wanting money, seeking to exchange products or services for it; if business is bad, if unemployment exists, there seems to be a scarcity of money, and why not have the Government put more of it into circulation?

It is not a new idea; nobody now living can advance it with any new argument, or give any argument for it that has not been refuted by experience. It is old enough to have been tried in nearly every country and discarded in all.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake not to recognize that the fiat money idea always has had a strong appeal in times when indebtedness was large and prices low, and the fallacies of the doctrine should not be allowed to go unanswered.

Fiat Money for Public Improvements

The fiat money theory probably would not get very far on the advocacy of mere political champions, but it becomes dangerous when it succeeds in obtaining the support of business men of prestige and influence, as occasionally happens. The Greenback movement of the seventies, against the resumption of specie payments, was strengthened by the support of Peter Cooper, founder of the Cooper Institute, a business man of large success and high standing. His educational opportunities in early life were limited, but he was a very able and practical man within the range of his knowledge. Subsequent events showed that he was all wrong in his apprehensions as to the effect of restoring the money of the country to the gold basis.

Mr. Henry Ford has made a proposal to the United States Government to take over the power plant at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River, Alabama, and make a large investment there in industrial works, provided the Government will complete the power-generating plant, which will require an additional expenditure estimated at \$30,000,000. Mr. Ford is a very successful manufacturer, and as such his proposal to lease the property is entitled to respectful consideration. He suggests, however, that instead of raising the required \$30,000,000 by taxation or by a bond issue, the Government should print paper money to that amount and use it in payment for labor and material. This is an undisguised proposition to finance the Government by printing money, differing in nothing but degree from the policies that have reduced the currencies of central and eastern Europe to almost utter worthlessness. It is true that the European Governments have been hard pressed to meet expenses, but there is no difference, so far as effects upon the money itself is concerned, between printing currency for ordinary expenses and printing it for public improvements.

The Origin of Wealth

Mr. Ford's distinguished friend, Thomas A. Edison, has given out an interview in support of the plan, in which he lays emphasis mainly upon the saving of interest. He states the argument as follows:

That is to say, under the old way any time we wish to add to the national wealth we are compelled to add to the national debt.

Now, that is what Henry Ford wants to prevent. He

thinks it is stupid, and so do I, that for the loan of \$30,000,000 of their own money the people of the United States should be compelled to pay \$66,000,000—that is what it amounts to, with interest. People who will not turn a shovelful of dirt nor contribute a pound of material will collect more money from the United States than will the people who supply the material and do the work. That is the terrible thing about interest. In all our great bond issues the interest is always greater than the principal. All of the great public works cost more than twice the actual cost, on that account. Under the present system of doing business we simply add 120 to 150 per cent. to the stated cost.

The first paragraph raises the question of how wealth is produced. A Government cannot create wealth by any different processes than individuals. A Government is only an agency for an association of individuals. It has no magical powers. It cannot create something out of nothing. It cannot even support itself, but is dependent for its existence upon the collection of taxes.

We have been taught in the past that all wealth comes from labor applied to the resources of nature. The world gets ahead by digging ditches, laying walls, opening new fields, discovering new processes, building machinery; not primarily by printing money or signing promissory notes. Money and bank credit are useful as facilities for aiding industry and trade, but they are subordinate factors. Society advances, first, by producing new wealth, and second, by saving out of the production of today something to aid production tomorrow. It moves a step at a time, rising tomorrow upon what it builds today. It is a slow, laborious process, but up to this time no other has been found.

After an individual has accumulated wealth he has the basis of credit, and may borrow capital to use in expediting his plans, but the person from whom he borrows must have the wealth and forego its use in order that the borrower may have it. Credit is not a substitute for capital; it is only an agency for making capital more readily available. There is no getting something for nothing. Warnings against attempting to do that abound in the lessons of experience.

The Powers of Government

Mr. Edison doubtless would agree that this has been the law of progress in the past, and that it applies to individuals, but like many people before him he thinks that Governments may be superior to the law, that by their control over the issue of money they may be able to create values without any effort or outlay on their part beyond that involved in operating a printing press.

Whether this theory is sound or erroneous is a matter of tremendous importance, and fortunately the answer does not have to be made on the weight of theoretical opinions. The experiment has been tried many times, and results show that while it is possible to have work done and paid for by printing money for the purpose, the effect is not to increase the total of existing values but to depreciate other values and throw all values into confusion by deranging the monetary system.

Let us, however, first consider Mr. Edison's objections to a bond issue as a means of raising the capital required.

Mr. Edison speaks slightly of the people "who will not turn a shovelful of dirt nor contribute a pound of material," but who, if the project is financed by a bond issue, will receive as interest several times as much money from the

United States as the people who do the work and furnish the material. The answer to this is that *people who buy the bonds will supply the capital to pay for the shoveling and the materials on the spot*. The account is square that day as between them and the people "who do the work and supply the material." The bond-buyers will have made their contribution in their own way. They will have produced an equal amount of wealth, and devoted it to this purpose. Mr. Edison might buy a round lot of the bonds, and as one of his industries is the making of phonographs his payments very likely would be from the proceeds of phonographs; or if Mr. Ford subscribed for bonds his payments probably would be from the proceeds of automobiles. Under the circumstances their phonographs and automobiles would be contributions to the dam as truly as the cement or structural steel that went into it. And so a salaried man or wage-earner who bought bonds with his savings would have as real a part in the construction of the dam as the laborer who shoveled dirt upon it, and who was paid from the proceeds of the bonds.

The Justification for Interest

As for the interest—that in the main is *pay for waiting*. It is proportionate to the length of time the bond-buyers are to wait for the return of their capital. The dirt-shovelers and material-furnishers are *not asked to wait for their pay*. They have had it from the bond-buyers, out of the stores of capital which the latter have accumulated in their various occupations, such as making phonographs and automobiles. Would Mr. Edison ask the shovelers to wait 30 or 40 years for their pay without compensation? If not, what reason is there for slurring the bond-holders for receiving compensation? Have they rendered no service in producing and saving wealth and in advancing it for the construction of productive works and in waiting many years for reimbursement?

Money and Capital

Mr. Edison's statement that the construction of the Muscle Shoals project with borrowed capital would mean that the people would be paying interest upon \$30,000,000 of "their own money," shows that he has fallen into the common error of *confusing money with capital*. We have already seen that, if bonds are issued to raise capital, the people who subscribe for them will make payment with the proceeds of some service that they have rendered. We have assumed that Mr. Edison might subscribe and pay with the proceeds of phonograph sales. These sales are constantly creating credits for him in banks, and if he subscribed for Muscle Shoals bonds he probably would make payment by drawing a check on a bank account. Even if he used the check to draw money and conveyed the money for the bonds, the essential fact would be that *the products of his factory*, and not any wealth created by the Government, paid for the bonds. Money, if used at all in the transaction, would be used merely as an instrument of transfer—a safe, convenient medium, provided by the Government, by which people may exchange goods or services.

It is a mistake to think that the Government in supplying or supervising money is providing the capital with which business is done. The capital which carries on business is private property. The Government in authorizing or supplying money does not create capital, but supplies a convenience of exchange.

Limitations Upon Paper Money

Is the plan of printing money to supply capital for public improvements intended as a substitute for all thrift and all private accumulations? If not, it is a serious matter to discredit the latter.

If this plan is not a complete substitute for private saving, where is the line to be drawn? If the Government can finance enterprises without cost, except for the expense of operating printing presses, why should any construction

or expenditure for the purpose of supplying the wants of the population be held back to the slow old processes of capital accumulation?

Mr. Edison, however, sees that there are limits to the practical operations of the plan. He admits that there may be too much paper money, but says that for that matter there may be too much gold, and that somebody may find a way to make gold. It may be admitted that when this happens gold will be no more suitable for the standard of value than fiat paper money, but meanwhile it has some advantages.

A Simple Rule

He has a very simple rule for determining how much paper money should be printed. He says:

There is just one rule for money, and that is, to have enough to carry all the legitimate trade that is waiting to move. Too little or too much are both bad. But enough to move trade, enough to prevent stagnation on the one hand and not enough to permit speculation on the other hand, is the proper ratio.

That, of course, is no rule at all. It leaves the matter an open question, a perpetual subject of controversy, with all values in a state of uncertainty, dependent upon Acts of Congress from day to day and from year to year. There is no question upon which opinions could be more at variance, for there is no limit to the opportunities to use money, if "money" is confused with capital. As long as there are any water-powers unimproved, there will be opportunities to use money, particularly if it can be had by printing.

The amount of money required to handle the regular business of the country depends upon the level of prices, and as the level of prices depends on the volume of money, the argument on that basis runs in a circle. In the wildest periods of inflation ever known the cry has been for more and more money.

A Soviet journal published in Moscow in a recent review of the monetary situation in Russia states that at the beginning of the war the amount of paper rubles outstanding was 1,630,000,000; by the end of 1917 it had reached 27,300,000,000, at the end of 1919, 225,000,000,000, and at the end of 1920, 1,168,000,000,000. The statement goes on to say that at the date of writing, October, 1921, prices in Moscow were 48,600 times higher than in 1914, and the editor argued that, on this basis, the present monetary circulation was insufficient. He calculated the country's present needs for currency at 48,500,000,000,000 rubles.

The Poison in the First Dose

Mr. Edison goes on to say:

When these bills have answered the purpose of building and completing Muscle Shoals, they will be retired by the earnings of the power dam.

He is too conservative. He lacks vision. Other communities will see that the activity and expenditures at Muscle Shoals can be duplicated elsewhere, and it is far more probable that dozens of such authorizations will follow than that any of the paper money so issued will be retired. No Government ever got very far in the retirement of inconvertible paper money that had once been put into circulation. That is a historic fact to be kept clearly in view.

There may be other people who, while admitting that fiat paper issues may be carried too far, are disposed to think that \$30,000,000 is so small a sum in relation to all the money and credit in use in the United States that no serious harm could come from the one proposition. But, if the policy is unsound, it is unsound and dangerous from the beginning, and the saving of interest on \$30,000,000 is nothing in comparison with the risk incurred in adopting the policy. If no ill-results were immediately noticeable, that of itself would strengthen the arguments in behalf of more proposals. There would be no stopping place so long as ill-effects did not appear, and no stopping place afterward, as all experience attests. The first dose is poison, and every succeeding one intensifies the craving for more.

Verse

To Molière

By Grace Hazard Conkling

[The following ode was recited as a part of the Molière celebration at Smith College on January 20.]

MASTER, why come to you
With praise and ceremonial words
As though you looked to us for any praise?
How shall we dare invoke the spirit who
Knows us and all our ways,
Or in what staid and reminiscent mood
(As thoughtful autumn gathers home the birds,)
Shall we recall those arrowy jests of yours,
Saying, at heart, the jesting has gone by?
What were the good
Of rhetoric, what worth the chiseled phrase
To your discerning eye?
Only the soul of praise endures.
You would but glance at us and laugh,
Or maybe fashion us an epitaph
Before you turned you to the play again,
Not wearied yet of men,
Absorbed spectator of the things they do,
Willing to see them through;
Aware of all, incredulous a bit,
Remorseless, exquisite!
Oh, we shall long have vanished, shall have been
Long gone with all our pleasure and our pain,
Shall long have left the scene
Empty and vague with every light turned low,
While you remain
Watching . . . who did not fail to see us go! . . .
Waiting as they can wait who are aware
What patience may bestow!
And the world growing older and more old
Shall thrill to know you there

Invisible and immortal: while you hold
Steadily on your way from brain to brain.

The cloudy centuries thin away:

I saw Tartuffe but yesterday.

A century or two or three,

What difference can they make to me

When of a sudden I may meet

Trissotin coming down the street?

Oh, still are found love's novices

Who love by seasons and degrees:

And misers go from bad to worse.

The learned ladies still converse

Resolved each one to hold her own,

Quite serious and absurd in tone,

And never glimpse your mocking smile

Nor know you listening all the while.

Your gay physicians, your Don Juan,

Your tradesman turned a gentleman

Complete to the obsequious bow,

Great Molière, are with us now!

You crave no praise of ours. Yet we may bring,

As tribute humbly given, our years of days

Gathered into one moment; promising

A purpose dearer to your heart than praise.

Brilliant and suave and fearless that you are,

You give us courage for the cause unled,

And gaiety they need who travel far,

And faith at times to leave a word unsaid.

Returning from your tournaments of wit

We find the world has grown a curious place,

And wonder much what you might make of it,

Holding the mirror to its startled face!

And since we know your genius will contrive

To show us Life invincibly alive,

Valiant and delicate spirit, master and elf,

We invoke your name, your ghost, your elusive self!

Gloria in Excelsis

By Arthur Guiterman

O SKYLARK, upward carolling, far, far, far
Above the moors of Devon
Where mortals plod,
Mount, mount the heights of heaven
On sun-bright wings
To be a star!—
A star that sings,
A star that sings to God.



A Buddhist Cloister

Behind Broken-Mountain Temple

By Ch'ang Chien

Translated by Witter Bynner and Kiang Kang-hu

IN the pure morning, near the old temple,
Where early sunlight tops the trees,
My path has wound in a sheltered hollow
Among boughs and flowers to a Buddhist retreat.
Here birds are blithe with mountain-light
And the mind of man touches peace in a pool
And a thousand sounds are quieted
By the breathing of a temple-bell.

Heliotrope

By Harry Lee

I SAW the misty heliotrope,
At smoky dusk o' Fall,
Musing among the golden things,
A-bloom along the wall.

She seemed a frail old dowager,

In lavender and lace,

The memories of many years

A-glimmer in her face.

The golden things knew not, nor cared

What coming winter meant,

But oh, the misty heliotrope,

She knew and was content.

The World of Winter



A mountain hotel in the wildest part of Norway. No one lacks for winter sports here



Kadel & Herbert

*Ice-boating at Red Bank, New Jersey
An exciting race.*



International

*Curling in Canada is exceedingly popular
"Soop'er up!"*



Kadel & Herbert

*Skiing through trees as practised in the outskirts of Montreal
is not a tame sport*



International

*Participants in the bob-sled races at St. Moritz,
Switzerland*



International

A "master" of the hunt at thirteen



International

On the golf links at Palm Beach



International

The Roman pools at Miami where diving contests are much in vogue



International

Professional football in England. A frantic effort to prevent a goal



International

Indoor solace for golfers who can't go South



International

Florida's winter ocean



EDITORIAL



“Dirt Farmers” and Banking

DURING the half-century between the close of the Civil War and the enactment of the Federal Reserve Law, this country suffered untold injury from the absence of an effective organization of its system of banking and currency. Long before the remedy was applied, the evil had been fully recognized by all who understood the principles of the subject; and the remedy was plainly indicated by the service performed by the central banks of the leading countries of Europe both in meeting the normal requirements of business and in preventing such devastating collapses of credit as occurred in this country in the panics of 1873 and 1893.

Among the obstacles that stood in the way of the introduction of a system so essential to the country's well-being, perhaps the most important was the conflict between two opposing points of view, each of which had much to justify it. Those who were concerned above all for the soundness of any system that might be established feared the consequences of entrusting its control to Government appointees, into whose choice, or into whose conduct, considerations of “politics” might enter; on the other hand, those who were concerned above all for the freedom of the system from domination by “high finance” feared the consequences of entrusting its control to men who represented banking interests.

Ultimately, the fears of both sides were overcome. After long study and discussion, a system had been devised of such commanding merit that, thanks to the resolute leadership of President Wilson, it secured the assent of both branches of Congress, with little distinction of party. In the bill as passed, the Federal Reserve Board, which is in control of the whole system, is purely a Governmental body, its members being appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate. The danger of a system whose control was in the hands of the banks is thus disposed of in the law itself; but for freedom from the other danger—the danger of a system directed not by sound banking principles but by a mixture of banking and “politics”—reliance had to be placed upon the intelligence and firmness with which the intention of the act was adhered to in its execution. To justify such reliance, the one thing needful was the building up of a tradition of strict adherence to sound non-political banking practice—a tradition like that of the Bank of England or the Bank of France.

Up to the present time the Federal Reserve Board has admirably fulfilled this prime requirement. It has operated with an impartial regard for every legitimate interest of the country; it has endeavored to do all that sound banking can do for the promotion of the welfare, and the economic safety, of all classes and all sections. But now there appears on the horizon a cloud which, though no bigger perhaps than a man's hand, may, before many years have passed, darken the whole sky.

The bill which has passed the Senate, to add a sixth member to the Federal Reserve Board, though not as objectionable as it was in its original form, is nevertheless a grave departure from the policy that has hitherto marked the history of the Federal Reserve system. As drawn in the first place, it expressly required the sixth member to be a farmer—a real “dirt farmer,” to use the current phrase. President Harding promptly declared that he would not assent to any such proposal; and accordingly the bill was amended so as not to make that requirement mandatory. But the only object of adding a sixth member at all is to have a farmer put on the Board, and it is perfectly understood that this is what the President will do. He may, indeed, reduce the mischief of such an understanding to small dimensions, so far as the immediate future is concerned, by discovering a man who unites the practice of farming with knowledge of, and adherence to, sound banking principles; but the understanding is there all the same, and it will hang, like a threatening cloud, over the whole future of the Board. Who knows what other interest may, at any time, demand a seventh member, or an eighth, or indeed a complete reconstruction of the Board? Once get away from the fundamental principle that the Federal Reserve system represents no class interest and no sectional interest, and there is no telling whither we shall drift. The little group of Senators who had the courage to vote against the bill are deserving of the highest praise; we only wish that the ex-Senator who is now in the White House had taken a like firm stand. President Harding has lost a great opportunity, and failed in a great duty, in permitting this inroad to be made upon the Federal Reserve system, whose complete freedom from “politics” is so vital to the economic safety of the country.

We are fully aware that the farmers of the United States are at the present time in a most distressing situation. Any plan to promote a return of their prosperity must awaken the hearty sympathy of all right-minded persons. The tremendous drop in agricultural prices has struck this great, stalwart, and useful element of our population a fearful blow; a blow all the more fearful because of the sanguine investments, often on borrowed money, made during the boom period. But the restoration of agricultural prosperity cannot be brought about, or even hastened, by “monkeying” with the monetary or banking system of the country.

The story of the Republican party's flirtation with the free-silver idea is an impressive lesson of the futility of doing a little here, and a little there, in the way of unsound finance, to please—or fool—the agricultural interests. The Republican party was everlastingly trying to “do something for silver,” largely because the farmers, in *that* period of low prices, thought it would help them. But it didn't help them; and at last came the choice between the real thing, free silver, and the maintenance of the country's monetary standard. Then

at last the Republican party took a firm stand, and won an overwhelming victory. As the result of the campaign of 1896, the gold standard was firmly established; and prosperity came back to the farmer without any debasement of the currency. How much better it would have been for everybody if we had not had all that shilly-shallying about the money standard! And how much better it would be for everybody now if we refused to fool the farmer by shilly-shallying about the banking system!

President Harding may still have a chance to avert the danger of our entering upon this mischievous course. It is reported that Mr. McFadden, Chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, intends to put up a stout resistance to the passage of the bill in the House. Mr. Harding could do a splendid service to the country, and to his own fame, by throwing the full weight of his influence in favor of this effort.

The Seating of Newberry

THE case against Senator Newberry involved much more than the fact that the great sum of \$200,000 was expended in the campaign for his nomination as Republican candidate for Senator in the Michigan primary election of 1918. It is easy to figure out that even so large a sum as this *could* be spent in legitimate methods of publicity in such a contest; though, even so, the expenditure of such a sum ought not to be allowed or tolerated. But there was ample evidence that a great deal of the money was spent in ways which, if not corrupt, are corrupting.

The Senate is, by the terms of the Constitution, "the judge of the elections, returns, and *qualifications* of its own members;" and a frank admission made by one of the ablest of the Republican Senators who supported Newberry in the debate shows that that Senator at least would regard him as disqualified if he held him responsible for the acts of his agents. "If I believed," said Mr. Lenroot, "that Mr. Newberry was a participant in any way in this vast expenditure of money, I would not vote to seat him, of course." Mr. Lenroot went even further. He admitted that the "cold letter of the record" created a presumption that Newberry did know what was going on; but over against that record he placed his confidence in the truthfulness of Mr. Newberry's denial, a confidence resting both upon previous knowledge of the man and upon observation of the way in which he bore himself throughout the trial. To this charitable view of the facts we believe few impartial persons will subscribe; Newberry knew enough of what was going on to make him practically a participant in it. Accordingly, in adjudging Newberry entitled to his seat, the Senate failed to assert a proper standard of personal qualification.

However regrettable this may be, it is highly important that another aspect of the case, the political as distinguished from the personal, should be clearly understood. Into this aspect several considerations enter. First of all, it must be constantly borne in mind that no charge whatever is made as to the conduct of the general election; it is only in the primary that the undue expenditure of money is charged. In the general election it is beyond question that the Republican

candidate, whoever he might have been, would have defeated the Democratic candidate; and the money that had been spent for Newberry in the primary had the unquestioned effect of enormously *diminishing* his plurality at the general election. The charge of illegal and corrupt expenditure was raised immediately after the primary, and, long before the election, had aroused an immense storm of condemnation. The consequence was that Newberry got less than 8,000 plurality over Ford, although the Republican candidate for Governor on the same day got nearly 109,000 plurality, and five other Republican State officers were elected by an average plurality of nearly 119,000. It is plain, therefore, that, had there been an ordinary contest between a Republican and a Democratic candidate for the Senate, the Republican would have won by an enormous majority; and this is made still more absolutely certain by the fact that of the thirteen Michigan seats in the House of Representatives the Republicans won twelve, while the Democrats got only one—and this in face of President Wilson's solemn appeal for the election of a Democratic Congress.

So much for the general election; but how about the primary itself, in its political aspect? By petitions under the Michigan primary law, Mr. Ford became a candidate for both the Democratic and the Republican nomination. He won the Democratic nomination by a plurality of 22,377, but Newberry beat him for the Republican nomination by a plurality of 33,163. Let us see just what this means. Owing to the provisions of the Michigan law, it was possible for Mr. Ford, who was President Wilson's personal choice for the Senate, to become the candidate of *both* parties for the Senate; if he had carried the Republican primary, the *election* would have been a mere form; the Democrats would have got their Senator not as the result of a trial of strength between the parties but as a consequence of the immense personal hold which the richest man, and incomparably the greatest employer in the State, was able to exercise upon the primary vote through innumerable connections and influences. But, as a matter of fact, this plan was defeated; and not by a narrow margin, but by the very big plurality of 33,163 in the Republican primary. It is absurd to suppose that this big plurality was bought, even with \$200,000; and in fact it is quite possible that even in the primary the scandal of the big expenditure did Newberry more harm than the employment of it did him good.

We have gone into this matter at such length because of its bearing on the assertion constantly made that it was the Newberry money that gave the Republicans the control of the Senate in 1919, and enabled them to organize it against the League of Nations. It is true that if a Democrat had been elected from Michigan, the Senate would have been a tie between the parties, and Vice-President Marshall would have had the casting vote. But the Newberry money did not give the Republicans a seat that properly belonged to the Democrats. Even if it was by that money that Ford was defeated for the Republican nomination—and there is every reason to believe that it was not—this was only the frustration of a political trick whereby the people of Michigan would have been debarred from expressing their preference as between the parties. That preference they showed in an overwhelming way in the case of all the State offices and in their choosing Republicans

for twelve out of the thirteen seats in Congress. Thus the bottom completely drops out of the claim that, from the standpoint of political equity, the Democrats were entitled to the seat, and therefore to control of the Senate. If they had got it, they would have got it by a trick; and though it may be quite true that improper means were used to defeat the trick, there is every reason to believe that the trick would have failed signally—possibly even more signally—if no such means had been employed. The plain truth is that the *political*, as distinguished from the personal, representation of Michigan in the Senate was precisely what the people of the State overwhelmingly desired; and the cry that has been going up to high Heaven over the outrageous wrong done to the Democrats in the organization of the Senate is seen, when the essential facts are recalled, to be without foundation.

A 10-Carat "Golden Rule"?

ARGUING the proposition that it's a poor Golden Rule that doesn't work both ways, a correspondent in Cincinnati offers to set us right on the subject of "Golden Rule Nash" and his tailoring shops and workers. It appears that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are now engaged in a campaign to unionize the at present non-union Nash shops. It is admitted that the wage increase and the cutting of hours which we found it agreeable to read of, actually took place. And in a full-page account of the situation published in "Advance," the weekly organ of the Amalgamated, it is also admitted that a large proportion of Cincinnati public opinion supports Mr. Nash. But all this, it is asserted, merely hides a régime of hypocrisy and oppression. The specifications given in the "Advance" article seem to us not very convincing; but for all we actually know to the contrary, the Amalgamated may be right. We hope to discover, and in a later issue to show, just what the truth of the situation is.

New Railroad Labor Currents

MR. HOOVER'S recent bringing together of the railroad executives and the heads of the train service Brotherhoods disclosed new currents in the railroad labor situation that may perhaps have important practical results for the country at large. No formal statement regarding the conferences has been issued, and it is admitted by those best informed that future developments from the conferences are as yet not at all clear. Yet the new trends seem to be definite enough to warrant discussion of their possible large consequences. The Brotherhood chiefs, it is understood, proposed that issues of wages and working conditions affecting the train services be negotiated to a final conclusion between the Brotherhoods and the railroads (without the intervention of the Labor Board), by a return to the system of regional arbitrations which prevailed before the resort to general strike threats that culminated in the Adamson Law. What the practical results of this proposal would be depends on the real purposes of the Brotherhood chiefs—as yet not plainly disclosed.

It is an open secret that the Brotherhood leaders

suffered severely in their prestige by the failure of the general strike movement last autumn. Their men are bitterly opposed to a further reduction of wages. The railroads and the Labor Board are moving steadily towards another decision on wage rates. The great influence of the farmers is quite obviously on the side of wage reductions. A new strike movement plainly offers many possibilities of disaster to the Brotherhoods—and their chiefs. Yet there is reason to fear that a heavy wage reduction by the Labor Board would result at least in "outlaw" strikes—demonstrations very damaging to the solidarity of any labor organization. The Brotherhood chiefs must be wondering what they can do about it. Their proposal at the Hoover conferences opens two possibilities—one, of ultimately futile temporizing; the other, of ultimately great and real service to all the interests involved.

The foremost and immediate consequences of a return to regional arbitrations would be delay, and an escape from the manifold results of submission to the Labor Board. Even the Labor Board can hardly reach another wage decision before July. If the negotiations could now be taken out of the Board's hands, the whole controversy would have to be re-staged, and an arbitration finding would hardly be reached in less than a year. That would mean the present wage scales continued for at least a year, and the need of a strike postponed for a like period. Moreover, if a strike were finally determined upon, the Brotherhoods would not then confront public opinion and authority organized and represented in a decision of the Labor Board. They would feel that they were not striking "against the United States," which last autumn they admitted they could not do. It is conceivable that the present purpose of the chiefs looks only to the results just outlined. Such a purpose, we believe, would be merely obstructive, and against the public interest.

But if the real purposes of the Brotherhood chiefs are guided by the economic sagacity of which they are capable, results very different, and highly beneficial, might follow. The Brotherhood men want their incomes kept up to the present figures. What the railroad executives really want is a lower cost per ton-mile and passenger-mile. They are now seeking this lower cost through wage reductions. Yet there is another, and a better, way to the same end—namely, an **increase in production** by the Brotherhood men (without any lowering of their annual incomes), that will give the lower cost per ton and passenger mile that is necessary to the prosperity of the railroads. The great problem in the new outlook is which of these two lines of policy the Brotherhood chiefs have in mind.

The Brotherhoods have increased the cost of ton and passenger miles by three different sets of measures: by insisting on higher wages (with excess for overtime); by reducing their own production of ton and passenger miles through the operation of rules limiting the amount of work that one man may do in a specified time; and by limiting the kinds of work that a man of any specified class may be asked to do. The railroads hope to save fifty millions a year by the wage reductions they are asking of the train services. There is good reason to believe, however, that an equivalent saving, in the form of lower cost per ton and passenger mile, could be made through relaxing various restrictive rules now imposed by the Brother-

hoods—and this without lowering the present annual wage incomes. Under present conditions it seems to us that the train Brotherhoods can no better afford to “make work” in this fashion than can the New York building trades unions so roundly criticized by Mr. Untermyer. The country will watch with much curiosity the possible dawn of a new economic wisdom in the train services.

America's “Mutsu”—the Open Door

THE Washington Conference has now tackled the issue of chief concern to America, the issue, in fact, upon which we stake success in this august assemblage. This issue is the principle of the open door and equality of opportunity, specifically applied to China and Siberia, but in reality of far wider significance. Compared with the establishment of this principle limitation of naval armament is of secondary importance.

Let us consider for a moment what the naval programme agreed upon means to America. There are those who believe that general disarmament would put an end to wars. To these the naval programme is merely a halting step in the right direction. But we may discard without argument a view so superficial and childish, for it is obvious to intelligent observers of international relations and of the late war that the most deadly implements of war can be quickly improvised by highly industrialized nations. The establishment of durable peace depends upon the elimination of the causes of war rather than its instruments. The limitation of naval armament relieves America, it is true, of a large burden of expense, but the relief to the other nations is incomparably greater. If the competition were to continue, America would not be the first to break under the strain. On the other hand, our proposal to scrap an important part of our capital ships and to cease building more means the voluntary relinquishment of the power to enforce our rights or protect our interests in the Orient by force of arms. If we were to stop at this point, as some would have us do, we should write ourselves down witless fools, careless of our national future and unmindful of the vital interests of the generations to follow. The abandonment of superior military power is contingent upon the establishment of conditions that will place the protection of our rights and interests upon a basis not less secure than military force. These conditions we seek not for ourselves alone but for the good of all.

The principle to which we attach our hope is that of the open door and equal opportunity. The fact that this has long been the policy of our Government gives us no title to any claim of superior virtue. Until very recently a debtor nation, with abundant opportunities for investment at home, America cannot presume to criticize creditor nations upon whom pressed heavily the necessity of finding outlets for the profitable employment of surplus capital. Nevertheless, the opposite policy, that of using the power of government to secure special privileges, monopolies, and spheres of influence, into which they very naturally drifted, was bound to lead to war, and what we seek now is to persuade them to reverse that policy in their inter-

est as well as our own. If the Washington Conference shall achieve this purpose, not in words but in fact, a real start will have been made toward the reconstruction of Europe, a reconstruction in which America can actively participate. If it fails, any edifice erected by a European economic conference, at Genoa or elsewhere, will rest upon nothing but sand.

Is the outlook hopeful? The case has been presented with tact and skill. The discussion has been sympathetic and helpful. The issue at present is associated with four main proposals: the Ten Points demanded by Mr. Sze in behalf of China, the Root resolution, the Geddes resolution concerning railways in China, and Mr. Hughes's Open Door resolution. The latter consisted originally of four articles. The abandonment, at least for the time being, of Article IV, which provided for the examination of past commitments and thereby raised the question of retroactive changes, has aroused a storm of criticism in the press. This point of course went at once to the heart of the matter—the validity of Japan's special privileges obtained under the famous Twenty-one Demands and otherwise. The feeling has been freely expressed that to yield on this point is to acknowledge failure, that merely to adopt the remaining articles would be locking the stable-door after the horse was stolen.

We do not, however, share in the popular view that the American delegation has failed in not demanding the acquiescence of Japan. Too many people look upon the Conference at Washington as upon similar meetings in the past. Theirs is the psychology of most League of Nations adherents; they see world relations in terms of organization, superior authority, coercion. But this is not the method of the Conference. If the delegates, sitting around the table in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and with an earnest desire to promote peace and well-being, can not harmonize conflicts of interest by discussion, they most certainly can not attain satisfactory and lasting results by threats or ultimatums. They have already made an advance of extraordinary importance—publicity for treaties, concessions, agreements and the like with China or having to do with China. This will go a long way toward correcting the abuses that have grown up. Equality of treatment in the matter of railway transportation, provided for in the Geddes resolution, will also deal a severe blow to a pernicious form of special privilege based upon concessions hitherto acquired. It should also be remembered that the various nations have treaties with China containing “most favored nation” clauses upon which may be based claims for a revision of agreements which discriminate against them. For the rest, we believe that the open door principle itself has been placed upon an entirely new basis so that the honor of each nation is involved in its faithful observance in the future.

Above all it should now be clear to the delegates at the Conference and to the Governments they represent that the American people are thoroughly aroused over the main issue of the treatment of China and Siberia, which has become with them a moral issue, and that they will take little satisfaction in a programme of limitation of armament unless it is joined with its necessary complement, an effective programme providing for the open door and for justice to China and Russia.

The Story of the Week

The Domestic Budget

Legislative Programme of Congress

IT is understood that Congressional leaders have agreed on carrying out the following programme this session: Enactment of the following-named bills:

- The Foreign Debt Refunding bill.
- A Coöperative Marketing bill.
- A Reclamation bill.
- The Permanent Tariff bill.
- A Merchant Marine bill.
- A bill for reorganization of the Federal Departments.
- A number of appropriation bills.
- A Soldiers' Bonus bill.

Ratification of the Washington Conference treaties.

What has become of the Panama Canal Tolls Bill? Is it "dead and gone forever," like the "darling Clementine" of the old song, or has it merely been put aside for the present for fear that its passage might prejudice Conference results, and will it reappear when the Conference is over?

What has become of the Snell-McCormick Forestry bill, which proposes Federal coöperation with States and private owners with a view to conservation of what remains of our forest wealth?

Senator Smoot has proposed an amendment to the Permanent Tariff bill which would authorize the President at his discretion to increase or decrease tariff rates by not exceeding 50 per cent. of the rates fixed in the bill, to meet changing conditions.

A Mighty Project

An International Joint Commission has submitted a report to the United States and Canadian Governments approving the project of a waterway for deep-sea vessels of draught up to 25 feet, from the Atlantic to Lake Erie. This would involve deepening the St. Lawrence above Montreal and use of the Canadian Welland Canal (now being deepened and widened for the third time, so as to accommodate vessels of 25 feet draught). The estimate of cost is \$310,000,000. The estimated additional cost for accommodation of vessels of draught up to 30 feet is \$18,000,000; and that additional cost is comparatively so trifling that it seems absurd not to make the very great improvement indicated. It is proposed that the cost be apportioned between the United States and Canada "on the basis of the benefits each will receive from the new waterway."

The project is being desperately opposed by the friends of the New York Barge Canal, who contend that that waterway is adequate for the shipments it is proposed to handle by the projected St. Lawrence system, and that when certain terminal facilities at New York have been completed the costs of shipment via the Barge Canal will be less than they could be by the projected St. Lawrence system. They say Western shippers are prejudiced against the Barge Canal and unwilling to give it a fair trial. Whether these claims are altogether candid or partly inspired by the fear of a terrible loss of trade to New York, we cannot say. Western shippers seem to favor the St. Lawrence project.

Whatever its merits, the proposal gives a loose to the imagination. Imagine Benjamin Franklin "revisiting the glimpses of the moon" (ignorant of events on earth since his absence) and taken to see Cleveland and Buffalo, their ports crowded with great ocean shipping. Even that cool-headed person would be a little bewildered.

End of the Newberry Case

On January 12 the Senate, by 46 to 41, passed a resolution declaring Senator Newberry entitled to his Senatorial seat. The debate was a memorable one, Senator Borah, with great eloquence, leading the attack upon Senator Newberry. The essence of the Senate decision is that Senator Newberry did not personally employ, nor was he consenting or privy to the employment of, corrupt means to obtain his nomination to the Senate. But an amendment to the resolution of acquittal condemns the expenditure of "such excessive sums" (approximately \$195,000 was expended on behalf of Mr. Newberry in connection with the Michigan primary), "on behalf of a candidate with or without his knowledge and consent," as "contrary to sound public policy, harmful to the honor and dignity of the Senate and dangerous to the perpetuity of a free Government."

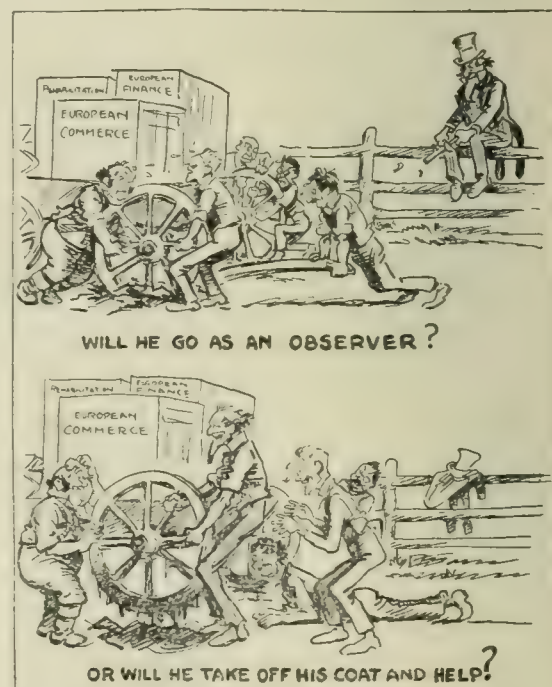
Statistics of Our Foreign Trade

According to figures published by the Department of Commerce, the value of our exports during the first eleven months of 1921 was \$4,189,343,000, as compared with \$7,507,729,000 in the corresponding period of 1920; the value of our imports was \$2,271,797,000, as compared with \$5,012,424,000 in the corresponding period of 1920. The value of our exports for November, 1921, was \$294,437,000, as compared with \$343,597,000 for October, 1921, and \$676,528,000 for November, 1920. The value of our imports for November, 1921, was \$211,027,000, as compared with \$294,437,000 for October, 1921, and \$321,209,000 for November, 1920.

Assuming the above figures to be accurate, they do not tell all the story. One should know the variations in the purchasing value of the dollar, and many details as to the character of the exports. For example, last year's export of corn was 129,000,000 bushels, as compared with 18,000,000 bushels in 1920. Only direst hunger prevailed on the Europeans to eat Indian corn; so the item of corn in our 1921 exports is abnormal. It is to be hoped that necessity has reconciled the European palate to Indian corn, and that it is destined to be one of our most important articles of export; for our farmers have a great superfluity thereof. That, however, is doubtful. Statistics are fascinating, but as apt to mislead as to inform. To paraphrase the sage observation of a great Englishman: "There are lies, awful lies, and statistics."

The National Agricultural Congress

In compliance with instructions from President Harding, Secre-



Morris

Uncle Sam's Part in the European Economic Conference

tary Wallace, of the Department of Agriculture, has invited to a National Agricultural Conference at Washington the "ablest representatives of agricultural production" and certain others "engaged in industries most intimately associated with agriculture" (as the transporting, marketing, and financing of crops). The conference will open on January 27. It will consider measures to relieve the present distress and is expected to lay broad plans for the future.

The Death of Senator Penrose

We have hitherto lacked space to record the death of Senator Penrose, which occurred several weeks ago. He was, perhaps, of all the members of Congress the most valuable to the Administration; the loss of his leadership at this crisis is little short of a disaster to the Republican party. He is succeeded (under the seniority rule), in the important post of Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, by Senator McCumber, who is reported to be sympathetic with the agricultural bloc.

Mr. George Wharton Pepper, the eminent lawyer, was appointed Senator by Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania to fill the seat made vacant by the death of Mr. Penrose.

A Request for Information

Senator McCormick of Illinois recently submitted to the Senate a resolution which requests the Secretary of State to lay before the Senate such information regarding the revenues, expenditures, and deficits of the European States, as may be available to the Department of State, showing for the last and current fiscal years especially the annual cost of land armaments in the several States, as compared with the annual deficits of the several States (including both "ordinary" and "extraordinary" expenditures), and the sum of the interest annually due from the several States on account of the loans made to them by the United States.

"I believe," said the Senator,

that the American people ought to be informed authoritatively regarding the exact causes of the chronic deficits of the European Governments, in order that they may form just conclusions as to the remedies therefor.

The Senator went on to quote a table prepared for him by a "responsible authority," which purports to give the number of men with the colors in the armies of France, Italy, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. The table shows Italy to have a standing force of 456,000, whereas Senator Schanzer told the Washington Conference the other day that the present Italian strength is 200,000, that in the near future there will be a further reduction to 175,000. The figure quoted for Poland is 450,000; a Polish official publication of recent date shows the Polish army demobilized to 220,000.

France, of course, is chiefly glanced at, and the French press is in consequence very indignant, calling the resolution (it was adopted by the Senate) a deliberate insult to the French Government, an attempt to intimidate it. The resolution has caused widespread resentment in America also, as, if not unfriendly, at least most untactful at this delicate juncture. The information, it is pointed out, was readily obtainable without offensive publicity.

Thrift Week

This is Thrift Week, when all good Americans re-read "Poor Richard's Almanacks" and ponder to thrifful purpose the career of Benjamin Franklin, whom many think the most typically American of the Fathers. A moment ago we passed the statue of Franklin in City Hall Square, New York, and observed with pleasure that it was almost hidden by floral tributes.

Deferred Matters

We must postpone to another week detailed notice of the following matters:

The proposed Soldiers' Bonus bill, and how it is suggested to find the money for bonus payments.

The bill just passed by the Senate which provides for increasing the membership of the Federal Reserve Board, and why its passage is considered a triumph for the agricultural bloc.

The legislative programme of the American Farm Bureau Federation, of which the agricultural bloc in Congress is the instrument. This effective organization of farmers is the most important recent development in American life.

The case of the Disabled Soldier.

The Washington Conference

ON January 16 the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions resumed operations. The proceedings of the 16th were not of much importance. Secretary Hughes seemed to be feeling his way. On the 17th, however, Secretary Hughes acted with characteristic boldness. He proposed the following resolutions:

I. With a view to applying more effectively the principles of the open door or equality of opportunity in China for the trade and industry of all nations, the powers other than China represented at this conference agree:

(a) Not to seek or support their nationals in seeking any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China.

(b) Not to seek or to support their nationals in seeking any such monopoly or preference as would deprive other nationals of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China or of participating with the Chinese Government or with any Provincial Government in any category of public enterprise, or which, by reason of its scope, duration or geographical extent is calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity.

It is understood that this agreement is not to be so construed as to prohibit the acquisition of such properties or rights as may be necessary to the conduct of a particular commercial, industrial or financial undertaking or to the encouragement of invention and research.

II. The Chinese Government takes note of the above agreement and declares its intention of being guided by the same principles in dealing with applications for economic rights and privileges from Governments and nationals of all foreign countries whether parties to that agreement or not.

III. The powers including China represented at this conference agree in principle to the establishment in China of a Board of Reference to which any question arising on the above agreement and declaration may be referred for investigation and report. (A detailed scheme for the constitution of the board shall be framed by the special conference referred to in Article I in the convention on Chinese customs duties.)

IV. The powers including China represented at this conference agree that any provisions of an existing concession which appear inconsistent with those of another concession or with the principles of the above agreement or declaration may be submitted by the parties concerned to the Board of Reference when established for the purpose of endeavoring to arrive at a satisfactory adjustment on equitable terms.

Resolutions I and II constitute an assertion more definite than any hitherto made of the principle of the open door or



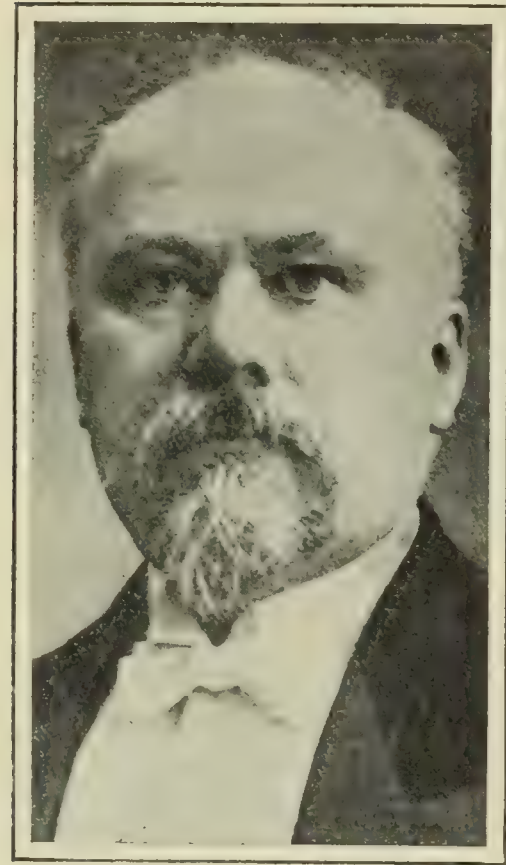
Morris

Malnutrition

equality of opportunity in China. The third resolution proposes a Board of Reference which (as appeared in Mr. Hughes's following explanations) should include representatives of all the Powers represented at the Washington Conference, to which board might be referred questions involving or thought to involve the principle of the open door in China. Reference to the board of questions in doubt or

controversy should, as Mr. Hughes explained, be entirely voluntary. Its function should not extend beyond investigation and report. Its recommendations should not be binding. The effect of its recommendations would "depend upon the good faith of Governments in applying the principles professed by them." It is evident how such a board might do much or little toward making the open door in China "a fact rather than a mere motto" (Mr. Hughes's words), depending on the attitude of the several Governments.

But Resolution IV is the one with the real "kick." Reply-



International

M. Poincaré, the new French Premier

ing to a question by M. Sarraut, Mr. Hughes declared that it was intended to be retroactive. That, is, existing concessions, such as those arising out of the famous Twenty-one Demands, might be considered by the board.

The Italian delegation declared agreement with the spirit of the resolutions; the British delegation accepted them "as they stood"; the French demurred to Resolution IV; and the Japanese characteristically declared themselves "in accord with the general principles embodied" but desirous of more time to study the resolutions before committing themselves.

The discussion was resumed the next day. Baron Shidehara, for Japan, having had time to study Resolution IV, declared himself opposed to it. He proposed to amend the resolution by substituting for the words "any provisions of an existing concession which appear inconsistent," the words "any provisions of a concession which may hereafter be granted by China"; thus taking the retroactive force or "kick" out of the resolution.

Sir Robert Borden of Canada now proposed that Resolution IV be discarded as of no importance, since Resolution III might be construed as including in its broad provisions the substance of Resolution IV. Sir Robert's interpretation was elegant and pacific, but of course deceived nobody. What Mr. Hughes wanted was an acknowledgment by the Japanese that existing foreign concessions in China are ("in principle," at least) properly subject to examination and revision by an international body. Had Mr. Hughes "put over" that resolution, it would have been a tremendous strategical victory. [It should have paved the way to consideration of the Twenty-one Demands and the Manchurian Question.] Instead of such acknowledgment by the Japanese, the Japanese are now emphatically on record as opposed to any such thing, whether in fact or "principle." Pessimism is deeper than ever now as to the prospect of any material concessions by Japan when those crucial ques-

tions, the Twenty-one Demands and Manchuria, are again brought before the committee. Secretary Hughes has been foiled for the present. What will be his next move on behalf of China?

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions has now turned to the delicate question of the Chinese railways.

The Shantung negotiation continues.

Ireland

THE House of Commons of Southern Ireland [see our last issue] met at Dublin on Saturday, the 14th, formally ratified the agreement with Great Britain creating the Irish Free State, appointed a Provisional Government of the Irish Free State as required by that agreement, and then adjourned *sine die*; thus passing away after a very few crowded minutes of glorious life. Of the 126 persons elected to the House of Commons, only sixty-five were present, the entire Opposition, including de Valera, absents themselves. The membership of the Provisional Government was of course arranged beforehand. The members are: Michael Collins, William Cosgrove, Edmond Duggan, Patrick Hogan, Finian Lynch, Joseph McGrath, John MacNeill, Kevin O'Higgins "and such other persons if and as determined from time to time by the ministers for the time being." All of the above-named persons are members of the Dail Cabinet, except Professor John MacNeill, who is Speaker of the Dail, and Finian Lynch, who was secretary of the Irish delegation who made the agreement in London. At first blush it may seem surprising that Arthur Griffith is not a member of the Provisional Government, but he probably thought it best to have his hands free to deal with the fierce Opposition in the Dail and to battle against the Opposition in the campaign to precede the elections to the first Irish Free State Parliament. Mr. Griffith told the House of Commons that the Dail Eireann would continue in existence until the London agreement has been executed.

On Monday, the 16th, Lord Fitz Alan, the Lord Lieutenant, turned over to the Provisional Government the keys of Dublin Castle, the act symbolizing transfer of the powers of Government.

Day to be marked with a white stone!

M. Poincaré

M. BRIAND resigned on the 12th, and on the following day the Cannes Conference broke up.

Briand is succeeded as Premier by M. Poincaré, who, if he is to be judged by his journalistic utterances, is the most extreme of Nationalists, the sternest champion of the policy of relentless enforcement of the Versailles Treaty. But, it is pointed out, Poincaré in office may turn out quite a different person from Poincaré the journalist, Poincaré out of office.

On Thursday, the 19th, M. Poincaré outlined his policy to the Chamber. "If Germany fails in her obligations," said he, "the French Government will have to consider the measures to be adopted, and the first of these would certainly be the establishment of effective control over the German budget, emission of paper money and exports." But elsewhere in the speech M. Poincaré declares that the Supreme Council must stop interfering with the Reparations Commission; and the Rep-



International

Hugo Stinnes

arations Commission is showing much indulgence toward Germany in respect of manner of payment, requiring in return from Germany fiscal reforms, etc. So, after all, on the most important matter, that of reparations, M. Poincaré may not turn out so very unreasonable. He hopes that a treaty of alliance between France and Britain will soon be signed "on a footing of perfect equality." [Whether Lloyd George will consent to such modifications of the Cannes pact as will satisfy Poincaré's notion of equality, remains to be seen.] He has a very cordial word for the United States. As to the Genoa Conference, "we will insist," says he.

that the conditions laid down in the protocol of Cannes are accepted or refused by the delegates before any discussion, and that no stipulation of existing treaties may be even indirectly debated by the conference. If we do not have these precise guarantees we will be forced to take back our liberty of action.

In other words, before the discussions begin, the Russians must subscribe to the conditions laid down in the invitation to the Genoa conference [see our last issue] and a guarantee must be given that the Versailles Treaty (i. e., German reparations) will not be debated; else the French representatives will be withdrawn. That perhaps is the most important statement in Poincaré's speech. If France withdraws from the Genoa Conference and if the United States declines to participate, that conference is not likely to be a success.

We seem to find in Poincaré's important speech a reasonable attitude toward reparations [yet we admit doubts on that head], a "difficult" attitude toward the Genoa Conference, a "questionable" [as Hamlet uses the word] attitude toward a treaty with Britain. A preliminary statement of policy is one thing; the development of policy in action is another. The development of M. Poincaré's policy in action will be a fascinating thing to watch.

Russia: An Appeal

CONGRESS recently appropriated \$20,000,000 for the purchase of grain and condensed milk for the relief of the starving Russians. It is expected that a bill authorizing the President to turn over surplus army medical supplies up to the value of \$4,000,000, to the American Relief Administration for use in Russia, will soon become an act. We understand, however, that medical supplies thus obtainable will be wholly inadequate; and no provision has been made by Congress for supply of clothing. The American Relief Administration, therefore, is asking the press to inform the American people of the desperate need in the Russian famine area of medical supplies and of clothing (including shoes). Thousands upon thousands of children are going barefoot and in thin cotton clothing, in the terrible Russian winter. To add to the horror, there is an insufficiency of fuel. Influenza, smallpox, cholera, typhoid, and typhus are rampant; especially typhus, a winter disease. Last year there were approximately a million cases of typhus; this year there will be more. The death-rate of the disease is 13 per cent. It is requested that donations toward supplying the need of clothing and medical supplies be sent to the American Relief Administration, 42 Broadway, New York. Presumably the donations asked for are donations in money, not kind. We are very glad to transmit the Relief Administration's appeal, and we hope the response will be generous and immediate. Donors may be sure that their money will be applied to the very best advantage toward the relief of an inconceivably tragic situation. Control by the Administration's agents of the distribution of its supplies is complete. The Soviet Government has carried out its contract with the Administration honestly and with more efficiency than was expected. O ye American people, in the name of mercy and for the honor of the human race contribute largely and at once!

Brief Items

THE Nationalist agitation in Egypt seems practically to have ceased.

* * *

The general situation in India is far from clear, but apparently the Moderates are getting the upper hand.

The Prince of Wales has accomplished half of his tour of India. Despite unfortunate incidents in Calcutta and Madras, that tour so far has been a great success.

* * *

An Anglo-Belgian treaty is about to be consummated, Britain engaging to go to Belgium's assistance in case of unprovoked attack upon the latter—a renewal, in fact, of the famous "scrap of paper."

* * *

That marvellous youth, Georges Clemenceau, has started a new daily paper, the *Echo National*. M. Tardieu is an assistant editor.

* * *

The Maura Spanish Cabinet has fallen.

* * *

Strong protests have been made against the "religious invasion" of Italy by American "evangelical" denominations.

Still from time to time in Italy Communists and Fascisti slay each other.

Francesco Nitti, ex-Premier of Italy, has written a very interesting book entitled *L'Europa Senza Pace* ("Europe Without Peace"). He is a master of a lucid style.

* * *

The recent plebiscite in the Vilna area resulted in a vote to join Poland. Lithuania has protested to the League Council against the conditions which governed the plebiscite.

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It is reported that hostilities between the Greeks and the Turks in Anatolia have been resumed.

* * *

The reforms which that very able person, Menelek II, Emperor of Abyssinia, instituted, have all been swept away in the few years since his death, and Abyssinnia has relapsed into barbarism.

* * *

Vague rumors indicate that Yucatan out-Bolsheviks Moscow.

* * *

The Permanent World Court will assemble for the first time at The Hague on January 30.

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The Council of the League of Nations met at Geneva on January 10, and is still, we suppose, in session. "A note of optimism was observable at the opening session."



Kadel & Herbert

A Packing Case Used as an Incubator for a Russian Waif

Lem Hooper Improves Ford's Currency Plan

By Ellis Parker Butler

OUR eminent jurist and incorruptible legal light, Justice of the Peace Lemuel Hooper, entered his court room and having blown on his cold fingers and removed his muffler, hat and overcoat, announced that court was open for business.

"Only one case this morning, your honor," said Court-officer Durfey. "I am the complainant, your honor."

"Hum!" said Judge Hooper when he had placed his spectacles on his nose and heard what Officer Durfey had to

say. "And what have you to say to this, Samuel J. Higgins of 453 East Ninth Street?"

"Well, judge," said Mr. Higgins, assuming the friendly confidential tone supposed to appeal to judges, "it don't amount to anything. In another half hour that snow would have been all tromped down—"

"Samuel J. Higgins," said Judge Hooper severely, "by what misconceived theory of law do you come here and

announce that the snow removal ordinance made and provided by the city of Riverbank amounts to nothing? You have heard what Durfey said. Five times this winter the heavens have lowered and the fleecy snow has fallen on your sidewalk. Five times this winter Officer Durfey has been obliged to wade through the deep snow on your sidewalk, getting his ankles wet—You did get your ankles wet, Durfey?"

"Yes, Your Honor," admitted Officer Durfey.

"Periling his health and risking death, jeopardizing the support of his family," said Judge Hooper, "and you call that nothing, Samuel J. Higgins! Alas! I know not how many other citizens have been thus jeopardized by your negligence, Samuel J. Higgins! Five times did this faithful officer warn you to clean your walk and you did not, and now—for the sixth time the heavens have lowered and the snow has fallen and the sidewalk of Samuel J. Higgins, 453 East Ninth Street, remains uncleared. What have you to say for yourself?"

"Well, now, judge," said Mr. Higgins ingratiatingly, "it's like this: I don't say that maybe I haven't been a little neglectful, but I get to thinking. I'm an intelligentsia. I'm a thinker. I study deep into problems. And yesterday morning, judge, I was busy studying this plan of Henry Ford's for a new kind of money for this country. That's what we need, judge, a new kind of money."

"Something sort of Russian, hey?" asked Judge Hooper. "Some sort of money that you need a bale of to buy a snow-shovel? Seems to me the kind of money we have now grades up fair to middling, don't it?"

"Yes, but if a great mind thinks up a new kind why

not have it?" asked Mr. Higgins eagerly. "Better money! That's the kind old Hen Ford wants. He says that when this country wants more currency the thing to do is to issue paper money backed up by our national resources—water power. That's what Hen says. He says, 'When the Government needs money it will raise it by issuing currency against its imperishable national wealth.' He says we ought to do that and have a unit of value whereby a certain amount of energy exerted for an hour would be equal to one dollar. The trouble with me, judge, was that I got to thinking about that plan and got so interested I clear forgot to shovel my walk."

"You did, did you?" said Judge Hooper drily. "Well, Samuel J. Higgins, this court is not interested in the reformation of the currency of the United States in any shape or manner. This court, never having discovered a seedless prune or made an automobile, does not feel competent to settle the currency question and all other questions, national, international, and interplanetary. This court, Samuel J. Higgins, may some day invent a patent collar-button and make a billion dollars, and when it does it is going to tackle a plan for currency based on water power. This court will then issue Niagara Falls in twenty-dollar bills and Minnehaha Falls in ten-cent shin-plasters. In that glad day, Samuel J. Higgins, if a man has a twenty-dollar bill and can't use twenty dollars' worth of Niagara water-power, he can walk right up to the grand old falls and drink twenty dollars' worth of high-power Niagara Falls water and get square with the Government. A liquid currency!

"In some cases, Samuel J. Higgins, I am strong for Mr. Ford's theory that a certain amount of energy exerted for one hour should be equal to one dollar. And do not imagine, Samuel, that I believe the honorable Henry, who uses power by wholesale and has money by the bale, would suggest that this great nation issue paper money that might soon be as cheap as Russian rubles so that he might corral forty-seven bales and take over all the big and little falls for his own use and purpose. Henry would not think of such a thing, Samuel J. Higgins, but the trouble with Henry is that he would not think that another man might think of it. But some man would, Samuel, some man would! Men think of many things. I am thinking of one now."

"What?" asked Mr. Higgins.

"Of a snow-shovel," said Judge Hooper. "And of the wisdom of Mr. Ford's suggestion that a certain amount of energy exerted for one hour should be equal to one dollar. That is a noble thought, Samuel J. Higgins, but I will go him nine better. I decree, Samuel J. Higgins, that under the currency plan of Justice of the Peace Hooper a certain amount of energy exerted for one hour shall be equal to ten dollars. You will now repair to the premises known as 453 East Ninth Street and get out your snow-shovel and exert your energy for one hour on your snowy sidewalk. That's all!

"Durfey, put another chunk of coal in that stove."



New Books and Old

YOU may sometimes find, in shops where glassware, vases, and household ornaments are sold, a receptacle for cut flowers, made in the form of six or seven birds standing in a circle. Their wings join each to each, their heads are thrown back, and their beaks are open to a surprising width. The leader of them has apparently just given the command: "Now, boys, all together, and let's see who can let out the most piercing howl!" It makes your ears ring to look at them. The image of these birds flashed before me when I saw the book called "Civilization in the United States" (Harcourt, Brace), which is "An Inquiry by Thirty Americans, edited by Harold E. Stearns." For the list of "young" intellectuals who constituted the thirty contributors was such as to make any one expect that the wailing of all the banshees together could not rival the dismal ululations about to rise. But this was an injustice to the book. The editor and his fellow workers have approached their task calmly, deliberately, and in something of a judicial spirit. Indeed, there is almost the manner of the Supreme Bench about the introduction; an air so kindly, so suggestive of silver-haired and genial old-age that the reader trembles in fear lest the young intellectuals are about to abandon youth altogether, and content themselves with merely the exclusive possession of intelligence.

Mr. Stearns and his friends decided that the thirty who were to raise the United States of America between their forceps, and gaze at it, coolly and critically, must all be Americans. The enthusiastic young Russians, for instance, who have so often and so kindly explained our defects to us, after they had surveyed us for six whole months, were thus barred out at the start. Furthermore, there must be no professional propagandists in the symposium, no martyrs, and no disgruntled persons. It sounds almost sinful in its picture of contentment, ease, and good-will. Surely nothing can come from thirty persons who have, one and all, Pippa's song upon their lips! The editor dates his preface on the Fourth of July, and there is, in the biographical notices of the contributors, careful mention of all of them who served in the armed forces of America or her Allies in the recent war. This is nothing less than deliberate pandering to the bourgeois notion of patriotism!

It is a big book, and many of its pages are dull. Despite the promise of the editor that his writers are going to be urbane, sometimes even gay, the reader does not find much that is sprightly until he reaches Mr. J. Thorne Smith's admirable satire upon "Advertising." Mr. H. L. Mencken discusses "Politics," and it would require a more blatant patriot than I to disagree with his comments upon the stupidity of Congress. Mr. Mencken, it seems, is a careful and daily reader of the "Congressional Record," which accounts, at

last, for his gloomy outlook upon the world. Mr. John Macy holds "Journalism" up to disapproval, and his sweeping arraignment of the American press has already excited the disapproval of some newspaper men—writers, by the way, who accepted calmly enough a recent and far more false and exaggerated indictment of the American Army. Mr. Stearns himself takes "The Intellectual Life" for his paper; "The Literary Life" is Mr. Van Wyck Brooks's. "Music" is by Mr. Deems Taylor; "The Theatre" by Mr. Nathan; "The Alien" by Mr. Frederick C. Howe; "Sport and Play" by Mr. Ring Lardner; while "Humor" is discussed with gravity—as it should be discussed—by Mr. F. M. Colby. Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons writes upon "Sex," but beyond the facts that both of the well-known sexes seem to be represented in the United States, and that they have their usual manifestations, I gathered comparatively little from her essay. At the end an Englishman, an Irishman (Mr. Ernest Boyd), and an Italian tell what they have observed about our culture.

Another cherished belief has gone overboard. Vanished are those gigantic vampire bats, which ever since the days of Harper's School Geography have been one of my dearest superstitions. They were nine feet from tip to tip (meaning the tips of the wings, I suppose), and they fluttered lightly over my hammock as I lay asleep in South America. By the wind from their pinions they fanned me into a deeper slumber, the while their sharp teeth pierced my throat as a preliminary to drinking my heart's blood. All, all are gone, the old familiar vampires! In their place emerges a small, shy creature, much more bashful than a New Jersey mosquito and only half as dangerous. Mr. William Beebe, in "Edge of the Jungle" (Holt), says that he and his comrades actually slept at night with their toes left outside the bed coverings in order to please the vampires. Other bats "as large as small herons" flew about, but no vampires. Finally, they did come, and drank a modest amount of blood from the colored servants. Then they forgot their race prejudice, and began upon the white men. But so painless and harmless was the operation that everybody slept, despite all efforts to keep awake and observe the vampires at work. They did not, however, fan the patient with their wings, nor hover over him. The method was to flop down upon the sleeper and crawl to the desired spot. Mr. Beebe tried to keep awake and catch a vampire feeding. He bared his arm and lay awake, while bats of various kinds swished the air above him. This takes resolution and scientific enthusiasm. I know, because I tried it once in the tropics—that is, in a Washington boarding-house. Two bats had a bet as to which of them could come nearest to my nose without hitting it. To go to sleep under these circumstances is doubtless possible, but not on a hot night when your patience is scanty. I

arose and broke up the game with, I regret to say, a tennis racquet.

The vampire bat which selected Mr. Beebe for his prey was a timid flitter-mouse. Alighting on his chest it moved slowly toward his arm. Mr. Beebe presently began to imagine that the teeth had been inserted and that the blood was being pumped into the bat's body. This proved to be imagination; all that really came was a slight tickling. This changed to a tingling, rather pleasant than otherwise, like the first stage of having one's hand asleep. When very cautiously he tried to catch the bat, it escaped from his grasp. In the morning, the only wound to be found was a tiny scratch. The skin was barely broken. The bat had only commenced the operation.

To the reader with an avowed hatred of Ex-President Wilson the book by the late William F. McCombs, "Making Woodrow Wilson President" (Fairview Publishing Co.), will bring especial pleasure. That is, if there are any such haters. To the slavish admirer of Mr. Wilson, the book will be discarded or ignored as the spiteful publication of an embittered man, who nursed a grudge. That is, if there are any such admirers. The most remarkable points in the book—Mr. Wilson's calm thanks to Providence for his nomination, ignoring the tired political manager who stood before him, and his speech, "I owe you nothing!" also uttered to Mr. McCombs after the election—are both hard to explain away. The follower of Mr. Wilson will require to know the surrounding circumstances; the opponent will point to the known facts in a similar act of cool brutality: the dismissal of Mr. Lansing.

But the book, badly put together as it is, poorly proof-read, and sometimes casual and fragmentary, has intense interest for any observer of American politics, without regard to personal feeling or political preferences. This is in the chapters about the extraordinary rise of that curious personality, Colonel House, and still more in the chapters describing the pulling and hauling, the maneuvering and shifting behind the scenes during the Baltimore Convention of the Democratic Party in 1912. What could be more amusing than this picture of Mr. Bryan?

"He was standing in a corner, with his side face to me. His appearance was very grim. His mouth looked like a mouth that has been created by a slit of a razor. He was clad in a brown undershirt, baggy black trousers and a pair of carpet slippers. His hair was ruffled.

"Mr. Bryan turned to me, and, greeting me briskly, said:

"'McCombs, you know that Wilson cannot be nominated. I know that Clark cannot be nominated. You must turn your forces to a progressive Democrat like me,' placing a forefinger vigorously on his chest."

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

Book Reviews

Mr. Hergesheimer Being Modern

CYTHEREA. By Joseph Hergesheimer.
New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

I AM conscious of a wish to conceal my disappointment in this book. For I see that I have been cherishing the fondest illusion of a critic of the contemporary—that of having invented Mr. Hergesheimer, in the ancient meaning of invent—of having made him my own, or at least gloriously identified myself with him, by right of discovery. I had never heard of him when "The Three Black Pennys" burst upon me, and I burst simultaneously into praise: at last an American novelist who cared to be an artist—and had the stuff in him. True, the long short story, or novelette, seemed to be his form. "The Three Black Pennys," you remember, was a linked group of three such stories. The best of his later work has taken the same form; he has seemed most himself in the collections of tales, "Wild Oranges," "Tubal Cain," and "The Dark Fleece," rather than in "Linda Condon" or even "Java Head." He has not yet proved himself of equal calibre as novelist and as story-teller on the smaller scale. Why should he care to achieve the long novel when he has an equally difficult and effective form at his command? How many long novels of recent years do we set beside an "Ethan Frome," or a "Nocturne," or (to cite a very recent instance) an "Autumn"? Yet what artist in the briefer form has been satisfied, happy in his own bailiwick? Not Mrs. Wharton, nor Mr. Swinnerton, nor Mr. Hergesheimer; and I think it is a pity in all three cases. Their genius is for the interpretation of an episodic, rather than a prolonged and sustained action.

And Mr. Hergesheimer's genius, in particular, is for the remote and the exotic, in time or place or both. "Linda Condon" was therefore more a feat for him than "Java Head," in which the color of the past and the alien atmosphere of the East made most of the enchantment. In "Cytherea" he tries to do what all the novelists are trying to do just now—to interpret the confused human scene of these after-war years by means of narrative. A most unpleasant job he makes of it. I do not mean unpleasant in the character of its incident and its other details; though they are unpleasant enough to please the greenichest reader. It is unpleasant because its detail, its incident and commentary, sum up to no sufficient action. There is "nothing doing" here. The clever idea of the French doll which becomes a symbol and a fetish to a middle-aged American is an idea for a novelette rather than a novel. It becomes fantastic and wearisome in the long run of four hundred pages. Or is it the human

figures which fail to do "Cytherea" justice by inflicting upon us their laborious unreality at her expense? This is the luckless attempt of a romantic realist to function as a naturalistic realist. There is no plane on which one is able to believe in these people, to feel that they are true to either fact or dream. The time is our own after-war time, in which, according to all the newest novelists, everything is going to the devil and a good thing, too! All conventions but the convention of revolt have gone by the board. Human nature has come to the surface and revealed itself as a satyr bothered with a soul. Every man proudly wears his subconsciousness on his sleeve for Puritans to make the best of. . . .

Doubtfully we behold an artist like Mr. Hergesheimer accepting the formula, and manipulating the materials, of current fashion. And regretfully we admit that his manipulation is labored and inept. We find him dealing rather clumsily with this commonplace stuff. Granted that current life is a mess, that society is badly adrift in many ways. There are still decent people, happy people, lovable people. There remain, not only here and there, but on all sides of us, people, men and women—even women of thirty and men of forty-five—with hearts and characters that are not necessarily wooden or static because they fail to respond to the sophomoric idea of liberty. "Integer vitae" is not a phrase invented by either Puritanism or Victorianism; nor will it have become meaningless while the world rolls. Yet current novelists are largely busied with the moving picture of a world in flux or rather in ferment, where unrest is strangely worshiped as a virtue, and self and pleasure are the other known gods.

Mr. Hergesheimer's Lee Randon is a man of forty-seven, successful in business, well-married (as marriage goes), owner of a pleasant country estate among congenial neighbors. He is a friendly man, an out-of-doors man, with, you would say, nothing to worry him. But the after-war mood has touched him, the common round becomes wearisome, youth is past and age impends. He is minded to snatch at what he can get before it is too late. The old, old story of the new fiction. And the prize he goes out for is, of course, a prize of "sex." The doll Cytherea is the fetish of his senescent sex-worship; a symbol of modern desire, subtle, sophisticate, yet based on savagery. She is a Venus of Greece, of China, of Venice, of Vienna—finally, as we see, of darkest Africa. She is, in the short, the incarnation of "passion" in Mr. Hergesheimer's sense, which seems nearly synonymous with lust. How Lee Randon finds and loses "Cytherea's" human incarnation is the main tale. Savina Grove is the one vital figure in the story: and she is hideous. The rest, the dummy Peyton, the well "well-bred" Claire with the tongue of a street woman, the model

wife Fanny, who is a vulgar sister to the cat-wife in "If Winter Comes," the movie-artist Mina Raff—the flabby egotist Lee Randon himself—are unpleasant puppets of whom we quickly weary. They have little consistency of any sort. Mina Raff signalizes her entrance by announcing "I'll tell you something about us if you like—we are not made of sugar and spice and other pleasant bits, but only of two: prostitute and mother;" and thereafter lapses into the tamest decency of speech. Fanny, the perfect wife and mother, a supposedly cold and contained person, alternates between fulsome protestations of love for Lee, and feline nagging of the most violent order; she lands him one across the jaw with a paper-cutter by way of finale.

Against all this unreality of interpretation the story-teller's careful style is powerless. He has, to work with, the doll-idea, some impressions of American country house life, some impressions of Cuba, some theories of types: but the result is a figment, not an interpretation. To this the admirer of sex-groping fiction would be free to retort with a sentence from the book: "A play or a book pleases him or it doesn't, he approves of its limiting conventional morals, or violently condemns what he thinks is looseness, and that's the extent of his interest." The final clause would not apply: that cap I need not put on. I am disappointed in "Cytherea" because I expect much of its author and he has cheated me. Let him praise, if he will, lawlessness under the name of liberty. I am free to think at the end that his whole presentation has been ironical, a show of puppets. What I cannot forgive is the clumsiness and the deliberate unseemliness (there's a fine old Puritan word for you!) of his manipulation.

H. W. BOYNTON

Modern Spain

A PICTURE OF MODERN SPAIN. By J. B. Trend. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

THE English have always been keen and sympathetic interpreters of Spain and *cosas de España*. While all the rest of the world was lazily willing to agree with Montesquieu that the only good Spanish book was the one which showed the folly of all the others (an opinion only too generally admitted by Spaniards themselves), Rev. John Bowle—Don Bowle, as his friends called him—had already seen the greatness of the Quixote, and, in 1781, was the first to treat it as a classic, explaining it grammatically, historically, and as a picture and critique of an epoch and a civilization. From this first of *Cervantistas* derives the long line of commentators all the way from Pellicer and Clemen-cín to Rodríguez Marin of our days, to mention only the Spanish stream from this source, and—forgoing the mention of a long succession of English scholars whose names are daily on the lips of every *hispanista*—was it not an Englishman, Coventry Patmore, who, speaking of a work by Valera—plain Juan

Valera—evolved that remarkable hyperbolic phrase (what Spaniard could have surpassed it?) “that complete synthesis of gravity of matter and gaiety of manner which is the glittering crown of art and which out of Spanish literature is to be found only in Shakespeare and, even in him, in a far less obvious degree.”

And here we have another enthusiastic and scholarly book by a well-read fluent English writer coming at the moment when a general *engouement* in our schools for everything Spanish is calling steadily for more light. It is very welcome.

Not that Mr. Trend's volume deals mainly with literature; there are chapters on politics, biography, bibliography, life and culture to suit all tastes, and, conscious of his friends and masters, he has chosen to speak only of pleasant things, leaving the reverse of the shield to those of the temper of the author of “The Truth About Spain.”

The series of essays, some of which have been previously published, treats of: Spain After the War; Education (i. e., the story of Giner de los Ríos and his group); Literature (i. e., Pérez Galdós and the generation of '98); the Catalan Contribution (a study in fourteen chapters); Spanish plays and incidental music; Three Memories of Music [charming sketches entitled the Mystery of Elche, i. e., the mystery play—Sarragossa and the Troubadour, Music in the Gardens of Granada]; and finally, by way of epilogue, The Cloisters at Tarragona. Following the essay on Catalonia there is a five page bibliography of French, Catalan, and Spanish works upon the subject, and after that on music a ten page bibliographical guide to Spanish secular music (readers are referred for sacred music to the bibliography in M. Henri Collet's authoritative “Le Mysticisme Musical Espagnol au XVI Siècle”) both of great value to students of this phase of Spanish art and probably very complete, as we noticed mention made of a book in general so little known as de la Rosa y Lopez's “Los Seises de la Catedral de Sevilla.”

It is obviously unfair ever to discuss, by culling phrases here and there, a thesis developed on broad and generous lines. But Mr. Trend's book offers much to think about and talk about, especially in the first two studies, and the following citations may be taken as illustrative of others: In the chapter “Spain After the War,” for example, we read that “listening to Spaniards I have often felt that they are expressing a point of view which is very *English*. . . . In modern Spain it frequently happens that people say things and do things in a way which seems more ultimately English than you have heard in any country but England itself.” Now, this may well be so, but, one is apt to ask oneself, are they really “people,” members of the average public, who speak so, or rather individuals of the English-educated class with whom the well-introduced visitor comes so commonly in contact? Are the people so

“English”? Again, as in the works of Ford and Havelock Ellis, “The fundamental soundness of the Spaniard himself, the ordinary man of whatever class he belongs to,” is repeatedly stressed. “The tragedy is that for three centuries or more he has been under a bad government,” and, further, “in Spain, as in other countries, it is most important to distinguish between the government mind and the mind of the people who are governed.” This no one can gainsay. We are all brothers under the skin. But, going one step further, we have many examples of peoples having the sort of government they wish or at least deserve. There are those who still believe that when the German armies rushed for Paris the people were as happy over the situation as were the government and the intellectuals. One thinks of China now, of Runnymede then, and from the other angle, nearer home, of how the old New England theocracy in the moment of its strength could not continue Increase Mather in the presidency of Harvard College, its own peculiar stronghold, and was obliged to see him replaced by a divine of more liberal tendencies. It may be that Juan Español is pretty much like his governors; at any rate he cannot change very quickly as long as the force allied with the political governors continues to keep from him the power to compare his own closed world with that outside. And then the exotic charm will have disappeared. No longer will Juan Español, standing on the bleak sierra, with a wave of his hand toward Guadalupe, exclaim, “*Rica es España*,” nor Zuloaga paint the sombre masterpieces we so love. Another philanthropic cause for concern will have been removed and by so much we shall be less happy.

The study on education gives us the remarkable story of Don Francisco Giner de los Ríos, of his Free School—*Institución Libre de Enseñanza*—of his spiritual descendants, their achievements, hopes, and aspirations. This is one of the most vital and instructive articles in the book on a topic with which most of our readers have had but little information. It is written with all the enthusiasm of an intellectual who has been well documented by others. Don Francisco, it must be remembered, was in the beginning thoroughly English in his educational ideas and ideals. Yet he was also practically Rousseauistic in having no books for his children and in giving no pay to their teachers. Wonders were accomplished in that little school, still continued in the same spirit by so distinguished a man as Cossío, the Greco critic and authority, while other teachers, associates, and disciples of his forming, such as Menéndez Pidal and Castillejo, are now at the *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios*, a modern university in itself, which may some time effect the thorough reorganization of the old university system and the regeneration of Spanish education throughout the land. More fully to discuss this chapter would be like spoiling

the pleasure of seeing a good play by telling the plot in advance. And yet it might have been made still more instructive and pleasing if Mr. Trend, instead of dragging in the trite episode of the vulgar American reporter [p. 43], had candidly stated that the establishment he so admires (Fortuny 21 *antes* 5) and where he was so hospitably entertained by Spanish friends, was devised, created, and maintained—it was then the Instituto Internacional—by Americans for the education of Spanish girls. Some of them, against the then popular prejudice, were even prepared for and admitted to the university as the result of the work of American teachers. It is probable that Mr. Trend knew nothing of these details.

Throughout the author's style is dignified and serious, as befits his themes. His work is thorough and scholarly; he is quite at home on the score of music and is familiar with the intricacies of dramatic history from Encina and Gil Vicente to the two volumes of Cotarelo y Mori's “*Entremeses Mogiganges*,” etc., in the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. Yet it is a work of vulgarization which those who do not know Spain at first hand will read with as much profit as pleasure, while to those who have had some former acquaintance with the country it will afford an opportunity of checking up old ideas and impressions.

Pro Aris

THE TRUTHS WE LIVE BY. By Jay William Hudson. New York: D. Appleton and Co.

WE wish it were possible to praise without reserve a book so well intentioned and on the whole so well written, with whose conclusions, too, we are generally in hearty agreement. But we are bound to think that Professor Hudson's argument is wrongly directed and that he fails to meet certain real difficulties.

His argument, briefly, is as follows. Men to-day are firm in their trust in the method of science, yet do not ordinarily understand the assumption on which the procedure of science rests. Science demands a belief in the regularity of phenomena and in the law of universal causation, yet science cannot prove this hypothesis by its own method; that is to say, we cannot be certain, because hitherto phenomena have followed one another regularly in a chain of causation, that they will continue to do so. Yet such a belief is the *ideal* of science, and “is considered proved if it is proved necessary to render science possible.” Now, according to Professor Hudson, our faith in the immortality of the soul and in the existence of a personal God has precisely the same justification. “The proof frankly depends upon our success in showing that without immortality our lives would be manifestly and absurdly inconsistent and unreasonable.” In other words: “If man's imperative and unconquerable

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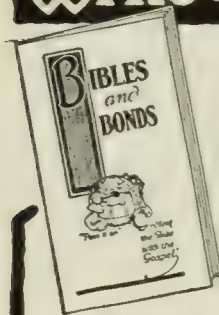
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desire for life carries with it the inextricable desire for that which only the chance of immortal progress can give, then to conceive of life as rational is to conceive of it as triumphantly immortal." This is the agreement for all the truths we live by; it gives us our assurance of the existence of a personal, morally governing God, since only on such an hypothesis is a moral order in the world possible, and only on the hypothesis of moral order in the world can we be morally inclined, yet we know that we are morally inclined.

Some injustice may be done to Professor Hudson's reasoning by such an abbreviation, but it will be seen at once that the argument comes to him from Kant through Royce; and it bears the weakness of its source. Our moral sense without immortality and God is a mere illusion; we cannot endure to live in illusion, therefore we must believe in immortality and God. This, we hold, is a fragile argument if it were true to the facts, nor is it true. Plato's procedure is safer. He maintains that our moral sense is primary and derived from immediate experience. We know right and wrong by their actual effects, here and now, entirely apart from any faith in immortality and God, and there is no room for illusion in such knowledge. Then from this independent foundation he proceeds to show the reasonableness of the universal belief in God and the soul. Professor Hudson's purpose is magnanimous and his conclusions are sound in themselves, but the sophisticated route by which these conclusions have been reached since Kant threw the great confusion into philosophy, has tended to bewilder the popular mind and increase scepticism.

In some minor points Professor Hudson seems to us sound in neither his method nor his conclusions. Thus, the chapter on "Philosopher, Poet, and Prophet" raises the question whether he really has any clear sense of the fundamental matters of religion. To identify the religious instinct with deistic optimism is a sad perversion, and by such a perversion to place Plato and St. Paul and Dante in the same category with Pope indicates an extraordinary obtuseness to the facts of the spiritual life. Again Professor Hudson does not seem fully awake to certain difficulties inherent in his argument. Science, he declares, does not disprove immortality and God, nor is it in any way contrary to the faith of religion, but simply passes by these questions. In one way this may be true, but Professor Hudson fails to solve the paradox that science demands a world of perfect regularity and an unbroken causal nexus, whereas the only God who has any meaning to religion is a Being who introduces a personal will and incalculable spontaneity into this same world. Yet to Professor Hudson the philosophy of science and the philosophy of religion are parallel and of the same order.

It is a pity, as we have said, that so

well intentioned and in the main so wholesome a work in its conclusions should have entangled its logic with the Kantian sophistries; but it is a book we should like to see widely read and deeply pondered. If it does nothing more than shatter in the popular mind the idol set up in the shrine of science, it will have accomplished much.

Chicago Opera Schemes

By Charles Henry Meltzer

WHEN this reaches you the Chicago Opera Company will be "barnstorming" in New York. The word "barnstorming" was used, they say, in connection with the New York season by no less a person than Miss Mary Garden. That gifted woman still steers the storm-tossed ship of opera here. And, as you know, she has been chosen by a majority of those responsible to steer it for at least another year.

Before the Chicago season ends and what, it seems, will be your last chance of enjoying the Chicago stars begins, it may be worth while to sum up in a few paragraphs the story of what has been and what has not been done for opera here within the past ten weeks.

The performances—those of them I have seen—have, on the whole, been of unusual interest. Despite the baffling incoherency and waywardness of the general management, some have seemed brilliant. While all may not have been quite what they might and could and should have been, they have at times excelled what you have had on Broadway. There have been lapses, grievous lapses, now and then; poor casts have failed to do justice to great works—poor works have been produced and tossed aside. But in an artistic way the achievements of the season have done much credit to the orchestra and singers. The orchestra, more particularly, has distinguished itself by the authority with which on certain nights when under the leadership of Maestro Polacco it has acquitted itself of its duties. There are weak spots in it, however, and the brass instruments have often seemed too dominant. Mr. Grovlez, the new French conductor, is capable. The Italian maestri, with the exception of Polacco, have, on the other hand, been often far from "adequate."

Miss Garden, as a singing actress, still need fear no rival on the boards. She has at moments charmed and thrilled us by her art. In the revival of "Salome," for example, she pushed her realism to amazing lengths, dancing and posturing to Strauss's shameless tones with such sincerity and skill that she seemed horrible. "Salome," I may add, stirred up loud protests, which were, I think, by no means welcome to Miss Garden. As a result, the work, which was heard once, had to be shelved. You may, though, have to bear it in New York.

Since it was first heard at the Metropolitan, long years ago, this brutal set-

ting of Wilde's degenerate play has been denounced and praised according to the standpoints of the critics. To me it now seems gross and meretricious, a vile and vicious bid for vulgar notoriety. The music, near the close, is most dishonest—the expression in beguiling lyric terms of a revolting scene. Had Strauss been honest when he composed "Salome," he would have set that scene to the most hideous tones, such tones as he let loose (in the wrong place) in his "Elektra."

After her hatefully sincere and hot portrayal of the degraded dancing girl, Miss Garden gave us, twice, her unique and exquisite, her tender, touching, and quite beautiful interpretation of Mélisande. The flight of time has not, in any marked degree, staled the simplicity and poetry of that effort. In the half-darkened Auditorium there were some, I know, whose eyes were dim with tears when Mélisande passed from the world of life into the dark Beyond. Debussy's score has not yet lost its spell.

With "Pelléas" we touched poetic heights. And with "Salome" we sank down to hell. In contrast to both works we had the opera of Prokofiew, at first known as "The Love of the Three Oranges," and renamed later, rather awkwardly, "The Love for Three Oranges." This fantasy of the ingenious Russian did not appear to me especially alarming. It was innocuous, even when Prokofiew ventured into modern dissonances. But it was often dull and painfully far-fetched, depending at most points for its effect less on the music and the plot (which was absurd), than on the humor of the interpreters, the inventions of the stage manager, and the allurements of the scenery and costumes. The style of the new work, to my surprise, was far more French than Russian. It is a pity that, instead of the production promised us of the lovely "Snegouratchka" of Rimsky-Korsakoff, this opera of Prokofiew was produced—at an outrageous cost—only to fail.

Wagner, in the German original, but also—in the case of "Lohengrin"—in English, has had prominence in the Chicago opera scheme. The most ambitious and, so far as the orchestra is concerned, the most successful feature of the Wagnerian efforts, has been the revival of "Tristan," under the conductorship of Maestro Polacco.

French and Italian operas have, as usual, received exceptional attention. One work, and only one, by an American has been performed—the dramatic ballet of John Alden Carpenter, "The Birthday of the Infanta." It seems incredible, yet it is true, that, in an opera house supported by Americans and made possible by the munificence chiefly of two Americans, the compositions of native musicians should be, not only slighted, but almost ostracized.

What the future of opera will be in Chicago is still doubtful. Beyond the important fact that Miss Garden has again been chosen as general manager, in preference to Maestro Polacco and Mr. Muratore (both of whom had been talked of, though as some think, against



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their own desires), as alternatives, we know little. Mr. Insull, of the local trusts and public service corporations, will largely and actively have control of the business interests of the reorganized company. It may be taken for granted that the amazing recklessness and extravagance which, this season, have allowed so many good singers under engagement to remain idle and yet draw huge salaries, will no longer be tolerated.

The deficit of the company, heaped up in a few months, will, it is feared, this year be quite \$800,000. With this sum many European opera houses would have been able to perform operatic wonders. The losses will be paid without a murmur, it is true, but there are limits to the patience of the wealthy. And it will now be Mr. Insull's task to induce Chicagoans to find the two hundred and fifty sums of \$1,000 every year, for five years to come, which are still needed, if grand opera is to live and not mean ruin to its backers. It is assumed here, perhaps somewhat optimistically, that local pride will solve the arduous problem. But there are Thomases here who are none too hopeful. Missouri is not far from Illinois.

Chicago, January 16

Drama

The Peril of the Picturesque

HE WHO GETS SLAPPED. By Leonid Andreyev. Garrick Theatre.

THE S. S. TENACITY. By Charles Vildrac. Belmont Theatre.

THE ambitious Theatre Guild has attempted to interpret to New York audiences the last play written by the Russian Leonid Andreyev, an enigmatic allegory translated as "He Who Gets Slapped." This strange play presents greater difficulties than any drama so far attempted by this group, which is devoted to the "production of unique, artistic plays." The finished exhibit in this case seems to indicate that the Guild has been rather more interested in the "production" than in the play. Like all Russian dramatists and novelists of his generation, Andreyev is a spiritual descendant of Dostoevsky; and "He Who Gets Slapped" reflects likewise the influence of Gorky's masterpiece. This means that there is a heavy coating of melodrama, of crude obvious color and contrast, of fantasy and grotesquerie. But like those of Gorky and Dostoevsky, these situations are used by the dramatist for the purpose of producing overtones, to awaken and to intensify our thoughts on other things than the clash and conflict of immediate situation and character—situations and characters often too trite and threadbare to be considered anything other than what we may term the second-hand clothing of his central idea. The function of this play seems to be to arouse in the audience not so much

the sense of the immediate as the mystery of another world. To do this, Andreyev has introduced into the tawdry, makebelieve world of a provincial circus One who comes from another, greater, calmer, more real world. He descends to the circus to become a clown—to become in truth the clown of clowns—He who gets slapped. Only superficially can He touch the lives of that strange collection of performers—the lady who tames lions, the clowns, the poor little equestrienne Consuelo, though He does rescue the latter from being sold into a mercenary marriage to a bloated old baron, by sharing with her, at the end, a glass of poisoned champagne. But who is He? Why has He descended to that poor little circus to get slapped? These questions are raised; but only for the literal-minded answered in a fashion. It is difficult to believe that Andreyev was writing a mere melodrama of the familiar Pagliacci brand. "He Who Gets Slapped" surely could not have been another repetition of that mossy old fable of the broken heart behind the painted smile.

Thus much at least of its meaning may be disentangled from the fatuously naive interpretation given it by the Theatre Guild. A play of the circus! They seem to have pounced upon this obvious fact, and then to have immersed themselves in the limitless possibilities the play offered for the exploitation of the picturesque. For one, I could discover no evidence of any serious analysis of the inner meaning of the play—though there were evidences of an inner meaning; no effort to get to the bedrock of the author's conception; and upon that solid foundation to reconstruct, to build up an intelligent and eloquent interpretation. Instead, Andreyev's play was used more as a point of departure in the creation of a picturesque spectacle. The peril of the picturesque, in the legitimate theatre, is to be discovered in the fact that obvious pictorial values are seldom dramatic values. For the Andreyev play, at any rate, no amount of scenery, of color and lighting, no distribution of flamboyant costumes, could serve in the least to work the miracle of awakening an American audience to its message.

These impressions were substantiated by the quality of the acting upon which the allegory depended for its very life. Mr. Richard Bennett, who enacted "He," was picturesque, ceaselessly, tirelessly picturesque. Miss Margalo Gillmore, as Consuelo, was pensively, pathetically picturesque. Miss Helen Westley, as the lion tamer, was stridently, passionately picturesque. Their costumes, which they changed often, were picturesque. Not that technique or acting ability was lacking. What was missing was that safe and sure footing that would have grown out of an authoritative knowledge of what poor Andreyev was driving at. In this matter, Mr. Bennett was most at sea; and to place in the same cast, even in an unimportant rôle, so authentic and

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DISARMAMENT is but the beginning of splendid achievement. It alone cannot prevent another destructive world war, since they were rampant when navies were made of small sailing ships and galley oar boats. Quoting from "The Great Deception": "We need to awake to the truth that only by a vital and permanent joining of the nations in an effective union to forbid and provide against it can mankind be saved from another conflagration which will leave the world in ashes." President Harding promised either an association of nations or existing League "amended or revised" to prevent war. That promise elected him. He meant what he said. He will keep faith. To help him, denounce and expose the falsity of the irreconcilable claim that the Harding vote was against and not for those promises. To give encouragement to that absurd claim is to be either the conscious or unconscious enemy of world union for peace. For it should be plain that in America, where the majority rules, no Administration would or should dare go contrary to the mandate of the vote. If the reader has any friends who talk that hurtful misconception ask them to read

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magisterial an artist as Louis Calvert, who stood firm while poor Richard so helplessly floundered, must be recorded as a new type of cruelty in casting.

"The S. S. Tenacity," a modest little play by Charles Vildrac, one of the "Nouvelle revue française group," reaches us finally at the Belmont Theatre, under the direction of Augustin Duncan. It should afford us a contrast to the mistakes of the Theatre Guild, yet I do not believe we can hold up Mr. Duncan's production as a shining example to anyone, whether in the matter of play-writing, acting, or interpretation. M. Vildrac has chosen an effective little fable to illustrate the irony of human existence, and with an entirely admirable brevity and sincerity has told it. Mr. Duncan himself, as Hidoux, is excellent; but Messrs. George Gaul and Tom Powers as Bastien and Segard, the two typesetters from the Place Clichy, never quite suggest the highly specialized type of *bon ouvrier* with which M. Vildrac deals. To fill out a sparse evening, an inept one-act effort by St. John Ervine, entitled "The Critics," is performed, of which it can only be said that self-praise is apt to find expression in the most unexpected places.

ROBERT ALLERTON PARKER

Reforms Forced on New York Labor Unions

By Benjamin Baker

The Economic and Social
Issues Involved

THE sweeping programme of reforms forced upon the building trades unions of New York by the Lockwood Investigating Committee of the State Legislature deserves careful and conspicuous public record, and equally careful study. For the programme is more than a specification of concrete, local abuses that are to be stopped. In its mandates and implications taken together it gives an almost uniquely clear and authoritative picture of tendencies in the building trades (and some other) unions that are of wide economic and social consequence.

Unjust labor union burdens on the building industry, as most newspaper readers know more or less fully, are by no means the most grievous—monopoly and price extortion as practised by New York employers and contractors, and by makers and dealers in building materials, have been shown by the Lockwood inquiry to be a far greater aggregate tax on the general public. The labor union evils aimed at in these reforms are essentially the same, indeed, as those involved in the conspiracies of employers and manufacturers uncovered by the Lockwood Committee. Labor abuses, however, are not only less in the aggregate than the others, but they are more accessible

in their sources and operation. It was possible, therefore, to force upon the building trades unions of New York a reconstruction programme that for the present promises to clear up this part of the general problem. How far the changes now under way will be permanent and fully effective remains to be seen.

The nineteen specific lines of reform demanded of the unions were laid before them in December in the form of a long letter to the Building Trades Council from Samuel Untermeyer, the very able voluntary counsel of the Lockwood Committee. Back of this letter, as a general compelling force, was the notable record of the committee in prosecutions of criminal labor leaders, beginning with Robert P. Brindell. But for the unions affiliated in the Trades Council, there seems to have been more power in Mr. Untermeyer's threat to force them to incorporate. Incorporation, for reasons that lawyers have difficulty in comprehending, appears to be the supreme bugbear of labor unions: it was powerful in this instance. In the case of the Bricklayers, who are not in the Council, a threat of indictment by a specified Tuesday morning was required to bring them into line. The bricklayers have been the most stubborn of all the New York unions, but indictment and probable imprisonment was too sharp a prospect for even their hardihood. Therefore, early in January, all the New York City unions, through a committee, pledged themselves to carry out the reforms required; and the executive committee of the State Federation of Labor also accepted them and urged all the building trades unions of the State to adopt them.

Specifications of the several reforms are here given with the same numbering as in Mr. Untermeyer's letter, in the paragraphs in smaller type. Most of them are more condensed than in the original form. Explanatory comment, based on Mr. Untermeyer's letter, or on the records of the committee's inquiry, is in ordinary type.

(1) Membership in the building trades unions, and the membership books, must always be open for the admission of new members who can qualify under reasonable regulations as to character and capacity.

(2) Initiation fees are not to exceed \$75; to be payable, if the new member desires, \$25 in cash and the remainder at \$5 a week; dues of \$20 or less to be paid in cash on entrance.

(3) All limitations on the number of apprentices in any trade to be repealed and prohibited. Age for admission of apprentices to be raised to 20 years.

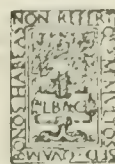
(4) Issuance of permits or permit cards to non-union men as a condition of their being allowed to work with union men to be prohibited.

(5) In order to protect the members of unions against misappropriation of funds and to secure accountability to the members by their officials for the use of such funds, the constitutions of the unions are to be amended, wherever necessary, so as to require

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Several large purposes are served by the preceding five changes. The first is to make the unions democratic in membership by removing all conditions for entrance, other than character and ability, and by prohibiting oppressively high initiation fees. The second is to make the unions democratic in control by compelling officers to conduct their offices openly and with system, subject to impartial expert examination of the books, and with full reports to every member. The graft practiced in certain unions under the permit system, and by the diversion of death benefits, has been exposed too recently to require repetition here. A third purpose is to open the door of economic opportunity to qualified workmen by removing artificial barriers in the form of union rules. A fourth, of even broader economic character, is to prevent artificial restriction of the supply of labor. Obviously, all the measures for the democratizing of the unions and accountability of their officers to the members have economic reflexes in the form of better relations to the building enterprises of the public.

The remaining prescribed measures of reform concern in general two main lines of offences by the unions: (1) practices amounting to unjustifiable interference with the discretion of owners, architects, and the public authorities; and (2) various devices for making more work for union men and for securing payments to union funds. This second line of policy (2) included a variety of forms of opposition to progressive, economical, and more efficient methods; opposition to the free use of machinery; and restriction of apprentices. The rest of the reform programme, in substance, includes these points:

(6) Unions to abandon practice of calling employers before them and forcing payment of fines under threat of being refused union labor.

(7) Unions to abandon discrimination in matter of labor supply against independent contractors.

This abuse was the heart of the collusion, in New York City, between unions and contractors' associations, resulting in many extortionate practices.

(8) Unions to abandon previous unwarranted interferences with business and affairs of employers. But insistence on

union labor and use of only union-made materials is to be permitted.

This provision covers, among other things, existing prohibitions on the use of labor-saving appliances and methods, by which the unions forced the employment of unnecessary workmen, and "made work" for their members, at the ultimate expense of the public.

(9) Unions to abandon extortionate penalties on employers, as, for instance, exacting a quarter-day's pay as penalty for ten minutes' delay in paying off men.

(10) Unions to abandon restrictions on use of improved appliances, such as the anti-syphon trap, approved by the public authorities.

(11, 14 and 17) Unions to cease fining employers for "rushing" or "driving" workmen; and to cease limiting amount of work a workman shall do in a day.

Such regulations, says Mr. Untermyer's letter, tend "to make slackers and laggards of the men and to deprive them of their self-respect. . . . There is nothing in all the history of organized labor that is so destructive of the morale of the men and so injurious to the cause and repute of labor. The struggle should be for efficiency."

(12) Unions to abandon practice of prohibiting their members from working more than five days a week. This applies particularly to the painters.

(13) Union agents convicted of extortion, in acts not ordered by unions themselves, to be thereafter excluded from holding union offices.

(15) Plumbers to allow both helper and journeyman to use tools on the job simultaneously; and to cease limiting number of helpers.

(16) Cement masons to rescind somewhat similar rules, which forbid a foreman to use tools; and which needlessly increase cost.

(18) Painters to rescind rule by which an employer is compelled to pay the rate for painters in his home office city, regardless of a different current rate in the distant town where he may take a contract.

(19) Painters to cease limiting apprentices; and to rescind rule, wherever it is now in effect, prohibiting any painter to use a brush more than 4½ inches wide—the latter a restriction on output.

What this summary only imperfectly indicates is the fact that trades unionism in the building trades, when left to selfish leaders and an unenlightened rank and file, tends to a restriction of supply and an inflation of cost to the public that is in essence precisely the same thing as the extortion practiced by any other "trust" that gets a free hand. The painters, for example, have permitted only one apprentice (recruit to the trade) for each ten journeymen painters, with the logical result that there are not enough painters for the work to be done in New York; that what painters there are command premiums up to \$8 a day; and that many undertakings are subjected to costly and wasteful delay from the inadequate supply of labor. Another aspect, the relation of union domination of these trades to the rights and security of the individual workman, is too complicated to be more than mentioned in this article.

What the Banker Thinks of Advertising

IT is becoming more and more common for bankers to regard a radical cutting down of an advertising expenditure with close attention. The sharp reduction in the advertising of nationally distributed articles, the reputations of which were apparently so firmly established that nothing could affect them adversely, has been followed so regularly by a heavy falling off in sales, that the need for caution in such cases is widely recognized. The banker is coming to realize that public interest is not necessarily a permanent possession. It can be won only by skillful competition in a world where every device is mobilized to win the notice and stimulate the action of the average man or woman, from the hour of rising in the morning till the hour of retiring at night. The morning mail is full of circulars; selling appeal fills the newspapers and magazines, the bill-boards, the street cars and the shop windows as one goes to work and returns in the evening. To win a place in the crowded and besieged mind of the modern man is not equivalent to holding such a place. It is more like creating a melody which the prospect hears, enjoys, and inevitably forgets. It must be played and re-played, or other melodies will take its place. Not even the greatest corporation or the most popular product can hope to build up a reputation which will of its own force endure. The history of advertising is filled with striking proofs of human forgetfulness.

If a further instance is needed of the progress of the banker's belief in advertising, it is to be found in the great volume of advertising placed by bankers purely for purposes of developing good will. . . . To understand the value of advertising which produces demonstrable and early returns in dollars and cents is simple enough. But when bankers are willing to spend substantial sums year after year for advertising to build their standing, and to keep their good name continuously before the forgetful public, it indicates a receptive attitude, at least toward this particular branch of advertising.

From an article by GUY EMERSON, Vice-President National Bank of Commerce, New York, in Commerce Monthly, the bank's magazine, for February, 1922.



George moves the dresser

Comedy with a serious side unless something is done to allay the pain of cuts and bruises.

Be ready for either! Absorbine, Jr., is both a liniment and an antiseptic.

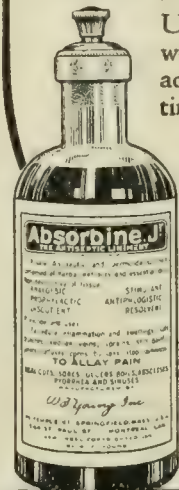
Used promptly for bruises or overworked muscles it dissipates the aches that would otherwise continue.

Besides being a preventive of infection, it is cleansing and healing to all open wounds.

And for the children's magic bottle, a trio of good properties recommend it. It is harmless, of a clean odor and non-staining.

At your druggist's, \$1.25, or postpaid. Liberal trial bottle, 10c. postpaid.

W. F. YOUNG, Inc.
283 Temple St.,
Springfield, Mass.



Absorbine, Jr.
THE ANTISEPTIC LINIMENT
TRADE MARK REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.



Are You Old At Forty?

"What's up, Hig? You look all in." I know it, Dick, and I feel all in, too. I don't get my rest. Have to get up six to eight times a night, and I have pain most of the time. I'm blue and depressed, irritable, and my back aches.

"Why, Hig, old man, you're like old Colonel Henderson. Remember how he dragged around for months? He had prostate trouble. One day he ran across a fellow sufferer who had a little device they call a THERMALAID. This friend had relieved himself permanently, he said. The Colonel got one, and—well, you know the Colonel is a pretty healthy looking specimen today. I had no idea of the prevalence of your trouble, but it seems that a good many men of 40 or past are more or less afflicted. Now you send and get the booklet issued by these THERMALAID people and read it with an open mind. Every man past 40 should read it. There is no medicine, exercise, massage, or anything unpleasant connected with the use of a Thermalaid."

"By George, Dick, that sounds good. I'll do it. What's the name and address?" "I've got it right here, Hig."

The ELECTRO THERMAL Company
2502 E. Main Street Steubenville, Ohio



GIVE THEM Baker's Cocoa TO DRINK

The almost unceasing activity with which children work off their surplus energy makes good and nutritious food a continual necessity. Of all the food drinks Baker's Cocoa is the most perfect, supplying as it does much valuable material for the upbuilding of their growing bodies. Just as good for older people. It is delicious, too, of fine flavor and aroma.



REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

MADE ONLY BY

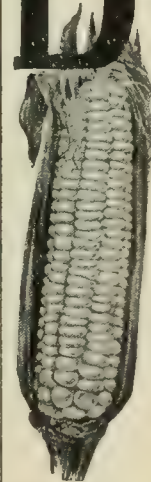
Walter Baker & Co. Ltd.

Established 1780

DORCHESTER, MASS.

Booklet of Choice Recipes sent free.

Burpee's Seeds Grow



Burpee's Annual is the Leading American Seed Catalog. It describes the Burpee Quality Seeds with a hundred of the finest vegetables and flowers illustrated in color. If you are interested in gardening or farming, Burpee's Annual will be mailed to you free.

Write today for your copy of Burpee's Annual
W. Atlee Burpee Co.
Seed Growers Philadelphia

The Independent

—AND—

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

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Copyright 1921 by The National Weekly Corporation.

15 cts. a copy \$4.00 a year

Foreign postage, one dollar extra; Canadian postage, fifty cents extra. Foreign subscriptions may be sent to Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd., 24, Bedford St., Strand, London, W. C. 2, England.

Published Every Saturday by The National Weekly Corporation, 140 Nassau Street, New York.

Fabian Franklin, President; Harold de Wolf Fuller, Treasurer.

Western Advertising Office, People's Gas Bldg., Chicago.

New England Advertising Office, 44 Bromfield Street, Boston.

Entered at the New York Post Office as second-class matter June 10th, 1919, under the act of March 3rd, 1878.

How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. Verse.

1. Write a composition in which you point out the principal similarities, and the principal differences, between the dramatic work of Shakespeare and the dramatic work of Molière. You will find information in any large encyclopedia.
2. Prepare a report in which you show in what ways the lives of Shakespeare and of Molière were alike, and in what ways they were different.
3. Make a list of the principal plays written by Molière. Tell something definite concerning at least one play.
4. Explain exactly what is meant by the term, "ode."
5. Name some of the most celebrated odes that have been written in English. Tell something definite concerning any one ode.
6. What odes are given in Palgrave's "Golden Treasury"?
7. Define the following words, and use each word in an expressive sentence: staid, reminiscent, incredulous, suave, invincibly, elusive, blithe, dowager, moor.
8. Divide the ode "To Molière" into its principal parts. Write, for every part, a single well-formed sentence that will express the thought.
9. Why is part of the ode printed in italics? What plays by Molière are suggested?
10. What is the principal tribute that the ode gives to Molière?
11. Write, in poetic prose, a somewhat similar composition in which you address Shakespeare and give praise to him and to his plays.
12. Compare Arthur Guiterman's poem with Shelley's "To a Skylark."
13. What contrast does Arthur Guiterman's poem suggest?
14. What contrast does Ch'ang Chien's poem suggest?
15. Explain the comparison that is made in "Heliotrope."

II. The Last Fifty Years of Irish Agitation.

1. Explain in what ways the article is excellent material for study in connection with Burke's speech on "Conciliation."
2. Explain why Edmund Burke would have approved, or disapproved, of the policies advocated by Mr. Lloyd George.

III. The Fiat Money Peril.

1. Consider the article as part of a debate. Show how it illustrates the methods of refutation.
2. What definitions of the following terms does it establish: wealth; capital; money?
3. Write, in the form of a proposition, the belief that the writer wishes to establish.
4. Write, in full sentence form, the various points by which the writer upholds his belief.

IV. New Books and Old.

1. Explain the allusion, in column one, to Pippa's song.
2. Explain the following expressions: "Judicial spirit"; "Genial old age"; "Professional propagandists"; "Symposium"; "Urbane"; "Poorly proof-read."

V. Book Reviews.

1. Define the following terms: novel, novellette, short story.
2. Explain the following expressions: "An episodic, rather than a prolonged and sustained action"; "The character of its incident"; "A romantic realist"; "A naturalistic realist"; "Conventions"; "Common-place Stuff"; "Characters that are wooden or static"; "Current novelists"; "Consistency"; "Clumsiness of manipulation."

VI. The Peril of the Picturesque.

1. For what purposes may melodrama be used in a play?
2. Point out examples of Shakespeare's use of melodrama. Tell what effects Shakespeare produced by means of melodrama.
3. The writer believes that the acting of a play should give "A serious analysis of the inner meaning of the play." What does he mean? Explain how he would have any one of Shakespeare's plays produced.

VII. The Dead and the Quick in Eternal Rome.

1. Point out the most effective adjectives that occur in descriptive sentences. To what senses do these adjectives appeal?

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. America's "Mutsu"—the Open Door, The Washington Conference.

1. State the point of view of the editor on "what the naval programme agreed upon means to America."
2. State the principle of the Open Door as formulated in the Hughes resolutions. What is the advantage of the Board of Reference? Why is the Open Door "the issue of chief concern to America"? Explain why it is an issue for Europe as well.
3. Show what the editor thinks we have accomplished for China. In what way does he defend the method of the American delegation?

II. The Seating of Senator Newberry, End of the Newberry Case.

1. What weakness of the Michigan primary is here shown?
2. On what grounds is it said that the seating of Senator Newberry gave effect to the political desire of the people of Michigan?
3. How is that consistent with the statement that "the Senate failed to assert a proper standard of personal qualification"?
4. Explain why the sum spent by Senator Newberry was resolved by the Senate to be "contrary to sound public policy, harmful to the honor and dignity of the Senate, and dangerous to the perpetuity of a free Government."

III. The Fiat Money Peril, "Dirt Farmers" and Banking.

1. Explain the economic meaning of wealth and how it is produced. Is the Government an economic factor in production?
2. Explain this statement: "Society advances, first, by producing new wealth, and second, by saving out of production today something to aid production tomorrow."
3. Give all the illustrations you can where the issue of fiat money has shown bad results and show why they were bad.
4. How were any of our early banking systems connected with politics?
5. What is the criticism of the Federal Reserve Board that has led to the demand for a farmer on that Board?

IV. The Dead and the Quick in Eternal Rome.

1. Who are "the Fascisti"? Explain their origin and activities.
2. What in the past is the basis of the statement, "We have seen the Blacks and Whites at the same sort of work, and the Popes and the Emperors, and the Popes and the anti-Popes, and the Christians and the Pagans, and the Cæsarians and the Senatorials, and the plebeians and the nobles, and the men of the republic and the Kings"?

V. New Railroad Labor Currents, Reforms Forced on New York Labor Unions.

1. State the proposal, attributed to the Brotherhood chiefs, for settling the issues between the Brotherhoods and the railroads, and show its advantage to the Brotherhoods.
2. Show why an increase in production would be a better way than wage reduction "to the same end." Explain how the increase in production is possible without public harm.
3. Summarize the chief reforms in the New York Building Trades' Unions.
4. Why are these reforms "of wide economic and social consequence"?
5. What "local abuses" here mentioned are found elsewhere in union practice?

VI. The Last Fifty Years of Irish Agitation, Ireland.

1. Look up the "Act of Union" of 1800. Explain the circumstances which led to its passage, its purpose, and the important provisions of the bill. Why did Ireland object?
2. Look up in detail Gladstone's Home Rule Bills of 1886 and of 1893 and Asquith's Bill of 1911. What do you think is the writer's ground for feeling that "the present settlement is . . . markedly inferior to either the Gladstone Bill of 1893 and the Asquith Bill of 1911"? Do you agree? Do you think the above statement would hold in comparing the present settlement with Gladstone's Bill of 1886?

VII. Mr. Poincaré

1. Summarize the policy of Mr. Poincaré as indicated here.

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

February 4, 1922



James Bryce

By Franklin H. Giddings

IN respect of all that pertains to public interests and to political ways of dealing with them James Bryce was probably the most "understanding" of modern men; as Walter Bagehot was in respect of the psychology of political behavior, and as Herbert Spencer was in respect of evolutionary processes in which behavior arises. In point of quality the understanding of Bryce, traveler and observer, was the most perceptive; that of Bagehot, with his genius for knowing "what goes" in Lombard Street, or in Downing Street in hours of crisis, was the most intuitive; and that of Spencer, the formulator, was the most reasoned. Of the three, Lord Bryce had the most generous and wide-ranging sympathy. A true Celt "of the finest," he could "get next" to all sorts and conditions of men, learn something from all, and without affectation give to all of his knowledge and wisdom. In respect of men merely as human, he was the most understanding. It is doubtful if any great scholar before him was personally known to so many admirers in so many lands, or had so many devoted friends whom he himself had sought out.

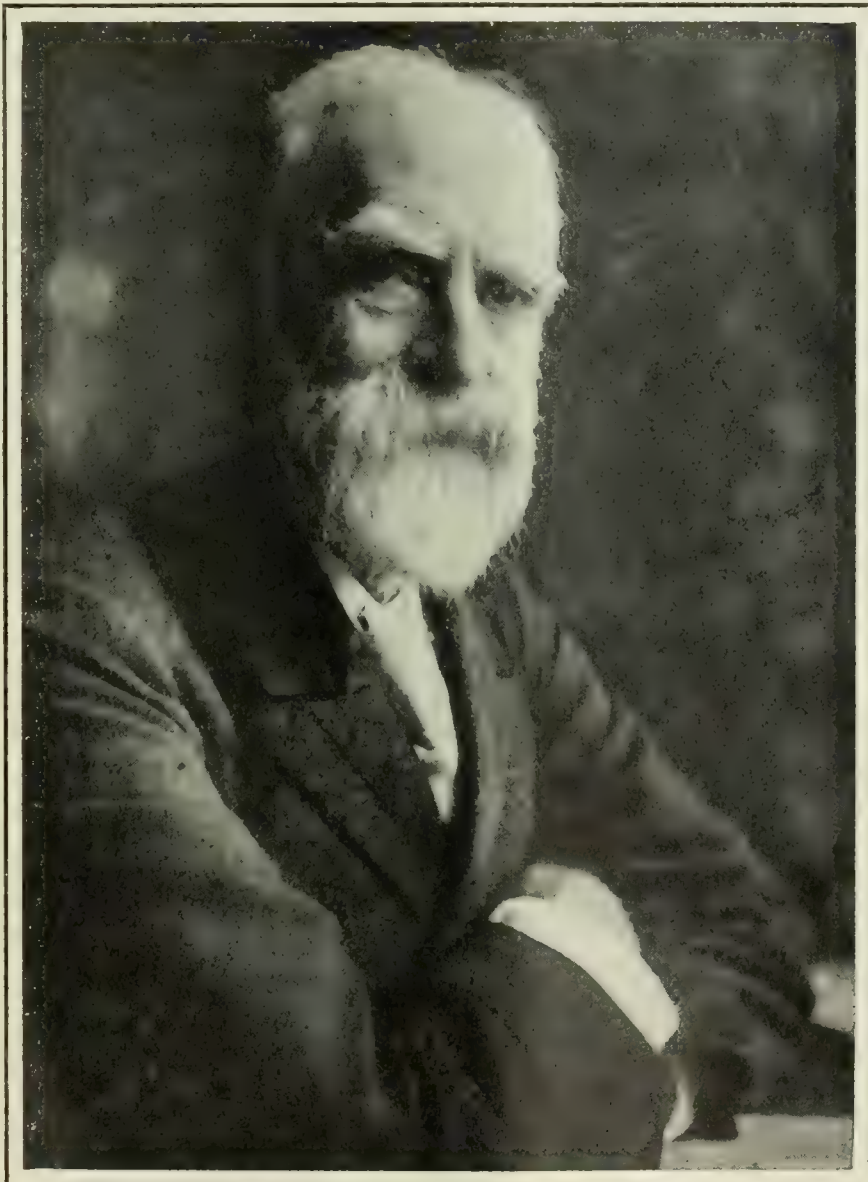
The many-sidedness of his personality and the multiplicity of his interests were recognized while he lived. He

knew how the world appraised him, and if it had been his nature to think about such things he could have foretold the tributes that have been paid to him since his death. All, that is, save one, which Mr. Balfour rightly described as the

greatest, and the one for which Lord Bryce would most have cared. This was the eulogy which statesmen, assembled at Washington, stopped for an hour in their deliberations upon world affairs to offer.

General verdicts, even historical verdicts, upon characters and careers are not always true to fact, but the common consent to regard Lord Bryce as primarily a man of affairs and secondarily a writer, notwithstanding the circumstance that it is as a writer that he is usually thought of, has abundant justification, not the least part of which is the contrast to Mr. Balfour. By instinct and first love a philosopher and a scholar, Mr. Balfour became interested in affairs, first as an English gentleman who ought to be, secondly, as a philosopher, and thirdly because, having developed talent for it, he has had a successful political career. With Lord Bryce it was different. The publication of his "Holy Roman Empire" when he was only twenty-four, and its instant recognition by scholars of the highest authority, assured him success in the fields of re-

search, but, although he continued his university studies, they were directed towards the law. Then, one after another, great enthusiasms seized him. Successful in legal practice, and Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford (one



The late Viscount Bryce

of the most desired university appointments in Europe), he plunged into politics, administration, and diplomacy, and his chief writings, "The American Commonwealth" and "Modern Democracies," were products of personal contact with political facts and of first-hand observation.

His first ardor, which carried him into the House of Commons, was his intense reaction against Turkish atrocities upon the Balkan peoples. His second, which strengthened and steadied his admiration of Gladstone, was his interest in Irish freedom, a cause to which he gave himself with strong conviction, yet with self-mastery and common sense. The third, to which he gave even more of thought and untiring effort, was his desire to see the English-speaking peoples—above all, Britain and America—united in understanding and good will. The fourth, engendered by the World War and what followed, was his interest in the possibility of diminishing war and extending peace. It is not overstatement to describe these interests as enthusiasms, but they never bore him off the earth. Always getting at facts and weighing them, and always sane, he sought the way of wisdom, and usually he found it. Then the scholar and the philosopher in him from time to time took possession of him. He reflected on what he had learned. He assembled the chapters of his knowledge, and gave of his riches to fellow students and to the world.

The distilled quintessence of conclusion was offered in those remarkable addresses at Williamstown last summer upon which I have heretofore commented in these columns. Lord Bryce saw the nobler possibilities of democracy; but he saw also that democracy will collapse if it becomes mob-mindedness or the rule of gangs of moral bullies. It can hold its own and serve mankind only if it is controlled and organized by men of character and intellectual power, and the Scotchman in James Bryce did not believe that these could be produced by education alone. Such men are born. They have "stock" behind them, and the supreme duty of society, as Bryce viewed it, is to see that the stocks that produce them have a living chance in the world.

James Bryce had "stock" behind him, and the most important matters to reflect upon when reviewing his career are the balancing of traits in his personality and the probable causes that produced it. His ability to understand men and history, as well as to be sympathetically interested in them, was a product of it, for his traits themselves were contradictory. Fond of grammar and languages (he spoke seven fluently and wrote easily in most of them), he was also president of the Alpine Club, and climbed Mount

Ararat. Historian and professor, he nevertheless loved the scrimmage of a parliamentary campaign. A devotee of Irish freedom, he yet hated violence and was the most tactful of diplomatists. A Briton of the Britons, he was also, in feeling and in comprehension, an American of the Americans.

And this was his "stock." Doubly a Celt, the grit of Scotland and the genial kindness of Ireland were blended in him. His ancestral Bryces were of Dechmont Hill, County Lanark, in 1659, and two of them fought in the Covenanting Army at Bothwell Bridge, in 1679. A grandson of one of these, the first of three successive Jameses, was the grandfather of Lord Bryce. A Presbyterian minister, it was written of him that he "was of the army of martyrs who shed their hearts' blood, drop by drop, in the long, piteous martyrdom of penury and misunderstanding." He went to the north of Ireland, where he fought single-handed and proscribed against state aid to the Presbyterian ministry; but he lived to be ninety and preached twice on the Sunday before he died. His wife, Catharine Annan, did her housework, visited the sick, and taught her sons Greek. One of them, James the second, obtained a good education, married an Irish girl of County Antrim, became a Presbyterian minister, and an LL.D. of Glasgow. His son, the James now gone, born at Belfast, inherited no wealth, but was given the best of educational advantages, at the Glasgow High School and at the University of Glasgow, after which he became a scholar at Trinity College, Oxford, and was able to continue his studies (at Heidelberg and at Lincoln's Inn) until twenty-nine years of age, before finding it necessary to begin income-earning by law and teaching.

The meaning of these facts is obvious enough to one who is intellectually honest enough to face it. There are "self-made men," inspiring examples and worthy of respect; but in the commonly accepted meaning of the words there are no self-made Bryces or Balfours, no Francis Galtons or Charles Darwins. To the making of such the continuing efforts and sacrifices of at least three generations of men and women of grit and faith, of physical soundness and quick intelligence, of moral strength and forth-going imagination, are necessary. There must be "stock" and family continuity, and they must be productive of both children and income. The present attitude of "Americanism" towards family life, and our amiable belief that every ill-born dunce and slacker would make a sage and millionaire out of himself if he had "opportunity" and "kindness," do not promise a crop of James Bryces.

Long Days

By Edward H. Pfeiffer

THROUGH the low window the morning light
Shoots, and we wake, we tillers of the ground.
We fling the old clothes on. There is no sound
Save the first bird-songs. All within our sight
Lie the broad fields that we have fought so long,
That we have trenched with seed and toiled to please,
While pest and vermin, drought or too much rain
Battled us, just as if we planned some wrong,
Battled us till we sank on weary knees
And cursed our lot that brought a crop of pain,
A crop of failure that is bought with scorn.
We reap a harvest of brown miseries
And curse the barren day that we were born.

Bent in the sunset, we plod weary home,
Our plans, our dreams, scattered like wind-swept foam.
We sink to sleep crushed down by tons of loam.

And then we dream: 'Strange brothers, like us, till
Through days, long days, through days that lengthen still.
The sweat pours down their backs and care-drawn faces.
They till in swamps and sands and stony places
Through luckless days, that seem to have no nights.
Their lips are caked beneath unsinking sun.
Yet never do they groan, and wondrous lights
Burn in their eyes. Their work is never through.
We shout, "What work is yours that must be done
Despite all fate? And tell us, who are you?"

On, on they toil. One, hearing, turns to see.
He answers with a smile, and sets his teeth:
"Of new ideas we are the tillers, we.
They lie within the earth, far, far beneath.
Now, without rest or harvest, while you sleep,
We battle on, like you, against mean soil.
Give us your faith. We toil for all who toil,
And we shall reap, and then you too will reap!"

The End of the Legislative Union

A Sense for the Realities Emerging in Ireland

By Stephen Gwynn

A SYMBOLIC act was done yesterday when the barbed wire dividing Dublin Castle from the Dublin municipal buildings came away. It was the beginning of military evacuation, which marks the end of a political arrangement that has throughout been maintained by the sword. Henceforward Ireland will have to deal with difficulties of her own making.

Of course she cannot be held wholly responsible for the moral inheritance of a revolution extended over more than forty years in its latest phase—which is continuous since the beginning of Parnell's era. But, in sum, England has consented to abolish the legislative union and set up Ireland as a free state; and Ireland on Saturday night last through her representatives decided to accept the offer. Or, more accurately, on Saturday the members of Dail Eireann by a majority of seven (in a body of 121 voting) consented not to reject what nationalist Ireland had in the previous month declared its readiness to welcome. Those who voted for the treaty appealed to the principle of self-determination: those who voted against admitted that the will of Ireland was for acceptance, but argued that this was not self-determination: it was a choice under duress, because of the threat of war.

I never listened to a debate so fed with words remote from reality. There was this endless talk about the long line of heroes who had stood out against English sovereignty, expressing the age-long refusal of the Irish people to be English subjects. Yet, go back to the seventeenth century, the last in which the Irish may be said to have existed as a separate Gaelic people, and you find Owen R. O'Neill, their greatest figure, fighting against Puritan England in the name of King Charles: you find Patrick Sarsfield fighting against William III as the soldier of James II. Through the eighteenth century Gaelic Ireland, "the old inhabitants of the island," to use the phrase by which Lord Clare described them, lay paralyzed: when they came to life and activity it was under a leader of their own blood and faith, Daniel O'Connell, who lost no occasion of declaring his attachment to the English connection and the English crown. O'Connell's attitude, which was that of Redmond also, represented in my judgment a much larger proportion of Irish preference than the Fenian ideal of a separate Republic, which is today in the ascendant. Unquestionably the treaty which brings the Free State into being has been accepted by a body of men and women who avow their intention of using it as a stepping stone to separation; Mr. Griffith is perhaps the exception, and Mr. Griffith has always sought for the dual monarchy which he is getting. But the true acceptance comes from the country at large, which is not theory-ridden. If Great Britain deals with Ireland as she has dealt with her other Dominions, I do not think that much more will be heard of separation.

That is why I think the chapter is ended. Ireland is given its normal place in the loose fabric of the British Commonwealth of Nations: Ireland has its own future to make or mar, and a good many of those at present in responsible positions will certainly do their best to mar it. One thing, however, stands out: Mr. de Valera is an impossibilist, a fanatic pursuer of the unattainable, one who sees national freedom as a geometric formula, not a living and evolving organism; he is overstrung, unbalanced in judgment, at the mercy of impulses; but he has in him an unshakable loyalty and a sensitive honor. He will give other Irishmen fair play.

American readers ought to understand that by the Treaty a provisional Government is to be formed which will have for its assembly the Southern Parliament elected last year, representing 26 of the 32 Irish counties. This parliament is not identical with Dail Eireann. When it was summoned last June by the Lord Lieutenant nobody attended it except the few members who represent Trinity College, Dublin. Dail Eireann consists of all those who were elected to either Northern or Southern Parliament in 1921 and who took their seats in the Dail with an oath of allegiance to the Republic as established. The Dail therefore includes one or two men who were elected for seats in the six Ulster counties and who consequently have no seat in the Southern Parliament: it does not include the members for Trinity. Before the provisional Government can function and take over responsibility from the British Government, the Southern Parliament must be called together. It is probable that many of Mr. de Valera's supporters will refuse to attend it. They may, however, decide to attend and be an opposition.

But the great difficulty concerns the disposal of the very considerable Republican friends, and above all the control of the Republican army. Mr. de Valera laid it down that his resignation carried with it that of all his ministers. But the Minister of Defense, Mr. Burgess (in Irish Cathal Brugha, pronounced Cahal Bruh), does not seem to be of that opinion. He is probably the fiercest and least scrupulous opponent that the new Government will have to meet, and the type which he suggests is that of Robespierre. What he will do, and what he can do, with the fighting organization remains to be seen. Its chief of staff, Mr. Mulcahy, and its adjutant general, both members of the Dail, supported Mr. Collins and the treaty; so did the best-known of the local commanders: but there must be grave division in the force itself.

The sooner we get some kind of general popular vote the better. Possibly a few bye-elections would meet the case, and there are vacancies to be filled. But until then Mr. Griffith and Mr. Collins will be in rough water. They have to face all the accusations that arise from the fact that they are abandoning the Republic and also are recognizing, even for a provisional purpose, the Southern Parliament which Ireland violently refused to enter.

Nevertheless Mr. Griffith has shown a power of statesmanship that I certainly did not credit him with. He has secured support from all the Unionist business interests in the South: if he can ride successfully through the next fortnight he may even find Ulster preparing to make terms. Could he achieve that, and bring to pass the unity of Ireland, nothing could shake him.

The election of Mr. Griffith as President, though it has been carried out in unfriendly and unfavorable conditions, nevertheless puts things on a rational basis, and he can presumably reconstruct his ministry. Mr. Collins, in the action of proposing him and in the speech by which he supported it, brought into clear relief the realities of the situation. That is what Ireland wants. The country is sick of talk and will be impatient of any who try to hamper those who are willing to take the action it desires. It had no wish to be, in Mr. Griffith's phrase, "crucified on a formula"—no matter how high and noble the formula may sound.

Dublin, Ireland

When the Pope Dies

How the College of Cardinals Elects the New Pope

THE meeting of the cardinals for the election of a Pope is called a conclave, from *clavis*, a key. The name is justified by the fact that during the election the princes of the Church are actually under lock and key. This custom arose out of stern necessity, and can be traced back no further than the thirteenth century. Several times in those troublous days the need of an immediate choice became so imperious that the people resorted to the expedient of shutting the college up until an election was made. Such was the case when Innocent III died at Perugia, in 1216, and the election of Honorius III was in consequence accomplished in two days. Gregory IX was elected under similar circumstances at Rome in 1227, the election requiring but eleven days.

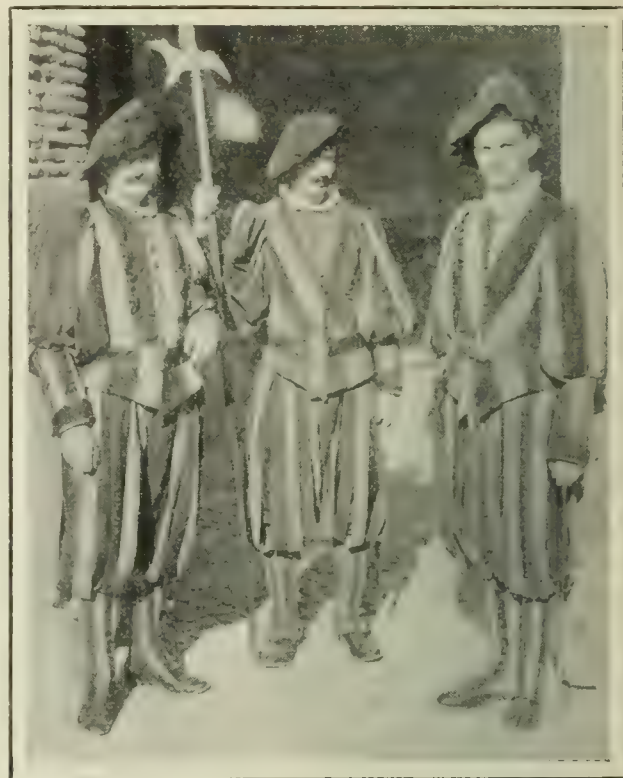
In the Middle Ages a papal election might be held almost anywhere in southern Europe, but for a long time there has been no election out of Rome, and usually the conclave is held in the Vatican. The conclave that chose Pius VI in 1775, however, was held in St. Peter's. Directly after the death of a Pope, under the direction of the chamberlain, the arrangements are made for the coming gathering. For centuries it was the custom to erect little wooden cells, each about nine by twelve feet; and the materials, numbered for putting together, were kept always in readiness. At the conclave of 1878 for the first time these cells were not used, but small apartments of three or four rooms each were specially constructed in the great halls of the Vatican. These little suites were much more convenient than the cells, since each cardinal is allowed two attendants, who were thus able to lodge near him and be constantly at his service. On the other hand, this arrangement necessitated the spreading of the cardinals over a large space in the palace, which made communication less easy.

On the morning of the tenth day after the death of a Pope occurs the inaugural of the conclave. The cardinals form in solemn procession in order of rank, and usually proceed to St. Peter's, where the mass of the Holy Spirit is sung, at the close of which a sermon is delivered by some ecclesiastic previously appointed by the college. This is known as the election sermon ("*Pro Eligendo Pontifice*"), and the preacher's duty is to exhort the cardinals to lay aside all prepossessions and preferences of their own, and to fix their eyes on God, so that as speedily as possible a shepherd may be chosen who may be equal to the exigencies of the times. A master of ceremonies then takes the papal cross and behind him follow the cardinals. Before the cross go the attendants and the pontifical choir singing "*Veni Creator Spiritus*." Having arrived at the

chapel of the conclave, the dean of the cardinals reads the Apostolic Constitutions relating to the election of a Pope, and each cardinal takes in turn an oath to observe them. The dean exhorts them to fulfill the obligations resting on them in so grave a matter as the election of the head of the Church, and the cardinals then betake themselves to their cells or apartments.

In the afternoon the college meets and receives the oaths of all the officers and attendants of the conclave. Of these there are a large number, of which it is necessary to specify only two: a governor, who is a prelate, and a marshal, a secular officer. In the evening the conclave is officially closed. Then all except the cardinals, their authorized attendants, and the sworn officials are required to leave the palace. All doors save one have been walled up ere this; now the last is locked and the keys placed in the keeping of the chamberlain. The governor and marshal henceforth keep strict charge of this door and both egress and ingress are forbidden. To this rule there is an exception, however: a cardinal arriving late must be admitted and a member of the conclave may be permitted to leave on account of sickness. Three cardinals with the chamberlain verify the report of the official that all but those having business there have been excluded, and the chamberlain usually makes a further round before retiring for the night to assure himself that all is right.

The night is spent in silence, the hours not given to sleep being presumably devoted to prayer and pious meditation. The chamberlain does not trust too much to this charitable presumption, but stations sentinels to see that no communications are held in secret during the night. In spite of this cardinals do manage to prowling about and electioneer every night while the conclave continues. On the following day the real business begins, that of election. In theory there are three methods by which a Pope may be chosen. The first is election by "inspiration," "acclamation," or "adoration," for all three terms are used to describe it. This is accomplished in those rare cases when all minds turn at once to some one as the sole possible candidate and he is saluted by unanimous acclamation. The election of Gregory VII is described as occurring in this way. The obsequies of Alexander II were performing and Hildebrand as archdeacon was directing them. All at once clergy and people with one voice cried out, "Hildebrand is Pope! It is the will of St. Peter! Hildebrand is Pope!" And he was immediately enthroned



International

Papal Guards at the entrance of the Vatican



International

The Crypt at the Vatican where Pope Benedict will rest with his predecessors

and crowned. Such elections, however, though always possible in theory, have been rare and none has occurred in recent times. Another method is known as election "by compromise." Not infrequently a deadlock occurs in a conclave and the cardinals agree to depute the election to a committee and to abide by its decision. Elections by this method have been not infrequent, but it has not been necessary to resort to it latterly. The commonest method is now, and probably always has been, election "by simple ballot."

The rules of Gregory XV for the preparation of ballots are curiously minute; in connection with his bull, "*Decet Romanum Pontificem*," not only does he give a full description but diagrams accompany the text, as sample ballots. The voting is secret, and therefore the ballot is in three divisions. In the upper part of the ballot each cardinal writes his name and title, thus: "*Ego, Robertus Card. Bellarmine.*" This he folds down and seals and it is not examined save it becomes necessary to verify all ballots. In the lower division he writes a number and a motto, known only to himself, so that he may be able to identify his own ballot in case of necessity, thus: "*18. Gloria in Excelsis.*" This he folds up and seals. All that is visible to the tellers is the middle part of the ballot, in which he writes: "*Eligo in Summum Pontificem Rev. D. meum Card. —,*" filling the blank with the name of his candidate.

In general only a member of the College of Cardinals has been regarded as eligible to the papacy since the time of Nicolas II. But he admitted exceptions to this rule in case of necessity, and, as a matter of fact, between his day and that of Urban VI (1378) nine Popes were chosen from outside the college. Since that time none but a cardinal has been elected and the precedent has acquired practically the force of law.

The voting sessions are held in the Sistine Chapel and two ballots must be taken each day, the first directly after the morning mass, the second in the afternoon, usually about four o'clock. About two hours are ordinarily required for the taking of a vote. When the votes are ready to be given each cardinal advances in order of rank to the altar, where the tellers stand, kneels and offers a short prayer and then, holding his ballot over the great silver chalice that serves as an electoral urn, he repeats in a loud voice the electoral oath: "I call to witness Christ the Lord, who will judge me, that I choose him who I judge before God should be chosen, and I will do the same on the 'accession.'" Then, laying the ballot on the paten, he causes it to slide into the chalice, salutes the cross and returns to his place.

When the votes have been verified and counted and the result is announced, if nobody has received the necessary two-thirds majority, cardinals have the privilege of changing their votes. A ballot of the same general character as the one before used is prepared, but in the middle each writes: "*Accedo Rev. D. meo Ego Card. . . .*" If he does not wish to change his vote, he writes in the blank space *Nemini*, nobody. At a late conclave a nervous or absent-minded cardinal wrote in his first ballot, "*Eligo, etc., Card. Neminem*," and the ballot was read out by the tellers amid hilarious laughter of the cardinals. It sometimes happens that exactly two-thirds of the total number of votes have been cast for somebody. In that case all the votes are carefully verified; the tellers open each one and if it turns out that any cardinal has voted for himself the result is invalidated and there is no election.

After the concluding of the voting the ballots are burnt in a little stove kept for the purpose; and when the people gathered without see the smoke go up they know that no Pope has yet been chosen. This is supposed to be their only means of information, for besides the oath of secrecy imposed on all inmates of the palace, no communi-



International

The Sistine Chapel, where the new Pope is elected. It is cut off from all communication with other parts of the Vatican during the balloting.

cation with outside persons is permitted except in the presence of the marshal and governor. Nevertheless, in some way the secrets leak out and the proceedings are reported from day to day with tolerable accuracy. The rules of Gregory XV provided that if a choice were not made within three days, for the next five days the cardinals should be restricted to one dish at each meal and thereafter should be confined to bread and wine or water until they completed the election. These rules have now been relaxed, but long deadlocks have also become infrequent.

Will it surprise anybody to learn that, notwithstanding all these strict rules and these solemn oaths, there is often a great deal of wire-pulling and electioneering in a conclave? As so often happens in our Presidential contests, the successful candidate is frequently not one of the several who have been hotly pressed by friends or have used all their arts to advance themselves, but a "dark horse." Some of the ablest and best and also some of the weakest and worst of the Popes have been chosen because the favorites were only strong enough in the conclave to kill off each other.

When, by any of these methods an election has been made, the dean of the cardinals goes to the Pope-elect and in a loud voice asks, "Do you accept the election, canonically made, to the supreme pontificate?" The answer is communicated to the assembly by the prefect of ceremonies. By a second question the dean asks the new Pope what name he wishes to take and on receiving his reply announces it in a loud voice to the electors. The official act of election and acceptance is then prepared and in the meantime the Pope is conducted to the altar, if he has not gone there at once on notification of his election. The robes of a cardinal are removed, and the pontifical garb, made ready in advance, is put upon him. He is then placed on a chair, back to the altar, the chamberlain puts on his finger the Fisherman's Ring, and all the cardinals in turn give him the first obeisance, kneeling before him and kissing his foot and hand and receiving from him the kiss of peace. The first official act of the new Pontiff is to confirm the powers of the former chamberlain, or, if he prefers, to appoint another.

Preceded by a choir singing "*Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*," the senior cardinal deacon goes to the balcony and says to the people: "I announce to you a great joy. We have as Pope the most eminent and most reverend —, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, who has taken the name of —." And thus the world is made aware that the Church has a new Pope.

(Reprinted from THE INDEPENDENT of August 31, 1914.)

From Our Readers

A Hearty Amen from Professor Rice

To the Editors:

I want to say a hearty Amen to your editorial, "As We Forgive Our Debtors," in the number for December 31. I thank you for the publication of the article, and I hope it will arouse a public sentiment in the right direction.

WILLIAM NORTH RICE

Wesleyan University,
Middletown, Conn.

Individual Responsibility and the Christian Idea

To the Editors:

I have read with interest your editorial entitled "Socialism in Eclipse" and note particularly the conclusion reached in the last paragraph. You say, "The real justification of the existing order is that in it the foundation element is the responsibility of the individual for his own welfare, and that under Socialism the foundation element is the responsibility of the community for the individual's welfare."

Personally, I cannot see very much hope for the future on the basis of either of the alternatives which the above quotation suggests. As between the selfish ego-centric competitive ideal of the present order and the equally selfish but weaker and more deadening ideal of Socialism, as you depict it, there is certainly little to choose. Assuredly, the only hope of the world lies in the adoption of the genuinely Christian ideal, the foundation element of which is the responsibility of the individual for the welfare of the community rather than the responsibility of the community for the welfare of the individual. Until we can get away from selfishness in one form or another as the prime consideration in society, we are never going to have a society that is worth while. When the individual comes to place first the welfare of the community, he will be able to achieve his own highest welfare and not until then.

FREDERICK D. KERSHNER,
Professor of Christian Doctrine,
Drake University, Iowa

Italy and the Germans

To the Editors:

Your correspondent who sends you his "Sidelights on Modern Rome" has in so far chosen well his title that his observations are much to one side of the mark.

His assertion that "the Fiat and the big concern known as the Alti Forni di Porto Ferraio, great bitumen and lignite enterprises, and electrical organizations have somehow passed into the hands of German millionaires," is absurd. A certain negotiation of the Fiat Company with a German concern about a projected motor vehicle, which came

to nothing, was enough to start such a rumor, which was immediately and officially denied. The Alti Forni di Porto Ferraio forms part of the Ilva Company, which, having been declared by a report of its directors last March to be in a perilous condition, is now being rehabilitated with the help of the Banca Commerciale Italiana, the Credito Italiano, the Banca Italiana di Sconto, and the Banco di Roma.

Hardly a week passes that a report is not circulated that some important corporation has been bought up by Germans, and it usually transpires that such rumors are started by competitors of the company thus libeled. This is a sufficient commentary on Mr. Meltzer's statement that no people of the earth is popular in Italy except the Germans.

He has this much excuse for saying so, that most Italians sincerely believe that their just claims were either ignored or actively opposed by the French, British and American statesmen who framed the Treaty of Versailles; and there are not wanting Frenchmen, Englishmen and Americans who agree with them. This feeling is of course ably exploited by the newspapers in the following of Nitti and Giolitti.

Commenting on the unfortunate demonstrations that were made at Milan and Venice against the French Military Mission the *Corriere della Sera* remarked that the feeling in Italy against France was stronger than against England or the United States, because Italians, having depended more upon French support, were therefore the more bitterly disappointed. And in regard to the same incident some French newspapers, including the *Paris Temps*, have had the candor to admit that Clemenceau's policy goes far towards explaining the present state of public sentiment in Italy with regard to France.

HOMER EDMISTON

Paris

Great Museums and Struggling Artists

To the Editors:

Several statements in your article "Great Art Museums and Modernism" depress me sorely. I had felt so much in sympathy with the point of view of *The Weekly Review* that I only this week have ordered it sent to a discriminating friend. In this his first number he will read that "a great museum has simply no business at all with contemporary art" and that, if one wants to see the very best things done by the biggest mind, and the bravest, in the painter's profession today, one is to go to "the small provincial museums." It is a good thing Lorenzo de Medici had a little more faith in his contemporaries; and his encouragement, I can assure you, has been of enough value to succeeding generations, as well as to the artists of his

own time, to deserve a better name than "sloppy humanitarianism," your synonym for "doing something for the living artist."

Some of the most brilliant men of our day have sweat blood painting pictures the buying of which you now airily suggest as "the most delightful of sporting adventures" "for the amateur or the small museum."

It is too much! I can go no further!

But I did want to say please kindly find someone to endow a Luxembourg or a Tate Gallery before you discourage the buying of modern art by the only museum there is to buy it in this great city. Quarrel rather with the scarcity of men of judgment in this world of ours.

C. LAWTON.

New York

[This letter shows so many exaggerations and misunderstandings of our position that we despair of clearing the matter up. Our contention was simply that buying and exhibiting both standard and contemporary art cannot effectively be done by one museum. We did not call patronage of current art "sloppy humanitarianism." We used the term to describe the motive for mixing incompatible functions. We believe that contemporary art should be fostered by a special type of museum which does nothing else—a museum which realizes the probationary character of its selections and is organized to distribute, withdraw or promote its exhibits. Such a museum should eventually feed the permanent museums as the Luxembourg feeds the Louvre. The provincial museums buy current art better than the great museums because it is their main concern. Our practical counsel to the Metropolitan Museum is to beget its Luxembourg as soon as may be. In short, we did not propose that modern art should be neglected by the museums, but that it should be treated more intelligently and more in accordance with the necessary relativity of all contemporary judgments. Something of this intention may have been obscured in the inevitable brevity of an editorial article. We are glad to print Mr. Lawton's letter because it admirably illustrates that confusion which prompted our article.—Editors]

Letters of Hugo Grotius

To the Editors:

On behalf of the Union Académique Internationale, which is about to publish the complete writings of Hugo Grotius, I desire to locate in American libraries and collections original letters of this eminent Dutch statesman and author. I shall be greatly obliged for any information on this material. It may be sent to me in care of the Holland-America Line, 24 State Street, New York.

PROFESSOR DR. A. EEKHOF
Leyden University,
Leyden, Holland

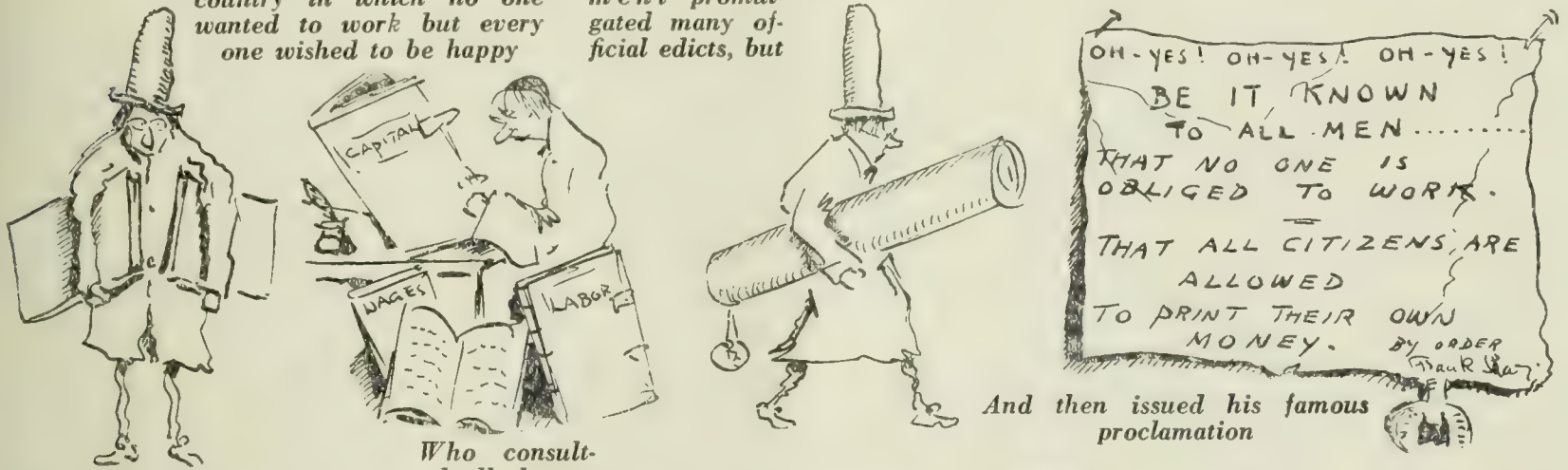
History Teaches . . . By Hendrik van Loon



Once there was a country in which no one wanted to work but every one wished to be happy

The government promulgated many official edicts, but

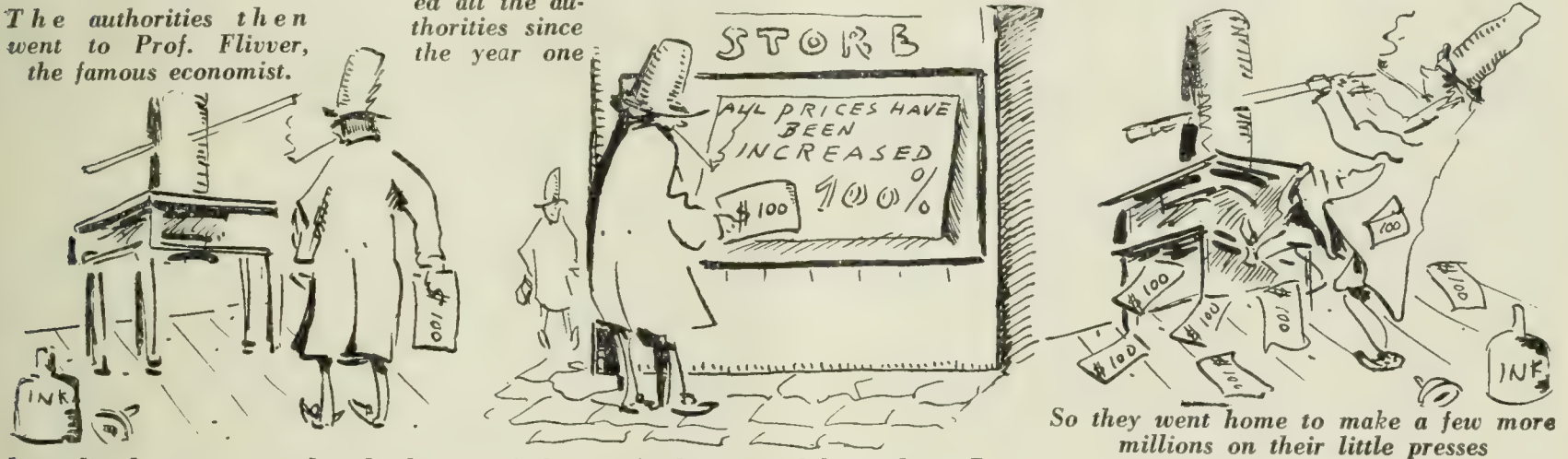
The people continued to loaf



The authorities then went to Prof. Flivver, the famous economist.

Who consulted all the authorities since the year one

And then issued his famous proclamation



Immediately every one bought himself a private printing press

And went forth to spend his riches. But a disappointment awaited them

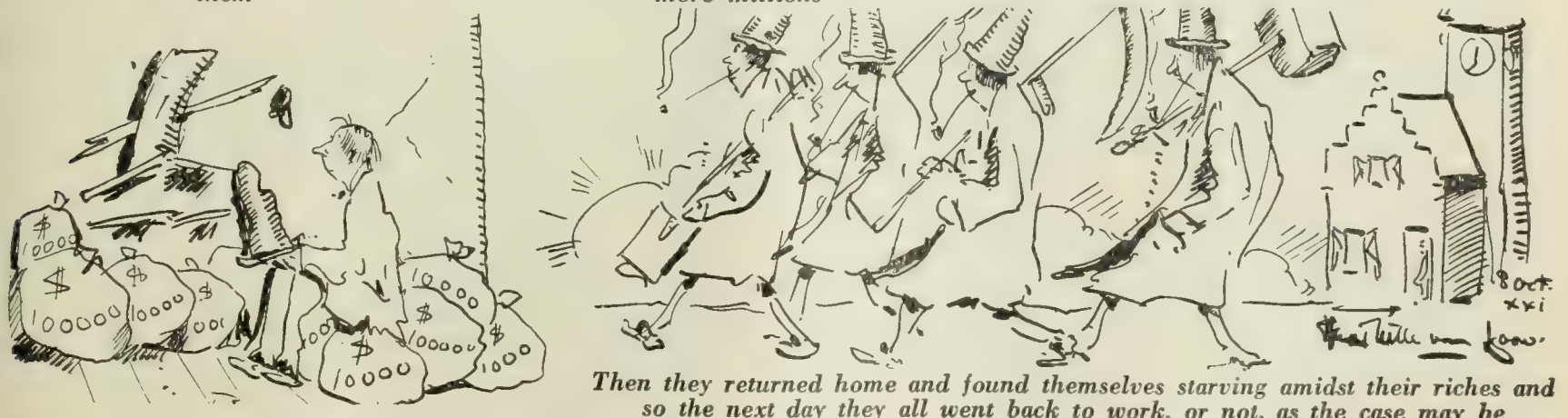
So they went home to make a few more millions on their little presses



But a new disappointment awaited them

Then they returned home to make a few more millions

But a new disappointment awaited them



Then they returned home and found themselves starving amidst their riches and so the next day they all went back to work, or not, as the case may be

EDITORIAL

IN our issue of last week there appeared an advertisement by "The Friends of Soviet Russia" appealing for aid to be sent through them to the Russian famine sufferers.

The advertisement was secured by a member of our advertising staff, and copy was obtained on the eve of going to press.

As an appeal for a humane purpose, no matter from what source, the editors would have had no objection to its insertion; but had they had an opportunity to examine its actual contents they would have refused acceptance. Several statements in it are in the nature of a malignant attack upon the great work of humanity being done by the American Relief Administration, though that body is not explicitly named.

We regret extremely that this paper should have been used as a vehicle for the dissemination of false and mischievous accusations against one of the noblest undertakings now being carried on for the benefit of a suffering world.

Though we do not believe that many intelligent readers have been misled, we are very glad to offset the advertisement of last week by a corresponding full-page advertisement which we are inserting gratis for the American Relief Administration in this issue.

We trust that many of our readers will take the opportunity to contribute liberally to this most worthy of all causes.

The Farmer's Troubles

M^{R.} BRYAN was quite right in asserting, at the National Agricultural Conference at Washington, that the farmers are worse off today than they have been for thirty years. The sufferings of the farmer thirty years ago were produced by the same cause as that which makes his condition today so distressing—the great fall in the prices of agricultural products, and especially the prices of the chief agricultural staples. These prices have fallen far more rapidly than general prices, far more rapidly than wages; and, to add to the farmer's distress, he has in many cases placed himself under a load of debt, incurred under the influence of the sanguine hopes of the boom period, and at the high prices of that period. To promote the recovery of the farmer from this condition, to make him once more prosperous and contented, is an object to which every one of us, in public or in private station, must be glad to contribute. And the attainment of that object is hardly less essential to the prosperity of the nation as a whole than it is to the farmer's own welfare.

The President's Speech

President Harding's speech at the Agricultural Conference was based on a full recognition of the seriousness of the situation as a national, and not only a farmers', problem; and what he said has been received with a general chorus of approval. Yet its merit

should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the most that can be accomplished by any of the measures that he advocated is a comparatively slight alleviation of the farmer's condition in such a time as this. His recommendations and suggestions are good; but still better is the absence in the speech of any encouragement to futile or mischievous schemes of attempted relief. So far as the greatest hardship which the farmers are suffering is concerned—the hardship caused by the state of prices and by the burden of debts incurred in boom times—the remedy can come only through the operation of world-wide forces.

We say this not by way of belittling the remedial possibilities of wise action, but of warning against false hopes. The three principal agencies of improvement upon which the President dwelt in his speech are coöperation, better knowledge of the prospects of supply and demand, and improved credit facilities. Every one of these agencies is capable of greatly benefiting the farmer; no one of them, nor all three combined, can avert the major part of the distress that falls upon the farmer in such a time of price-convulsion as we have been going through.

Coöperation

Of the three agencies to which the President directed the earnest attention of the farming community, coöperation is the one that seems to us to carry most promise of benefit on a great scale. By intelligent coöperation among producers, a great deal may be saved to the farmer—and possibly also to the consumer, though of that we are more doubtful—which now goes to middlemen. But this is true rather in the case of specialties than in that of the great staples. Dairy products, fruit, and supplies destined for neighboring markets, can be handled to great advantage by properly conducted farmers' organizations; but whether much can be done for the marketing of wheat, or corn, or cotton, or meat, on appreciably better terms than are obtained in the ordinary course of business, seems to us highly doubtful. Coöperation, however, would naturally bring about a greater interest in, and a more intelligent attention to, the raising of products which the individual farmer cannot easily and advantageously dispose of; and in this way, as well as in the actual obtaining of higher prices, his condition would be materially improved.

Keeping the Farmer Informed

The general diffusion of knowledge of the state and prospects of the market, in the case of the great staples, would undoubtedly be of substantial benefit; but the extent of this benefit may easily be overestimated. About twenty years ago, through the efforts of a man of remarkable energy and imagination, David Lubin of California, there was established the International Institute of Agriculture, which has operated under the sanction of a number of the principal Governments of the world, the lead having been given by

the King of Italy. The systematic information which the Institute has made accessible by its bulletins or reports has doubtless been of marked benefit; and a more effective dissemination of such information is desirable. But we should be deluding ourselves if we imagined that the *major* distresses of the farmer—those coming with a violent up-and-down movement of prices such as that of the last five years—can in any great degree be averted by such means. Unless the farmers can be bound together in a great conspiracy to limit production—and few will assert that this is either practicable or desirable—nothing can be done to affect in a vital degree those variations of supply and demand which are the controlling factors in the farmer's trouble.

What Credit Can—and Cannot—Do for the Farmer

It is, however, to the possibilities of credit that the minds of farmers, and of most people who are anxiously pondering the farmer's plight, chiefly turn. It is a commendable feature of the President's speech that he spoke of the need of credit facilities as a means whereby the farmer may be supplied with working capital, and not as a means of holding on to his products when prices are low, in the hope of a rise. Working capital, beyond his own immediate resources but not beyond his clear ability to pay out of his produce, is a real desideratum to the farmer, as to any other producer; and while the subject presents peculiar difficulties, the example of other countries, and especially of Germany for many years before the war, shows how much the provision of such credit may promote agricultural productivity and agricultural welfare. The attention now being devoted to this problem by very able men will, we trust, show large results. And we are the more hopeful of this because the tempting, but thoroughly mistaken, notion that farmers would gain by having easy access to vast quantities of credit for the purpose of holding on to their crops when they are not satisfied with the current price, seems to have fallen into the discredit it deserves. Whatever it may look like to the farmer, borrowing on his guess as to future prices is a gamble, and one in which he cannot afford to indulge. How terrible would now be the condition of our cotton planters if they had hung on to their cotton—as they most assuredly wished to—when it first began to fall below 40 cents! Instead of getting 30 or 25 cents for it, they would have got 20 or 15, besides paying interest on the borrowed money! Unquestionably many a cotton raiser was saved from disaster by *not* having access to easy credit for the purpose of hoarding his crop.

With the understanding that no miracles are to be accomplished, it is matter for congratulation that the thought of the country, as well as of the farmers themselves, is so earnestly directed toward the farmer's problem. The one unfortunate feature is the idea of using the power of the Congressional *bloc* as a means of political intimidation. So great and fundamental an interest as that of the farmers naturally exerts a strong pressure upon legislative action; as a matter of fact, it always has done so in this country. But a class interest definitely organized as a *bloc* is pretty sure not only to exercise the pressure natural in the circumstances, but to undertake a tyrannical dictation that overrides all reason and reduces legislative discretion

to impotence. How evil this is from the standpoint of the nation, requires no pointing out; but even from the standpoint of the farmer's own interest it should be rejected as sure to lead to legislative folly, injurious alike to its supposed beneficiaries and to the country at large.

A Pontificate Beset with Trials

IT fell to the lot of Cardinal della Chiesa, Benedict XV, to be entrusted with the keys of St. Peter during the most trying period of the Church's history since the French Revolution. To conduct the affairs of that world-wide institution through four years of the greatest of wars and three years of its troubled aftermath was an undertaking to tax the sagacity and energy of the ablest and wisest of men. The gentle Pius X passed away just after the mighty conflict had begun, and the Italian nobleman and diplomatist who succeeded him was under no illusions as to the difficulties of his task—the choice had fallen on him largely because it was felt that the perilous situation which faced the Church demanded the services of a man of his special equipment. The passions of men ran high and his flock was divided between the contending forces. Both sides were bound to exert the utmost pressure upon him, and in the heat of the struggle charges and counter-charges of partisanship were bandied about, not seldom reflecting religious animosities. In all this it must be remembered that the first concern of the Pontiff was the Church of which he was the shepherd and the spiritual welfare of that large body of humanity which looked to that Church as a rock of safety in the midst of an engulfing flood. He might with propriety seek to reconcile the opposing forces and alleviate the sufferings of the innocent, but he could no more intervene on one side or the other than could the Red Cross. That he acquitted himself with dignity and discretion is now generally realized.

There is cause to be thankful that when the conflict came the Church had already lost its temporal power, that there were not involved material interests which would almost certainly have interjected serious political complications. Those who are not of the Roman faith and especially those who fear, and with reason, the interference of the Catholic hierarchy in educational matters, and even in local politics in some parts of the world, are wont to forget that the Church is a great historic institution which time after time has stood as a bulwark against the tide of popular fallacies and subversive movements. If at times it has gone to extremes in its conservatism, the other side of the picture must not be overlooked. The firmness with which the Church, while giving encouragement to the aspirations of the working masses, has stood out against Socialism and its seductive theories, has been of invaluable service.

That the Church has gained in spiritual strength by the loss of temporal power is now manifest. The changed relations between the Vatican and the Quirinal indicate an acceptance of this truth. There can be no doubt that Benedict XV did much to promote this better relationship and there is a strong possibility that in the choice of his successor there may be signified the

abandonment of the "prisoner in the Vatican" attitude. A recognition of the true position of the Church in Italy cannot but strengthen its power for spiritual good throughout the world.

Within the Church the "Modernist" struggle will go on. It is the age-long struggle between the radicals and conservatives. Benedict XV owed his election partly to the belief not only that he would handle the political situation with diplomatic skill, but that he would stand as a rock against the modernist influences which the conservative College of Cardinals felt were making a dangerous inroad upon the stability of the foundations of faith. That such dangers existed is evidenced by the participation of some of the clergy in distinctly radical activities, but they were undoubtedly greatly exaggerated. The spiritual Church has little to fear from free discussion and the frank analysis of new ideas, as far as its best interests are concerned. The loose thinkers and emotional agitators are noisy but not numerous or influential and the Church cannot afford to cramp the really progressive men of the clergy who would keep it abreast of the times. We hope that in this regard in particular the present Conclave will act wisely in making its choice.

America Shares in Britain's Loss

LORD BRYCE did more than any other person in recent times to make plain the abiding kinship of English and American life. There was in him a blending of heart and mind which Americans had a pleasant way of assuming was as representative of their best as of England's. We held up his personality and achievement as a shining example of what our civilization could produce when in good working order. During the last years of his Ambassadorship he had become so much an American institution that no large public function seemed quite complete without his presence, or without at least some message from him. One could fancy Lord Bryce seeing the deeper meaning of this compliment and being content.

With all his scholarship and culture, Lord Bryce had a ruggedness of mind and character which suggested the pioneer. This, no doubt, somewhat accounted for the especial sympathy and understanding with which he watched the growth of the great Western Republic. There was nothing machine-made about him or his aspirations. In his own career is seen the sturdy evolution of ideals tenaciously championed. As lately as last summer, he was looking forward to preparing three volumes the work on any one of which would have seemed formidable to most men; and as yet he had given little or no thought to that comfortable occupation to which the octogenarian may justifiably turn—the writing of his memoirs.

Lord Bryce died "with his boots on," in a manner that strongly appeals to Americans. It is just possible that even one such example as that which his life furnishes will do much to offset the howlings of our "intelligentsia," who are all for Continental ideals and "death on" England. But England is rich in such examples, if we would but look about. If Lord Morley or Mr. Balfour

or a host of others had dwelt among us, we should have felt something of the same warmth toward them. America should be jealous of her treasures, and one of the most precious is the tradition of steady striving toward rugged, democratic ideals which was brought from England and in the pursuance of which, shoulder to shoulder, the two countries can enormously aid the world's progress toward peace and security.

Incorporation of Labor Unions

IF compulsory incorporation of labor unions—such as is likely to be urged on the present session of the New York Legislature—were the best way, or the only way, to make such unions legally answerable in damages for breaches of contract, we should be inclined to support that policy. But we know, on the contrary, that incorporation is not the only way; and we believe that under present circumstances it is not even the best way.

In New York and several other states labor unions, in their status of unincorporated "voluntary associations," may already sue and be sued at law, and are already about as fully liable in damages for breach of contract as they would be if they had the status of corporations. This seems to us a responsibility to which labor unions, like any other group of people acting in concert, are justly liable; and we think that states now lacking statutes making labor unions, along with all other voluntary associations, answerable in this fashion would do well to adopt such laws.

Because labor unions are already liable under the New York law, Mr. Gompers' recently announced objections to the expected New York campaign for incorporation must be taken with suitable interpretations. Mr. Gompers represents, in fact, the theory that labor unions should be exempted from all legal responsibility. His assertion that the New York plan is a cover under which unions may be so "mulcted" in damages that they could not gather sufficient funds to "resist the encroachments of citizens' alliances," will not bear examination. There would be some slight differences in the form of practice, if unions were incorporated; but in New York, at least, their liability would not be substantially greater than it already is. It is *any* legal liability for damages that Mr. Gompers objects to; and this is shown not only by his own past record of opposition to all law that may be cited against a union, but by the opposition of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor to the law passed in that state last year making unions liable as they now are in New York. Mr. Gompers' statement of his objection implies that if unions were liable in damages, a multitude of suits would at once deplete their funds. But he is answered by the plain fact that no such thing has happened in New York, where suits against unions have been rather numerous in the past few years.

There are other aspects, however, to the incorporation policy. The corporate form is a privilege extended by the state to bodies of persons who wish to do business under the limited liability rule that applies to stockholders in a corporation: and the state exacts in return detailed annual reports of funds and busi-

ness, and liability to taxation. So far as individual liability goes, the members of a union would be better protected by the corporate form, for then the individual liability would be limited, while now under the associations law it is unlimited—as the Danbury Hatters case strikingly proved. But the corporate form was devised for groups of people doing a commercial business for profit. Labor unions do not fall into that classification, and consequently the corporate form is wholly unsuited to the conduct of their affairs. Unless there are other compelling reasons, they should not, it seems to us, be required to conform to such an unsuitable mechanism. A very practical difficulty in the way is that a statute requiring unions to incorporate would be obliged for constitutional reasons to apply to *all* voluntary associations, thus imposing a heavy and quite useless burden on a multitude of other groups.

We suspect that what the union leaders fear, aside from legal liability for breach of contract, is the combination of publicity for funds and the taxation that would be involved in the corporate form for unions. The recent history of corruption in the New York building trades unions suggests that if those unions had been incorporated, their annual reports to the state authorities might have opened to the public an earlier opportunity to discover and check their exactions—but this is perhaps open to argument. What is clearer is that public knowledge of the extent of union funds, and of their management might strengthen public opposition to some union policies; while taxation of union funds, already amounting in the aggregate to a very large total, would open possibilities of a very interesting sort. We doubt if the public wants, at present, to tax labor union funds: but it may later come to that position.

The Allied Debt Question

IN a recent issue of the *Economic World*, its editor, Arthur Richmond Marsh, devotes the leading article to "The Question of the Remission of the Allied Indebtedness to the United States." His position is decidedly adverse to such remission.

The article is devoted in part to answering an argument in favor of remission which has not been used in the advocacy of that cause in these columns—the argument, namely, that a flood of foreign goods sent here in payment of interest or principal of the debt would have a disastrous effect on our industries and on our business generally.

Mr. Marsh makes a strong answer to this argument. The bringing down of the prices of manufactured goods, and with them of industrial wages, would, he says, do the country more good than harm: it would hasten the return of prosperity to our farmers and to many other classes that have been hit by the high prices; and, while it might cause temporary injury to some of our industries it would place them on that solid basis which is necessary to the return of permanent prosperity. There is much to be said for this view, as there is also for the opposite view—the view that abnormal stimulation of imports by required payments on the war debt in the near future would be

a disturbing factor which, in these unsettled times, our industries cannot afford to face. It is a mere matter of conjecture which of the two considerations is entitled to the greater weight; and, as we have said, we made no reference to this factor in the case as an argument either for or against remission of the debt.

The way in which remission of the debt would, in our judgment, operate to improve the condition of the world is through its psychological effect. It would, as we said, confound cynics and pessimists, and hearten those who do not despair of the world's future; and the degree in which such heartening would quicken the economic life of the world is quite beyond the reach of any ordinary commercial or financial calculation. If we cancelled the war debts due to us, Great Britain would unquestionably do the like; and it must be a dull imagination indeed that does not see how great would be the influence of lifting from the minds of so many nations and Governments all anxiety about those billions of debt, even if that anxiety relates not to the present but to an uncertain future. And it is to that economic quickening in Europe that we in this country must look for the revival of our own prosperity.

But Mr. Marsh is equally opposed to the plea for remission of the debt based on a high conception of national duty and honor. On this head, he quotes our recent editorial, "As We Forgive Our Debtors," and seems to admit that there is much force in our position, but he gives two reasons for rejecting our conclusion.

To the argument that we should remit the indebtedness of the Allied nations on grounds of an idealistic kind of a "high sense of honor" on our own part, two answers may be given. One of these has been stated by President Emeritus Eliot of Harvard University in a letter to *The Independent and the Weekly Review* with regard to the article from which we have quoted above. As President Eliot says: "The conclusive objection to the remission of the debts . . . is that no self-respecting nation which believes itself capable of re-establishing a practicable budget, sound currency and its national credit could accept it; because acceptance would damage its morale." The other answer is that our remission of debts to nations known to be working and producing to only half their capacity would leave behind it a generation-long irritation most dangerous to the peace of the world.

Now, if this were an ordinary debt, or even a war debt incurred in ordinary conditions, the notion that "no self-respecting nation could accept" cancellation of it would be quite correct. But we lent that money at a time when neither we nor the European nations could realize in its fullness either the stupendous calamity from which the world was being saved or the frightful collapse of industry and finance that would follow on the heels of victory. If men like Justice Clarke of the Supreme Court, and Professor Seligman of Columbia University, passionately declare that it would be a disgrace to *us* to take the money which we ought to regard as part of our contribution to the common cause, is it likely that acceptance of our cancellation by the Allies would inflict any serious wound on *their* self-respect? As for the second reason, with which Mr. Marsh's article closes, we can but regard it as fantastic. There is no reason to suppose that it will be true very long—even if it is true today—that the Allied nations work and produce to only half their capacity. American irritation over the idleness of British, French, Italians, and Belgians is one of the least of all imaginable dangers to the peace of the world.

The Story of the Week

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

The Domestic Budget

The National Agricultural Conference

ON the 23d President Harding opened the National Agricultural Conference. His speech clearly set forth the financial disabilities under which the agricultural industry labors as compared with other industries. It was the business of the conference, he said in effect, to search for the means of removing these disabilities. He admitted the need of legislation to such end, but was careful not to be specific as to the kind or amount of such legislation. The plight of the farmer, he pointed out, has been the especial care of the Administration, which has supported emergency measures to ease it. The established machinery of legislation should be entrusted with the task of enacting measures for further relieving the present distress of the farmer and for giving effect to a permanent agricultural policy: a truly national affair. Interposition by a *bloc* he disapproved. Before using the word *bloc*, the President made a significant stop—a Rubiconian pause. But let the President speak for himself:

Even in our own times and under the most modern and enlightened establishments, the soil has continued to enjoy less liberal institutions for its encouragement and promotion than many other forms of industry. Commerce and manufacturing have been afforded ample financial facilities for their encouragement and expansion, while agriculture on the whole has lagged behind. The merchant, the manufacturer, the great instruments of public transportation, have been provided methods by which they enlist necessary capital more readily than does the farmer.

A great manufacturing industry can consolidate under the ownership of a single corporation with a multitude of stockholders a great number of originally separate establishments, and thus effect economies and concentrations and acquire for itself a power in the markets where it must buy, and in the markets where it must sell, such as have not been made available to agriculture. The farmer is the most individualistic and independent citizen among us. He comes nearest to being self-sufficient; but precisely because of this he has not claimed for himself the right to employ those means of coöperation, coördination, and consolidation which serve so usefully in other industries.

A score or more of manufacturers consolidate their interests under a corporate organization and attain a great increase of their power in the markets, whether they are buying or selling. The farmer, from the very mode of his life, has been stopped from these effective combinations; therefore, because he buys and sells as an individual it is his fate to buy in the dearest and sell in the cheapest market.

The great industrial corporation sells its bonds in order to get what we may call its fixed or plant capital, just as

the farmer sells a mortgage on his land in order to get at least a large part of his fixed or plant capital. I am not commending the bonding or mortgage system of capitalization—rather, only recognizing a fact. But there, in large part, the analogy ends. Both the manufacturer and the farmer still require provision of working capital. The manufacturer, whose turnover is rapid, finds that in the seasons when he needs unusual amounts of working capital he can go to the bank and borrow on short notes. His turnover is rapid, and the money will come back in time to meet his short-term obligation.

The merchant finances his operations in the same way. But the farmer is in a different case. His turnover period is a long one; his annual production is small compared to

the amount of investment. For almost any crop the turnover period is at least a year; for live stock it may require two or three years for a single turnover. Yet the farmer is compelled, if he borrows his working capital, to borrow for short periods, to renew his paper several times before his turnover is possible, and to take the chance that if he is called upon untimely to pay off his notes, he may be compelled to sacrifice growing crops or unfinished live stock. Obviously the farmer needs to have provisions, adapted to his requirements, for extension of credit to produce his working capital.

There is much misconception regarding the financial status of agriculture.

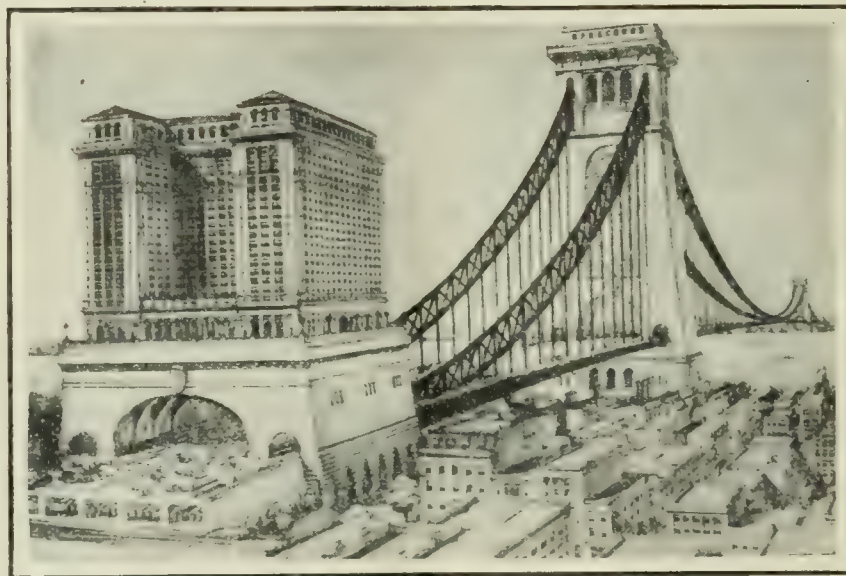
If the mortgage indebtedness of farms shows over a given period a marked tendency to increase, the fact becomes occasion for concern. If during the same period the railroads or the great industries controlled by corporations find themselves able to increase their mortgage indebtedness by dint of bond issues, the fact is heralded as evidence of better business conditions and of capital's increased willingness to engage in the industries and thus insure larger production and better employment of labor.

Both the mechanism of finance and the preconceptions of the community are united in creating the impression that easy access to ample capital is a disadvantage to the farmer and an evidence of his decay in prosperity, while precisely the same circumstances are construed, in other industries, as evidence of prosperity and of desirable business expansion.

In the matter of what may be called fixed investment capital, the disadvantage of the farmer so strongly impressed public opinion that a few years ago the Federal Farm Loan Board was established to afford better supplies of capital for plant investment and to insure moderate interest rates. But while unquestionably farm finance has benefited, the board has thus far not extended its operations to the provision of working capital for the farmer as distinguished from permanent investment in the plant.

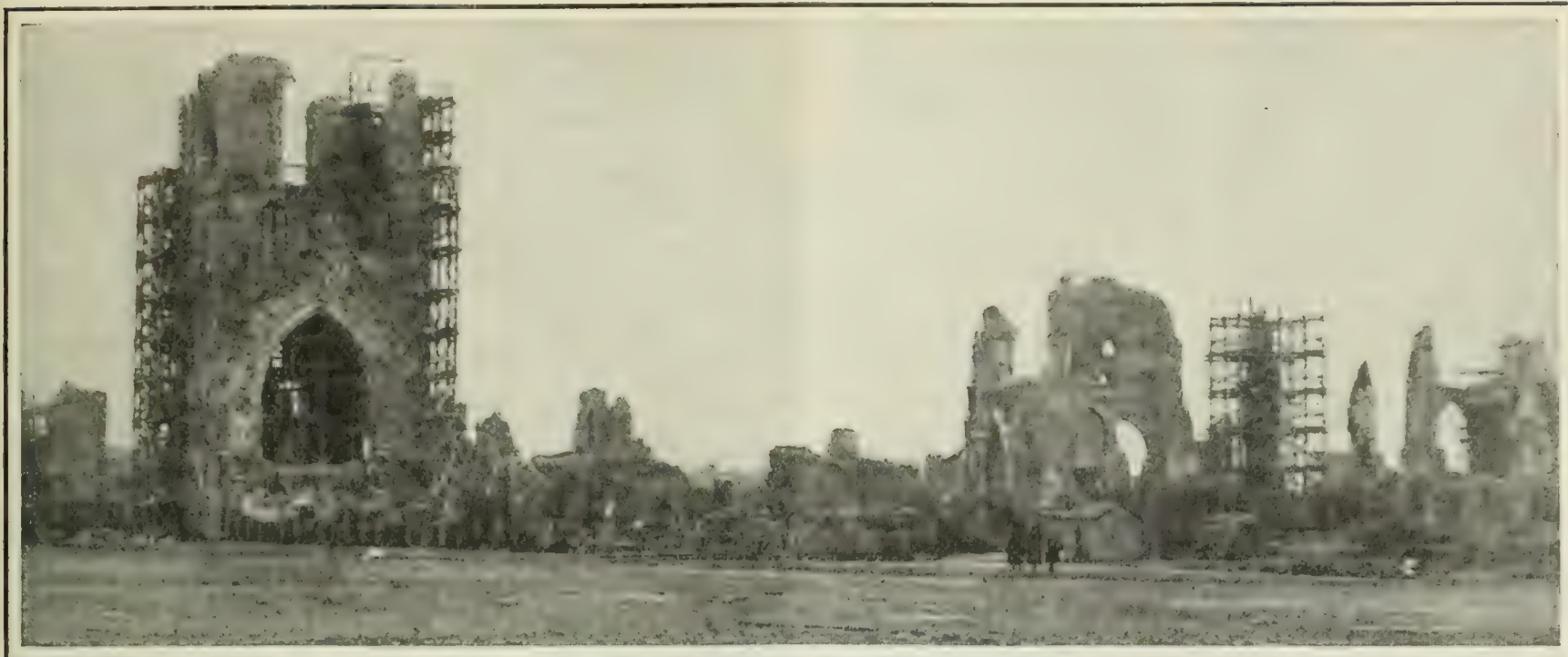
There should be developed a thorough code of law and business procedure, with the proper machinery of finance, through some agency, to insure that turnover capital shall be as generously supplied to the farmer and on as reasonable terms as to other industries. An industry, more vital than any other, in which nearly half of the nation's wealth is invested, can be relied upon for good security and certain returns.

In the aggregate the capital indebtedness of the country's



P. A. A. Photos

The Hudson River Bridge, on which work will be started next summer



International

Restoration of Ypres Begun

agricultural plant is small, not large. Compared with other industries, the wonder is that agriculture, thus deprived of easy access to both investment and accommodation capital, has prospered even so well.

The lines on which financial support of agriculture may be organized are suggested in the plan of the Federal Farm Loan Board and in those rural finance societies which have been so effective in some European countries. The coöperative loaning associations of Europe have been effective incentives to united action by farmers and have led them directly into coöperation in both production and marketing, which have contributed greatly to the stabilization and prosperity of agriculture.

There follow interesting observations on coöperative organizations and on distribution of authentic information on markets to farmers. There is, we believe, a Coöperative Marketing Bill on the *agenda* of the Congressional leaders for this session, and the Department of Agriculture has for over a year past been developing a wireless system for broadcasting market reports (already in wide operation). This information will be of incalculable value toward scientific distribution and acreage limitation of crops. On the disastrous financial results to the farmer from overproduction the President waxes indignant.

It is apparent that the interest of the consumer, quite equally with that of the producer, demands measures to prevent those violent fluctuations which result from unorganized and haphazard production. Indeed, the statistics of this entire subject clearly demonstrate that the consumer's concern for better-stabilized conditions is quite equal to that of the producer. The farmer does not demand special consideration, to the disadvantage of any other class; he asks only for that consideration which shall place his vital industry on a parity of opportunity with others and enable it to serve the broadest interest.

The public will read with great interest the suggestions of the conference toward that "thorough code of law and business procedure, with the proper machinery of finance" (to quote the President), which shall remove the disabilities under which the agricultural industry now labors. Crop insurance, coöperative methods, warehousing, credit facilities, collection and dissemination of information, transportation (a vast and difficult subject, including the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes deep sea waterway project, which the President approves), reclamation, forestry: there's no end to the subjects which clamor for discussion by the conference. The farmer is evidently coming into his own in these United States. Some will remark that, despite all that may be said in condemnation of the methods of the agricultural *bloc*, except for it the farmer wouldn't be coming into his own. There may be something in that. Others say there is a great danger that, if the *bloc* isn't headed, the farmer will come into much more than his own;

which would be bad for everybody, including, in the end, the farmer. There may be something in that, too.

* * *

A considerable group of insurgents in the conference contends that the committees were "hand picked" by the Administration, and that it proposes to use the recommendations of the committees as a means of wresting from the agricultural *bloc* the initiative in agricultural legislation. These insurgents say that President Harding's suggestions in his opening speech are "spoon-meat"; that they will give Congress something to test its digestive apparatus.

* * *

Mr. William Jennings Bryan had the following to say to the conference:

There has come out of the East a warning that the formation of the so-called agricultural *bloc* is immoral. Well, during my thirty years of observation, both in and out of Congress, I have never known a time when there was not a Wall Street *bloc* or a big business *bloc* in Congress. The only difference is that these *blocs* operate in secret, while the agricultural *bloc* has the courage to do its work in public.

I do not say that this Congress is any better than the last Congress. The reason you have obtained more favorable legislation is that you have Congress scared. They are afraid of what might happen at the election next Fall.

Mr. Bryan, it seems, has lost none of his ancient verve. It is said that he thinks of running for Senator from Florida, an agricultural State.

Secretary Mellon on the Proposed Bonus

A most interesting letter concerning the Treasury's plans and prospects for 1922 and 1923, addressed by Mr. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, to Chairman Fordney of the House Ways and Means Committee, has just been published. Mr. Mellon fears a Federal deficit of \$300,000,000 during the years 1922-23 (*i. e.*, excess of expenditures over tax receipts). Of the public debt of \$23,500,000,000, \$6,500,000,000 will fall due within the next sixteen months, and the Treasury officials will be kept awake nights on the job of refunding this huge amount.

After these gloomy preliminaries, the Secretary makes observations on the proposed Soldiers' Bonus Bill. He assumes that the bill in its final form will not greatly differ from the bonus bill reported by the Committee on Finance of the Senate in June, 1921. He estimates that under the terms of such a bill the total bonus payments would reach \$3,330,000,000. He scouts the idea of paying the bonus out of interest payments on the war debts due us from the Allies. We quote:

On the most conservative estimates, the cost of a soldiers' bonus in the first two years would probably be not less than \$850,000,000. This would necessitate additional tax levies to a corresponding amount during the same period. The taxes already in force are too onerous for the country's good, and are having an unfortunate effect on business and industry. The field of taxation, moreover, has already been so thoroughly covered, owing to the extraordinary revenue needs growing out of the war, that it is exceedingly difficult to discover new taxes that could properly be levied to yield as much as \$850,000,000 within two years.

It is also well to keep in mind that no indirect means of financing the bonus could make it any less an expense that will have to be borne in the long run by the taxpayer. Thus it would be futile, as well as unwise, to attempt to provide for the bonus through the use of the principal or interest of the foreign obligations held by the United States or through the sale of any such obligations to the public. For the most part, the foreign obligations are still in the form of demand obligations, and it is impossible in the present state of international finance and in advance of funding arrangement to estimate what may be collected on them in the near future by way of principal or interest.

The obligations are not in shape, moreover, to sell to the public, and to offer them to investors with the guarantee of this Government would seriously interfere with our own refunding operations, upset the security markets and in the long run prove more expensive to this Government than would the sale of its own direct obligations. At the same time, it would enormously complicate the international situation and certainly embarrass the funding negotiations.

The President has come out strong against entangling the Allied war-debts with bonus payments. Nevertheless, the proposal to that effect continues to be vehemently urged by many in and out of Congress. Apropos of the cost of a bonus, it may be well to remind the reader that the present yearly expenditure for relief of disabled veterans is \$450,000,000, and that the annual cost of such relief will steadily increase for many years to come.

The November Elections

In November elections will be held for every seat in the National House of Representatives and for thirty-three Senatorial seats. The present Republican majority in the House is more than 150. The most optimistic Republicans expect a considerable reduction of that majority, if only from inevitable reaction; the most pessimistic say it may be reduced to 35, because of the popular conviction that the Republican party has failed to handle problems of reconstruction and because of activities of the agricultural bloc. Some allege that the Democrats are selfishly encouraging the disruptive tactics of the agricultural bloc.

Reorganization of Government Departments

Mr. Walter F. Brown, chairman of the joint Congressional Committee on Reorganization of the Government Departments, has submitted his plan to the President. Mr. Brown proposes to combine the Army and Navy Departments into one Department of National Defense. He would have a Secretary of National Defense, and an Undersecretary of Naval Forces, an Undersecretary of Land Forces, and an Undersecretary of National Resources; each Undersecretary to be in charge of a bureau. The Bureau of National Resources would prepare and keep continuously revised to date a plan of associated bureaus to function in the event of war, the higher personnel being named in the plan. Mr. Brown would create a new Department of Public Welfare, with a Bureau of Education and a bureau combining the present Pension Office and Veterans' Bureau.

Cables to Germany

Before the end of 1923, direct cable communication with Germany will be restored; by two lines. The Commercial Cables-Postal Telegraph Company will lay a cable from New York to the Azores (2,302 miles), there to connect with a cable from Emden, Germany (length, 1,888 miles). The line will be equipped with the Heurtley magnifier,

which has increased the speed of transmittal by 30 per cent.

The Western Union Company will also lay a cable to the Azores to connect with another cable from Emden to be laid by another German company. A great improvement in cable construction is expected to give this line a capacity of 50,000,000 words a year. The report neglects to tell us what was the capacity of the more efficient of the two old lines which connected the United States and Germany before the war. Genoa Conference or no Genoa Conference, Poincaré or no Poincaré, rejoice or regret, not many years will pass before trade between the United States and Germany will be on a larger scale than ever before.

Life and Death: Native and Alien

Health Commissioner Copeland of New York City gives out the statement that the death-rate among infants of native-born mothers is 90 per 1000; as against 79 for infants of French mothers, 75 for infants of Bohemian mothers, 69 for infants of Austro-Hungarian mothers, and so on down to 43 for infants of Scotch mothers. In 1910 there were in New York City 921,318 na-

tive Americans of native parentage. There were 1,820,141 natives of foreign or mixed parentage, and 1,927,703 foreign-born. Since 1910 the proportion of native Americans of native parentage has grown steadily smaller.



Albert T. Reid

Fritz doesn't care how mad they get

A Pan-American Conference

THE Fifth International Conference of the American Republics (Pan-American Conference) will be held at Santiago, Chile, in the coming summer. Twenty-one American governments will be represented. The Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, composed of the Secretary of State of the United States (chairman ex-officio) and the Latin-American diplomatic representatives at Washington, arranges the *agenda* for these conferences, which hitherto have amounted to little more than social gatherings. It is thought that the coming conference may debate the results of the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament, and that thenceforth these gatherings may have greater practical importance. There are those who think that Latin-America should have been represented in the Washington deliberations on Pacific matters, but such is the confidence of the Latin-Americans in Secretary Hughes, that no protest to that effect has been voiced.

There are many matters which the conference at Santiago might discuss: such as the international American trade situation, which is in an unhappy phase; the relations between the United States and Mexico; the Chile-Peru-Bolivia tangle; and conditions in Guatemala, Haiti, San Domingo, Nicaragua, and Cuba. A tangled and delicate programme, indeed; will or will not the conference, unlike previous ones, address itself thereto?

There is a body distinct from the Pan-American Union,

namely, the Inter-American High Commission, which deals exclusively with the commercial and financial relations of the American states. Some feel that this body should be merged in the Pan-American Union.

It seems probable that the Conference on Limitation of Armament ended, Mr. Hughes will devote much attention to the *agenda* of the Santiago Conference. With his genius for conferences, Mr. Hughes might make this one important.

The Washington Conference

ON Saturday, the 21st, Secretary Hughes obtained something (one cannot say how much) of advantage to the Chinese through adoption by the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Affairs of four resolutions submitted by him. Under these resolutions the Powers represented in the Conference engage to file with the Secretariat General of the Conference lists of international agreements they may have with China, or relating to China, "which they deem to be still in force and upon which they may desire to rely." They also engage to file similar lists "as nearly complete as possible" (a large "if") of contracts between their nationals and the Chinese Government or any of its administrative subdivisions, involving concessions relating chiefly to public utilities. In the case of each document so listed, citation must be given to an authoritative text, or a copy of the text must be filed with the list. Any future international agreement or contract of the nature of those listed must be notified by the Governments concerned to the signatory Powers within sixty days of its conclusion. The advantage proposed is one of publicity. There is to be a "showdown" of "commitments." Presumably commitments that will not bear scrutiny will not be listed or notified. And presumably commitments not so listed or notified will not be invoked hereafter. But of course one never can tell. Mr. Koo's appeal for examination of commitments listed, to determine their validity, was of course ignored.

Half of the January 23 session of the Committee was devoted to eulogies of Lord Bryce, just deceased, of whom Mr. Root said that "he had beyond all other men of our time, or, he thought, of any time, illustrated the true process of true international friendship."

At last the Conference has arrived at the Siberian Question. Baron Shidehara restates in language grown familiar the position and policy of Japan. She will retire completely from the rest of Siberia as soon as she can obtain satisfactory guarantees for the lives and property of Japanese residents; from Sakhalin she will retire upon receipt of satisfaction for the Nikolaievsk massacre from a responsible Russian Government. Mr. Hughes restates, not without an occasional approach to pungency, the American attitude, which is one of regret that the Japanese should have done as they have done; he ends with the expression of a hope that "Japan will find it possible to carry out within the near future her expressed intention of terminating finally the Siberian expedition and of restoring Sakhalin to the Russian people."

After these polite exchanges, occupying perhaps an hour,

consideration of the great Siberian Question is ended by the adoption of a resolution that the statements made by Baron Shidehara and Secretary Hughes be spread upon the records of the Conference. *La comédie est finie.*

A Casual Meeting

THE other day Michael Collins, head of the Provisional Government of Southern Ireland, and Sir James Craig, Premier of Ulster, met by chance in London, and fell into natural talk, and the result was that several matters which held threat of acrid controversy between Belfast and Dublin have been put in train toward an easy settlement—such matters as the boundary question and the mutual boycott.

Lord Northcliffe on India

LORD NORTHCLIFFE is in India and has given to the press the views on the situation there formed by him after ten days' observation and inquiry.

Returning to India after an absence of twenty-five years, he is "shocked at the change of demeanor toward the whites of both Hindus and Mohammedans, especially those who formerly were most friendly." For the first time in history Hindu and Mohammedan are acting in close combination. The loyal Mohammedans advise the instant arrest of Gandhi. The next move should be to conciliate the Indian Moslems. Before that can be done, the recent British policy with reference to Turkey and the Sultan must be for the most part reversed. The Moslems of India are as much outraged by the indignities put upon the Sultan in his religious capacity as Caliph, as Roman Catholics would be had the Pope been similarly treated. And average Moslem prejudice cannot dissociate the spiritual sovereignty of the Caliph from the temporal sovereignty of the Sultan. Therefore Asia Minor must be restored entire to the Sultan; Adrianople likewise.

There is nothing new about Lord Northcliffe's views. They are the views held by a large proportion of Englishmen, and the opposite of the views held by another large pro-

portion of Englishmen. They are precisely not the views which were held by Lord Bryce, for example. They are important, not so much because of Lord Northcliffe's qualifications as observer and political philosopher, as because of the great influence he wields through the press. We are curious as to the nature of that accord between the French and British Governments on policies regarding the Near and Middle East which is said to be almost completed.

The French Point of View

SENATOR McCORMICK, of Illinois, has published in *Le Matin* of Paris a justification of his Senate resolution which we noticed last week (requesting information from the Department of State showing for the last and current fiscal years the annual cost of land armaments in the several European states," and so on, and "the sum of the interest annually due from the several states on account of the loans made to them by the United States"); and Stephen



Keystone

The late Pope Benedict

Lauzanne has published a reply thereto in the same journal. We quote from the *New York Times* a translation of certain passages of the latter, which is a spirited presentation of the French point of view:

The American taxpayer has advanced exactly \$3,057,000,000 to France during the war, which was not only a French war, but from April 2, 1917, to November 11, 1918, was also an American war. The money lent served the common cause, and, as a matter of fact, hardly any of it left the United States. It was employed to pay American munition makers, American food dealers, American cotton planters, American shipping companies. For that purpose alone was the money used which the American taxpayer loaned to France. However, we owe this money. We fully admit that we owe it, and we have never ceased to say that we would pay it—but on one condition, and that is that we, too, are paid the money that is owing us.

For the American taxpayer, my dear Senator, is not the only creditor in the world. There is a much greater creditor than he, the French taxpayer. You speak of \$7,000,000,000 which are owed you. But how much more is there owing us—\$16,000,000,000! Germany, who willed the war, who made the war, owes us under due and formal contract bearing the signatures of seventeen civilized nations more than \$12,000,000,000, and Russia owes us by virtue of the commercial customs of civilized lands more than \$4,000,000,000. So long as Germany and Russia do not pay us we cannot pay you, and it is the American taxpayer who will bear in the form of taxes the interest on the \$3,000,000,000 which we owe you. This you cannot sufficiently often repeat to him.

M. Lauzanne goes on to show how since the Armistice Germany has been treading the primrose path of economic dalliance, piling up huge deficits, failing to levy proper taxes, making no proper effort to balance her budget, etc. And Russia! What M. Lauzanne says about Russia is the verbal equivalent to throwing up his hands. Apropos of Lloyd George's scheme for straightening Europe out (a scheme which would postpone French reconstruction to German and Russian reconstruction), M. Lauzanne observes:

When, however, we say this to the great realist, the great economist, the great financial genius whose name is David Lloyd George, and when we ask him to put an end to this state of things, he replies:

"Hush: hush! you poor-spirited people! I will fix that up during my Riviera trip, between a game of golf and a cup of tea. I will make a speech to you in which I will prove that it is only from depression that Germany and Russia are suffering. In order to set them on their feet it will suffice to form a financial trust, and we will lend them money—always more money. You must take risks in order to get your money back. He who does not risk his sous, even when he has risked them all, can understand nothing of modern economic laws."

Whether the French are wrong or right, at least they are never dull.

Molière

JEAN BAPTISTE POQUELIN, invariably known by his *nom de théâtre* of Molière, was born in January, 1622, the precise day of the month being unknown. In France they are holding great tercentenary celebrations in his honor; which is meet and right, for Molière is a supreme glory of French literature and the greatest master (excepting, perhaps, Menander the Greek, of whom we have only fragments) of the Comic Idea the world has produced.

There is a popular notion, repeated in the January 26 issue of the *New York Times*, that Molière was secretly buried without religious rites. It is true that by his satire Molière had run foul of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, especially of the Jesuits, and that the Archbishop of Paris forbade his clergy to do any service for him. Ecclesiastical displeasure may account for the fact that the funeral took place, at night, by torchlight. But we have the letter of a respectable eye-witness describing the funeral, which says that seven priests attended the body. "There was a great crowd and some 1,200 livres were distributed among the poor." Despite the archbishop's ban, "a number of masses were said for the deceased."

The present members of the *Comédie Française* seem to have entertained the notion that the hostility to Molière of the prelate who was Archbishop of Paris in 1673 had been transmitted to the present archbishop. They therefore with some trepidation craved the latter's permission (readily granted, of course) for celebration of a requiem mass in Molière's memory in the Church of Saint Eustache, where Molière was baptized. When next you visit Paris, reader, go to service at Saint Eustache; the noblest sacred music in the city is to be heard there. May the soul of Molière have comfort!

What Will Germany Propose?

BY Saturday, the 28th, Chancellor Wirth must have in the hands of the Reparations Commission a statement showing what, according to his estimates, Germany can pay in reparations this year, and how much thereof may be in gold marks and how much must be in kind; with a definite plan of fiscal and financial reforms—abolition or reduction of subsidies,



Westminster Gazette

MR. BULL: *This is more than Parnell or Redmond ever asked for!*

DE VALERA: *The Tyrant would rob us even of our grievances! 'Tis the last straw!*

higher taxation, raising of railroad and postal rates, balancing of the budget, and cessation of printing of paper money. With this document in hand, the Reparations Commission will proceed to formulate its reparation programme for the immediate future.

Death of the Pope

POPE BENEDICT XV died of pneumonia on Sunday, the 22nd. He became Pope (two hundred and sixtieth in the line) on September 3, 1914; *i. e.*, immediately after the outbreak of the World War. Never was a Pope in a more delicate position than was Benedict throughout the war period. Indeed, it was a position of almost inconceivable difficulty; and to say that on the whole the Papacy neither gained nor lost prestige in consequence of its policy during the war is perhaps to pay a compliment to Pope Benedict. Not a *rapprochement*, certainly, but a relation warmer than one of mutual tolerance, between Vatican and Quirinal, developed during the régime of Benedict. Whether this relation shall further develop into one of cordiality, even intimacy, would seem to depend on the attitude of the next Pontiff; and it is precisely on this account that the meeting of the Sacred Conclave (the College of Cardinals) on February 2, for election of a new Pope, will attract very extraordinary interest. Though even a layman (and a married one at that) might legally be made Pope, the choice is certain to be a Cardinal and almost equally certain to be an Italian Cardinal. Of the sixty-one members of the College of Cardinals, thirty-one are Italians. Beyond that, speculation is vain. There is a saying, often enough verified, that "he who enters" [*i. e.*, the Conclave] "Pope shall come out Cardinal"; *i. e.*, the Cardinal thought to have the best chance for election is seldom elected.

Lem Hooper on Free Verse

By Ellis Parker Butler

OUR eminent jurist, Justice of the Peace Lemuel Hooper, looked up from the magazine he was reading and frowned at Court-officer Durfey as he entered the court-room five minutes late and clad in black coat.

"What's the meaning of this, Durfey?" the judge asked. "Where's your uniform? Why are you late?"

"Well, you see, Your Honor," said Durfey, "I was working about the house a bit this morning and the time grew late, so I did not bother to put on the uniform. It's all the same, anyway. I'm as much of a man in one dress as in another."

"And more of one, maybe, Durfey," said Judge Hooper. "In that coat you're any and all kinds of a man, but in a uniform you're nothing but a policeman. All the same, Durfey, you'll go home and put on the blue coat with the brass buttons. The city pays you to be a cop, and a cop is a cop when he is inside of his uniform, and you know it."

"In that black coat, Durfey, you look less like a cop than this thing here in this magazine looks like poetry. When I hold this off three feet or so, like I was far-sighted, it almost fools me. It is what they call Free Verse, Durfey. It's a new-fangled business some of the almost-poets and formerly-poets who are too tired or too impatient to bother with rhyme and meter are trying to pass off on us as poetry. And some of the could-be-poets have got the habit."

"When you're a cop, Durfey, I like you to wear the garb of a cop, and when Poetry is Poetry I like it to be dressed like Poetry. Take a sonnet, now; when I get home in the evening and take of my shoes there's nothing I like better than to sit under the lamp and enjoy a few well-conducted sonnets, worked out line for line and rhyme for rhyme, with an easy and regular sway like the lope of a gentle horse. 'Fourteen lines, no more and no less!' I say to myself. 'Fourteen lines, and it is wonderful what a great poet can put into them! Fourteen lines, and a thought big enough to fill a book

cleverly molded into the last line of all. That's art!"

"But these Free Verse boys will have none of that, Durfey. 'The rhyme and the meter and the jog-trot are trammels,' they say; 'we'll have none of them.'"

"And right they are, Durfey. They are trammels. You don't know what I'm talking about, but I'll admit they are right. You don't know a sonnet from a megatherium, but if you want to bet that the sonnet form is a trammel I won't take the bet. It is. And so is a tight-rope."

"When the last circus was in town, Durfey, I went in the afternoon and I saw a young woman on the tight-rope and she stole my heart away. I went again at night, Durfey, and if that circus had stayed forty years you'd have found me there. She

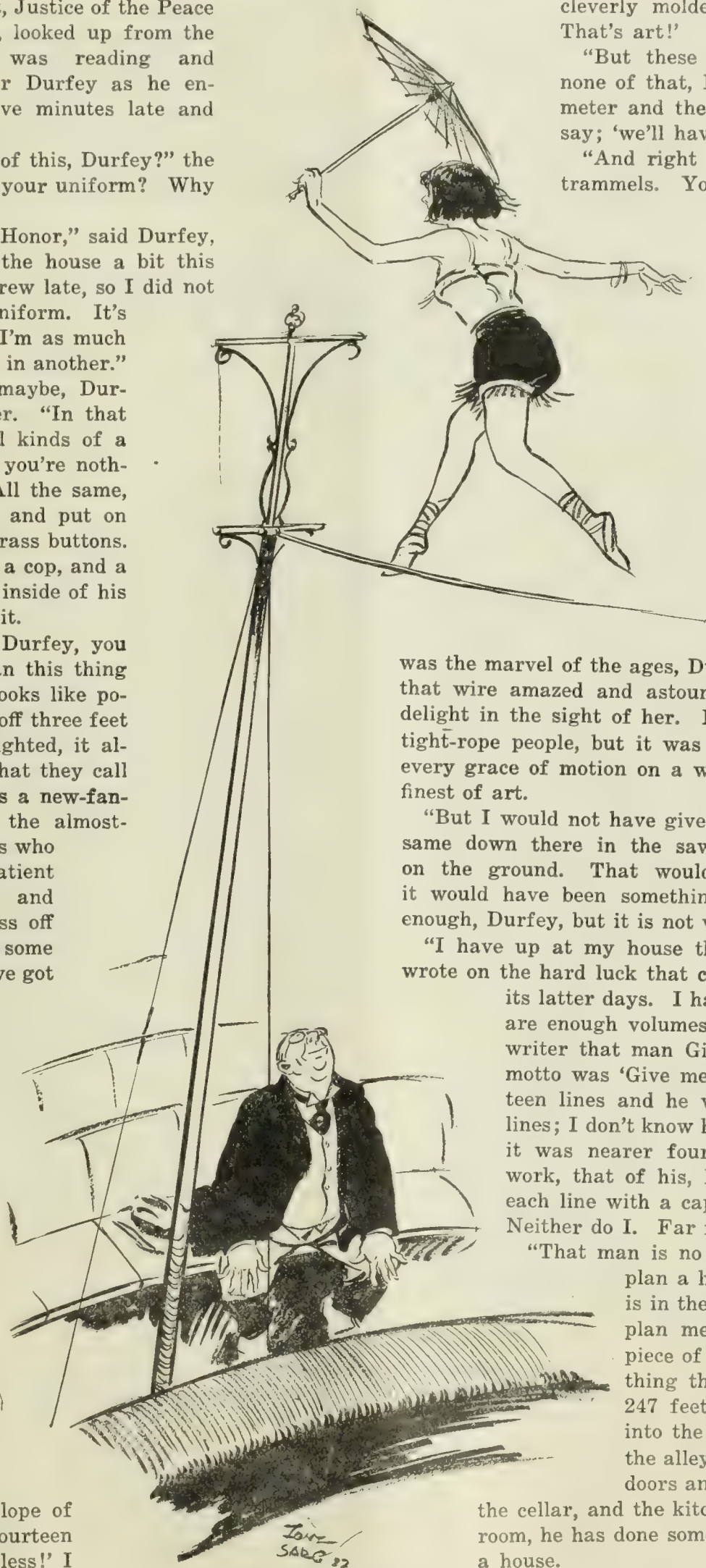
was the marvel of the ages, Durfey. The things she did on that wire amazed and astounded me. Millions have had delight in the sight of her. In my day I have seen many tight-rope people, but it was joy to see this girl combine every grace of motion on a wire. It was art, Durfey, the finest of art."

"But I would not have given two cents to see her do the same down there in the sawdust of the ring, both feet on the ground. That would have been something, but it would have been something else. Free Verse is free enough, Durfey, but it is not verse."

"I have up at my house that set of books Mr. Gibbon wrote on the hard luck that came to the Roman Empire in its latter days. I have read it, Durfey, and there are enough volumes to start a book-store. As a writer that man Gibbon was untrammelled. His motto was 'Give me room!' He wanted no fourteen lines and he wanted no fourteen thousand lines; I don't know how many he took, but I judge it was nearer fourteen million. It is a great work, that of his, Durfey, but he did not start each line with a capital letter and call it poetry. Neither do I. Far from it."

"That man is no architect, Durfey, that can't plan a house to fit what ground there is in the lot. When I call in a man to plan me a house for my 50 by 100 piece of ground and he concocts something that is 25 feet at one end and 247 feet at the other and sticks out into the street at one corner and into the alley at the other, and that has no doors and no windows, and the roof in the cellar, and the kitchen in the middle of the bedroom, he has done something, but he has not created a house."

"A poet, is an artist, Durfey, just as much as a tight-rope dancer is, or so I'll venture to say. He is an artist that knows how to use his tools and he does not try to carve out a cameo with an axe. He knows



*I saw a young woman on the tight rope
and she stole my heart away*

his trade well enough to know how to put a rhyme at one end of a line and not only how to put a capital letter at the other!

"The rules of poetry were established, Durfey, to please the ear and the eye, and he who breaks the rules is no poet. I don't think much of the carver who cuts the mutton in chunks. If I go out to the race-track I am amused by the mare that climbs the fence, leaps to the top of the grandstand, and throws somersaults into the paddock, but I don't call her a race-horse; the race-horse keeps inside the tracks and it is her record that is printed in the Annual. I have a watch in my pocket, Durfey, and every one knows it is a watch because it keeps good time and has every wheel and spring and pinion that a proper watch should have. It was

some trouble to put the wheels where they belong, but it was worth the trouble. If the man had taken a job-lot of wheels in his hand and poured them into a tin can he would have had something, I dare say, but it would not have been a watch. And it is the same with Free Verse, Durfey; it may be something, but it is not Poetry."

Court-officer Durfey was puzzled.

"You're shootin' above my head, judge," he said, "but I'll take your word for it. If that poem that ain't a poem troubles you like that Ill stick it in the stove for you."

"No, you won't!" declared the judge, rescuing the magazine as Durfey reached for it. "I want to read this to my wife; I'll swear it is no poem, but it has a whoop of a kick in it."



Not So Fast

By David Harold Colcord

SOMETIMES when one finds the opportunity to look beneath the surface of what we are pleased to call modern civilization, it doesn't seem to be stepping forward quite as fast as the speedometer indicates.

On the north shore of Houghton Lake, in northern Michigan, in the centre of what was once the great north woods, stands a landmark of pioneer days—a one-story log house. Over the door a sign reads, "Mission, You Are Welcome." What the history of that milestone of a civilization just passed is, I do not know. I only know that when I saw that mission, last week, I paused before its crude entrance, and thought of Broadway, State Street, Pennsylvania Avenue. Here was a quiet spot between the whirlpools of active life that marks the movement of the cur-

would buy—pause long enough to build that log church? They must have needed that mission!

Not so far from the mission is a log schoolhouse—another milestone. There must have been a few men up there at the outskirts of civilization who put up a hard fight to keep alive those two beacon lights of civilization. How much easier it would have been to let the beard grow, and the language of their children choke with the vulgarity of the lumber camp and the bunk-house. There were probably more thrills to be had at the "Red Pig" than at the mission. But the "Red Pig" is gone, and the mission and the school remain. There must have been an element in that primitive group of lumber-jacks, determined to nurse the little fire that they brought with them in their hearts—that their children reared in the backwoods might grow up to treasure those things which are of good report.

Why are we beginning to marvel at the courage and fortitude of our forebears? Did they bring something with them here that we have dissipated and lost?

When we think of our grandfathers driving from Ohio to the depths of the pine woods with a team of oxen, cutting a clearing to build a shelter for their families, facing a Michigan winter with little more in the larder than corn meal, dried venison, and fish, it makes us ashamed of our petty anxieties and fears for tomorrow. In the midst of ease and comfort we whine when the factory closes down for a month, taking from us the certainty of the pay envelope.

What is the trouble with us, are we getting soft? Are we getting so that we are afraid to assume the responsibilities of life?

The trouble with us, and God help our children, is that we are building for ourselves twin-sixes and overstuffed davenport instead of missions. Our automatic machines are grinding out an environment for us that is lulling to sleep those things that make men. Theoretically an order of civilization that provides leisure should have something to show in the way of philosophy, painting, poetry, music, sculpture, and statesmanship. But where are our Platos and Miltons, our Dantes and Michael Angelos? Probably at the "picture show!"

Perhaps it isn't as bad as that—but the old log mission on Houghton Lake makes one wonder if we haven't lost something on the road from there to here.



rent down stream. At one time this was the vortex of the Middle West.

The mission itself makes one stop the car and think. One might be cynical and ask why the old order that went there with sharp axes, cut the pine and cedar, and drove it down the icy waters of the Muskegon found it necessary to pause in their lust for money and the parties that money

The Canadian Elections

An Illustration of the Vitality of Institutions

By Main Johnson

INSTITUTIONS have strong recuperative powers. This is one of the lessons emphasized by the recent Canadian general elections. The Liberal party, which seemed only a short time ago to be sunk in impotence and despair, has not only revived but has triumphed, leaving far outdistanced both the Conservative and the Progressive parties. Its leader, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, well known in the United States as adviser on industrial relations to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the Rockefeller Foundation, and as the author of "Industry and Humanity," is the new Prime Minister of Canada.

It was a decade ago that the Liberal party received the first of a number of blows which eventually left it almost lifeless. In this as in subsequent instances, it was not so much external attacks as internal dissensions that threatened the party's very existence.

In 1911 the Liberal Government of Sir Wilfred Laurier, which had been in power continuously since 1896, proposed limited reciprocity with the United States under the presidency of Mr. Taft. Not only did the Conservatives, the party of protection, oppose this Liberal trade policy, but prominent Liberal manufacturers and other influential supporters of the party broke with their old associates and, in published manifestoes, declared their intention of helping to elect the Conservatives. Reciprocity and the Liberal party were defeated, and the Conservatives, under the leadership of Sir Robert Borden, came into power.

Severe as was this Liberal dissension and defeat of 1911, it would not in itself have proved critical. By 1914, however, another issue had arisen on which the party again found itself divided. This was the bilingual question.

The Provincial Government of Ontario (Conservative) had enacted through its Department of Education a regulation strictly defining and limiting the amount of French that could be taught in the schools. The Liberal opposition in the province did not oppose the Government on this measure. But Sir Wilfrid Laurier, head of the Federal Liberal party, was himself a French Canadian. He felt that his compatriots in Ontario were not being treated justly, and he was disappointed and displeased at the attitude of the Liberals in that province.

Contrary to the advice of many of his colleagues both at Ottawa and elsewhere, he favored the introduction into the Dominion Parliament of a resolution expressing the hope that Regulation 17 in Ontario would not be interpreted or enforced to the detriment of the French Canadians and the French language in Ontario. Such a resolution was indeed introduced into the House. In the subsequent debate and voting, a number of leading Liberal members voted against their chief. This open split in Parliament only reflected an even deeper breach in the rank and file of the party, which grew still more weakened and disunited.

No sooner had the language question quieted down a bit than the twin issues of conscription and coalition government came along to embarrass and break up the Liberal party still further.

Despite the admirable record under voluntary enlistment, prolongation of the war and growing seriousness of the European situation led the Government and many private citizens to decide in 1917 that conscription was necessary. To bring into effect such a policy, in a country where conscription was unknown and unpopular, it was felt that no one political party could take the responsibility, and that a national or coalition Government was imperative. In the

agitation for conscription and coalition, a number of Liberal leaders took a prominent part.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, however, was opposed to conscription. His recently published letters* show that he was opposed to it from the beginning and that he would never move an inch toward it. He says in his correspondence that he felt conscription was advocated primarily not to get more men for the army but to annoy Quebec, the French-Canadian province, which the rest of the country accused of failing to do its share in the war.

If questions of trade and language had divided the Liberal party, the war issue rent it still more. The majority of Liberal leaders outside of Quebec, including men who had served as Cabinet ministers under Sir Wilfrid, parted company with him. A coalition of Liberals and Conservatives under Sir Robert Borden was formed and a general election held in December, 1917. The old Liberal remnant, under Sir Wilfrid, was decisively defeated. The union government was given the people's mandate to rule.

In the spring of 1919 Sir Wilfrid Laurier died. Friendly personal relations between him and even the most active and determined of the Liberals who had opposed him during the war had not been broken. The sincerity of Sir Wilfrid, his high-mindedness and the subtle and noble charm of his personality were recognized, but politically the Liberal party under his later leadership had ended in a period of extreme weakness and depression.

In the summer of 1919 a Liberal convention to choose a new leader was held at Ottawa. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, a young man who had been Minister of Labor in the former Laurier administration, was elected.

Although the choice was received with favor by most Liberals in the country, the party was too weak after so many domestic quarrels to recover quickly. For some time, in fact, it seemed possible that the Liberal party was done for, and that its members would ally themselves with other groups, those with conservative tendencies joining the Conservative party, and the liberal-minded ones moving toward the new Progressive party, represented principally by the farmers of the prairies and of Ontario.

The Government, however, which had reverted from coalition to Conservative, had become unpopular with a degree of unpopularity that made its defeat at the next elections inevitable. After rumors of a fusion or at any rate a working arrangement between the Liberals and the Progressives, the actual line-up for the election showed three distinct parties: the Conservatives (Government) under the leadership of Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, the successor of Sir Robert Borden; the Progressives, under Hon. T. A. Crerar; and the Liberals under Hon. Mackenzie King.

The election was fixed for December 12, 1921. In the early stages it looked as if no group would elect enough members to enable it to form a Government by itself. There was some doubt as to whether the Liberals or the Progressives would carry the most seats and it was not considered likely at any rate that the Liberals would secure a decisive lead over their opponents. Toward the end of the campaign, however, the Liberal chances improved, owing to a number of causes, including the ability of Mackenzie King and, even more, the recrudescence of the old party spirit which militated against the newer Progressive party. When at last the vote was taken, the Liberals elected 117 members, the Progressives 66, and the Conservatives (Government) only 52.

*Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier by Prof. O. D. Skelton.

Hon. Mackenzie King was called upon to form a Government and became prime minister of Canada.

Thus the Liberal party in one decade had run the gamut from the depths of defeat to the heights of victory. The result shows that public institutions, represented in this case by political parties, have a vitality all their own, and that it is not easy to destroy them. It is an encouragement for those who believe in the conservation of institutions.

But what Canadians hope is that, although the institution of the Liberal party has revived and is now again triumphant, it does not mean simply a reversion to the era preceding 1911. If that is all the recuperation of an institution means, then in essence it means reaction. The Canadian people with their forward outlook do not want that.

In the last ten years more water has flowed under more

bridges than in any previous decade of history. If the Liberal party has not also changed, if its point of view is not that of the present and the future but of the past, it will be not only an anachronism, but a failure.

The Canadian people are watching Mackenzie King and the Liberal party more closely than they have ever before watched an Administration. It is a regard of sympathy, but it is also a regard that has within it potential criticism and potential wrath if the Liberal party should prove unequal to its task or faithless to its trust.

Mackenzie King himself is a man of the highest ability, of special training in sociology and political problems, and of fervent resolve to serve his country well. His obvious course of duty is to provide a contemporary and immediate treatment for contemporary and immediate problems.

Toronto, Canada

Germany's Democracy—Is It Secure?

By George M. Priest

THE Brandenburger Tor still marks the boundary between the Tiergarten and Unter den Linden. The Schloss still looks somewhat stolidly out over the Lustgarten. And the crowds push up and down the Linden and along Friedrichstrasse as they used to do. It is an orderly crowd that seems never to have lost its sense of decorum, or perhaps of police regulations, not even in all the days of real or fictitious revolutions and Putsch-es. Vast excitement arose on the Linden the other day because a boy drove his delivery wagon up the left-hand side of the street! One must indeed seek long before one finds any trace of the revolutionists of the last three years. How inefficient these German revolutionists appear when one thinks of the French Revolution or of the days of the Commune! A few scratches on the Schloss suggest the madness of a mob, but hardly anything else bears witness of it. The bridges and parks are still adorned, more or less, with the untouched statues of martial Hohenzollerns and their aides. Even the once proud title, "Purveyor to His Imperial Majesty," can still be read on the plate-glass windows of shops. So, too, in other parts of Berlin the surface of life seems just the same. The tides of traffic still course east and west and north and south across Potsdamerplatz. Berlin W. still houses the foreigner who comes to Berlin for a residence of more than a week or two.

And yet Berlin has entered upon a new day. The barriers have fallen, and class distinctions are no more. Berlin is no longer the creation and the favored residence of royalty, depending for its strength and display upon the Hohenzollerns. It is a city of the people. At present it is a topsy-turvy city. The first are last, and the last first. Those who formerly thronged the Opera and the Esplanade are now sitting at home, shuddering at the thought of mixing with the "rabble" and in many cases wondering where next month's necessities will come from. Others, who used to be content with the crudities of the Tingeltangel and the Bierrestaurants on side streets, are occupying chairs in the one-time Royal Box at the Opera and easing capon and fancy ices down their throats with French champagne at the Bristol.

The barriers have fallen. The transition is on from what was to what will be. Months ago it startled the foreign observer to see that the Berliner looked at his fellowmen with a leveler gaze, that he walked with a more self-conscious, more self-reliant air. He was more assertive and not as well mannered, but with his manners he had also cast aside his old servility. To Americans the Berliner seemed far more of a man. These first impressions sink deeper every day, and rightly, for all these signs of a new

manhood spring from a new spirit that is stirring the whole city. Freed from a government that was superimposed either by law or by tradition, Berlin is beginning to live and move through its own volition and its own strength. It makes now the impression of a great municipality that is lumbering and lunging along but moving forward with increasing self-consciousness and self-control. Berlin is headed in the direction of self-respecting government of and by the people.

Clouds that overhang this prospect are too obvious to be ignored. The foreigner who returns to Berlin after an absence of several years is deeply impressed by indications of a lower morality. Beside the cafés and restaurants, which seem as numerous as ever, has arisen a sublimation of the old-time *Kutscherkneipe*, which profited chiefly from the sale of schnapps. These places, now called "Likörstuben," copy American bars in almost every detail: rows and stacks of bottles and glasses in front of polished mirrors, the friendly "barkeep," even the footrail. The Berliner is apparently taking more and more to schnapps and strong drink of every kind. Along with this development goes the increase of published cases of gross immorality. It is easy, however, to exaggerate these phases of city life. Reliable statistics are entirely wanting, and Berlin is still suffering nervously and spiritually from the after-effects of the war.

A much graver danger to the orderly evolution of Berlin lies in the frequent social and political disturbances. The long succession of strikes has already checked the city seriously in its progress and robbed it of profit to the extent of many millions of marks. The strike of hotel employees, which lasted nearly six weeks in October and November, keeping away thousands of visitors and their purses, was alone sufficient to halt progress by many months. Groceries and clothing stores are raided and plundered so frequently that the newspapers do not print accounts of all the cases. The origins of these disturbances are very varied. Many arise from cupidity, many from real and blameless want, but perhaps most of all from machinations of the Communists, who scorn few means whereby they may hope to overthrow the existing Government. It is the hope of the Berliner that time and reason will overcome these individual and collective dangers: that the many obvious inequalities in the recognition and remuneration of various forms of labor will be smoothed out, that the hold on public order, which is patent in spite of recurrent disturbances, will be maintained and strengthened, and that Berlin will lead Germany to the permanent establishment of a democracy, which now is Berlin's goal.

Berlin, Germany

Music

Geraldine Farrar—The Chicago Opera Company in New York

By W. J. Henderson

THE news that Geraldine Farrar is to sever her connection with the Metropolitan Opera House and spend next season in giving concerts was made public unexpectedly and caused a considerable stir in the musical world. But those who enjoy an acquaintance with the secret workings of operatic powers were not astonished. They knew that if some one could be found to divide Miss Farrar's popularity, she would surely be invited to surrender more of her place in the glare of the footlights than she would be willing to yield.

The cleverly created sensation over Marie Jeritza, the Viennese prima donna, captured the opera-going public, as completely as it was desired to do. Miss Farrar was offered half a season's engagement for next winter. Her reply was that she would not accept any engagement at all, as she was to go on a concert tour. This is not the form in which the story appeared in the daily newspapers, but without doubt it is nearer the truth.

Miss Farrar has sung at the Metropolitan fifteen years. She never created a sensation, but she had a large following. She was a popular singer and of certain rôles, particularly in *Madama Butterfly*, she was regarded as the supreme exponent. No disparagement of Mme. Jeritza is contained in the assertion that Miss Farrar will be greatly missed by the patrons of the Metropolitan. Possibly there are some who will realize that her departure removes from the company the only important American prima donna. Miss Muzio, to be sure, was born in this country, but her Italian parentage has persuaded the Italian clientèle of the house that she belongs to the land of Caruso. Miss Farrar, too, had shown decided improvement in her singing in the current season. But in the present state of taste excellence in real art signifies very little.

THE production of Rimsky-Korsakov's opera, "*Snegourotchka*," at the Metropolitan Opera House on the evening of January 23, was an almost bewildering exhibition of the stage art of that skilful painter, Boris Anisfeld, of striking Russian costumes, and of the witchery of Lucrezia Bori's simple acting and honest singing. It was a brilliant display of theatrical craft, but there was no revelation of musical importance. The story is charming in its folk-lore character. It is another version of the ancient myth of the conquest of winter by the sun and may also be regarded as a variant of the world-known legend of the sleeping beauty. In this case the beauty is the Snow Maiden, daughter of Father Winter and Mother Spring, with her veins filled with snow. Attracted by a youth, she beseeches her mother to grant her cold heart the warmth of love, but the gift proves fatal, and she ascends to the clouds dissolved into vapor.

The incidents of the opera belong to the fancies of those adult children, the Russian country people. The stage becomes a dreamland in which fairies, birds, fauns, the strange old Czar of a province, and the troubled little Snow Maiden wander in infantile complications with the venerable tea-cup monarch vainly striving to enact the rôle of Providence. The music lover will seek in vain for any of those vocal or orchestral high lights which habitually move him to rapture. The score is wholly subservient to the action and the stage pictures. It accompanies, and that in the best sense of the word. It neither leads nor follows, but goes quietly beside the drama. It is always melodious, always pleasing, but never striking. Without doubt, study of the score will disclose much cunning craftsmanship, but an opera is not written for dissection on the

library table. It is for the stage and can claim credit only for what it achieves there. Rimsky-Korsakov's "*Snegourotchka*" is a shifting panorama of sentimental moods, delicately painted and deftly connected. It is in the final analysis charming, but one does not recall any application of this adjective to a great work of art.

THE advent of the Chicago Opera Company on January 23 was preceded by a theatrical thunder storm admirably presented. Lucien Muratore reverberated through several columns of newspaper copy, said what he thought about Mary Garden, declared he would not play in her back-yard any more, came to New York, and sang to a huge and excited audience the music of "*Samson*," made tolerably familiar by the late Mr. Caruso. About this Chicago Opera invasion something more definite may be said hereafter, but at present it is sufficient to point with more or less pride to the extraordinary excitement which seizes New Yorkers when the Windy City singers loose their blasts of tone in West Thirty-fourth Street.

The opening opera, as intimated, was Saint-Saëns's "*Samson et Dalila*," which, for some seasons, had been regarded as the private property of Mr. Caruso. Miss Garden lately introduced it into the Chicago repertory in order that new material might be furnished for the exercise of Mr. Muratore's art. The result, as shown in New York, was dramatic rather than musical. The tenor has lost some of the opulent quality, but none of the power of his voice. He sang *Samson* with immense vigor, indeed with palpable labor; but the picture which he presented to the audience was one of romantic virility and passionate energy. His *Samson* had aristocratic quality, despite the fact that vocally it lacked fine fibre. Its forced climaxes aroused fears for the elegance of his *Romeo*, but possibly the strenuousness of a first night will be succeeded by greater repose.

Marguerite d'Alvarez might be called a superb *Dalila*. It was once the custom to apply the adjective "superb" to ladies of more than noble proportions. But she showed much craft in her costumes and in her make-up. She looked well, and it was not impossible to believe in the infatuation of the Israelite Sandow. About her singing one must speak with more reserve. Her voice is a good one and easily lends itself to the sensuous accents of such a rôle as *Dalila*. But, after all, it is primarily necessary to sing in tune, even at a time when opera-goers appear to be hopelessly incapable of hearing continued false intonation. The fact that the public ignores bad art does not make it good, nor does it excuse the artist who practises it.

IN the concert field there is not much to record. Mme. Emma Calvé reappeared in a recital at Aeolian Hall on January 20, and, though she did not sing as well as she did at her previous concert, was nevertheless once more a triumphant exponent of the elder vocal art. Josef Hofmann returned to the local field with a recital on January 14, when he played in a manner that can fairly be described as magnificent. His reading of the Schumann C major fantasia, which has had to suffer much manhandling this winter, was something to be remembered. Alexander Siloti, a Liszt pupil, was heard after an absence of twenty-four years and found to play in precisely the same stormy fashion he did when here before.

Myra Hess, an English pianist, made her American début on January 17. This is a welcome visitor from Britain, an artist who plays the piano in a normal manner.

New Books and Old

Books of the Week

WILL SHAKESPEARE, by Clemence Dane. Macmillan.

A four-act play in blank verse, by the author of "A Bill of Divorcement."

ANGELS AND MINISTERS, by Laurence Housman. Harcourt.

Four plays of delicate characterization and humor in which appear great figures of Victorian England.

THE PLEASURES OF IGNORANCE, by Robert Lynd. Scribner.

A pleasant book of essays.

MODERN MEN AND MUMMERS, by Hesketh Pearson. Harcourt.

Impressions and biographical sketches of such men as Bernard Shaw, Lytton Strachey, H. G. Wells, Robert Ross, Dean Inge, Father Vaughan, and such women as Mrs. Asquith, and Miss Irene Vanbrugh.

"It was all very well and sometimes interesting, but one grew tired of the subject."

If they reach this sentence, I can see a vast body of readers jumping up and cheering themselves hoarse. "You have certainly said something!" they will cry. This stumble upon the truth is in a story in Sherwood Anderson's "The Triumph of the Egg" (Huebsch). The story itself is admirably called "Out of Nowhere into Nothing," for it takes longer in getting nowhere than anything since the famous running match of Alice and the Red Queen. All the moderns will agree that you have to run ever so much harder than that if you really want to get somewhere. And since it is not worth while to get anywhere with your story (the old fogies did that!) why not just puff and pant and stay in the same place?

For a book of modern stories there is no unusual attention paid to sex in "The Triumph of the Egg." The author's scatologic preoccupations do not yet rival Dean Swift, nor even James Joyce. Its stories are rather pointless; plot is non-existent; and the style is that of a crude translation from Russian. Mr. F. P. Adams, in one of his truthful remarks about the literary life, says that he is often asked why he does not write a novel. To this, the typical reply would be that he lacks the time. But this is untrue. The fact is, he says, that he realizes that he has nothing to say. But Mr. Adams is not one of the "moderns": he has an appreciation for the absurd and ridiculous.

A little belated, I have found the "Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche" (Doubleday) of unusual interest. The editor, Dr. Oscar Levy, has made the choice of letters from the German edition in five volumes, and he includes letters to and from such correspondents as Georg Brandes, Hans von Bülow, Strindberg, and Taine, to name only four. It is odd to read Nietzsche's letters describing his enjoyment of his year as a private in the artillery, his feeling that he was well treated, and that "we have a very nice captain." The letters show his absolute detestation of Prussian kultur; as late as 1887 he was denouncing German militarism.

Mr. Bernard Gilbert's "Old England" (London: W. Collins' Sons) is "a God's Eye View of a Village." It would never have been written unless Mr. Masters had written "Spoon River Anthology," but the acknowledgment to that work is slight and inadequate. Mr. Gilbert chronicles the thoughts of nearly two hundred inhabitants of an imaginary English village at a single moment of an afternoon during the War. Each villager, from the Lord of the Manor to the poacher, utters his thoughts in a kind of free verse. Intrigues, political rivalries and hatreds are disclosed, and the industry and in-

genuity of the author are manifest. It is oddly supplemented by a map of the village, by a "Who's Who" and even by genealogical trees of these imaginary families! It is both laborious and clever, but it is not, like "Spoon River Anthology," a work of genius.

Mr. A. P. Herbert, the author of "Little Rays of Moonshine" (Knopf), is on the staff of *Punch*. Believing as I do that *Punch* is, except for *Life* (and not always excepting that), the best humorous periodical in the world, it seems hard to believe that any of the sketches in this book were up to the *Punch* standard. One hears, on many sides, that Mr. Herbert is a humorous writer. Well, he seems about as funny as the late Sir Francis Burdand—I will go as far as that.

The hungry boarder is often given a stingy portion of the pie; life, in general, rewards us all with small helpings from time to time. But perhaps the most pitiful fraction of a short story ever offered in a magazine is the tiny bit of a new Sherlock Holmes adventure which is doled out as the first instalment in the current number of a certain monthly. After this I shall read about him in the *Strand* or not at all. And, in a way, it serves me right for deserting my principles and buying a copy of *Hearst's Magazine*.

A new, revised, and enlarged edition is published of Marguerite Wilkinson's "New Voices" (Macmillan). As an introduction to contemporary poetry there could hardly be a better book, as it consists mainly of examples of the works of living poets, especially the "moderns," with some biographical information, and discussions of the various schools, themes, and elements of their poetry.

It will hardly be selected for amusing reading, yet there is more entertainment in Dr. Arthur J. Cramp's "Nostrums and Quackery" (American Medical Association) than in many books written especially to beguile and delight. These are articles on "the Nostrum Evil, Quackery, and Allied Matters," reprinted from the "Journal of the American Medical Association." It is Volume II; the other one appeared in 1911. Many of the articles are reprinted from the *Chicago Tribune*. Discussing, not without humor, and with admirable courage and frankness, all kinds of quack cures, cosmetic nostrums, deafness cures, cures for drug and other habits, obesity cures, fake medical institutes, the book is a contribution to knowledge which should be widely circulated, a laughable commentary on fraud, and a sad exposition of human gullibility.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

AT least one copy of Messrs. G. J. Nathan and H. L. Mencken's "The American Credo" (Knopf) reposes (or belongs, and sometimes reposes) among a weighty collection of books upon the manners and customs of the Americans. It is often mistakenly classed as humorous; "Huckleberry Finn" and Mr. Dooley are sometimes so dismissed. The book has just appeared in a revised and enlarged edition; there are now 869 articles in the Credo. These popular beliefs of all good Americans have been somewhat weakened, in the new edition, by the addition of *superstitions*, which are out of place. Number 188, for example, is quite at home: "That San Francisco is a very gay place, and full of opium joints." I am sure that is an article of faith with all Americans who, like myself, have never been in San Francisco. But Number 372 is: "That if one holds a buttercup under a person's chin and a yellow light is reflected upon that person's chin, it is a sign that he likes butter." This is mere childish folk-lore. I discarded my belief in it at the age of twelve; but unless, sometime, I go to San Francisco, I shall cling to the other till I die. Number 15 is: "That something mysterious goes on in the rooms back of chop suey restaurants." I am sure of it. Number 26: "That all theatre box office employees are very impolite and hate to sell a prospective patron a ticket." Have the authors of the Credo any evidence to the contrary? Number 174: "That tarantulas often come from the tropics in bunches of bananas, and that when one of them stings a negro on the wharf he swells up, turns green and dies within three hours." Sometimes he turns blue; with that amendment I accept it verbatim.

"It was his time to be heard. 'Sex,' he cried. 'It is by understanding sex I will untangle the mystery.'"

Book Reviews

American Statesmen

THE GREATEST AMERICAN, ALEXANDER HAMILTON. By Arthur Kendrick Vanderberg. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

THE LIFE OF JAMES MONROE. By George Morgan. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$4.

MONROE was born not quite sixteen months after Hamilton. Each of them won high place while still young. Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury at thirty-two, the age at which Monroe entered the Senate. The brilliant West Indian, however, reached the maturity of his powers a quarter of a century before the less exceptionally endowed son of the Northern Neck. Hamilton's great work was between 1787 and 1795—from his thirty-first to his thirty-ninth year. Monroe's claim to remembrance rests upon his services in the Presidency (which he did not reach until he was almost fifty-nine) rather than upon his earlier successes, offset as they were by some conspicuous failures.

Mr. Vanderberg set out to prove Hamilton the greatest American. He gives the result of an inquiry he made of divers and sundry of the wise and learned. For the most part, they told him there was no agreement as to the relative importance of the various elements making up greatness, and no common yard-stick by which it might be measured. Most of them, nevertheless, were obliging enough to name someone whom they were willing to call "greatest." Chronologically, those so honored ranged from Franklin to Edison. Henry Ford was apparently overlooked. The overwhelming majority gave their voice either for Washington or for Lincoln. The author regretfully admits the difficulty of arriving at a definite agreement, but comforts himself with the reflection that the controversy which he hopes he has started will stimulate the study of American history. A similar cultural purpose has led debating societies to try to find out whether Columbus or Shakespeare did most for mankind.

Hamilton, in his combination of precocious brilliancy, daring initiative, almost uncanny youthful maturity and balance of judgment, cool and clear-headed statesmanship, insight into the essentials, capacity to forecast the practical workings of political institutions, and almost intuitive grasp of financial and economic problems, has perhaps never been equalled. Without him our history would have been different and far less happy. Great he was! None may gainsay it! There most of us are willing to stop. Not so Mr. Vanderberg. Through some hundreds of pages of his attractively printed volume, he sings the praises of his hero in such sentences as: "But when all is said and done, it was the

variegated genius of the 'Little Lion,' 'Alexander the Great' he was called by his jealous enemies, equal always to any emergency, which made the primal contribution to the pilotage which swept the ship of state beyond the threatening shoals." Obviously, he has not paid Hamilton's style the flattery of imitation.

Mr. Morgan's book is easier reading. He has not a genius to depict, and he does not exhaust the possibilities of rhetoric. He has given us an interesting and well written account of one who, from his eighteenth year, was, with brief intervals, in the service of either his State or his country; the only man, save Washington, to be reelected without opposition to the Presidency; the man who accepted the responsibility of proclaiming a doctrine which, after the lapse of a century, still dominates our foreign policy. There is occasion for a life of Monroe, since that contributed by President Gilman to the American Statesmen Series is very brief.

So far as may be judged by one who is not a specialist in the history of the period, Mr. Morgan is usually accurate in his statements of fact, although he has not been able to escape altogether unscathed from the mischievous elf who pushes our pens awrong. He tells us, for example, that Luther Martin presided over the trial of Callender for sedition. Martin was not on the bench at all. Callender was tried before Chase, whose conduct on that occasion was made the basis of five of the eight articles of impeachment subsequently exhibited against him.

Our author is the better qualified to write understandingly of Monroe, in that he shares the convictions and sympathizes with the prejudices of his hero. He tells us that the vital struggle of the political school in which Monroe was so prominent "was in behalf of American democratic government as against the autocratic rule of the few." Monroe thought so, for as late as 1816, at the threshold of the "Era of Good Feeling," he wrote that some of the leaders of the Federal party entertained principles unfriendly to our system of government, and meant to work a change in it. Doubtless there were among his opponents some who believed that democracy could not be made to work. After the manner of their day, they gave free expression to their views and although there was up to that time little in the history of the world to demonstrate that they were wrong, politically they paid dearly for their lack of faith in the wisdom of the people.

A century and more has since gone by, and we can now see that there was grave chance that democratic rule might have become impossible here. Had we failed to set up a strong government, we might well have drifted into armed conflicts among the States, and then the men on horseback might have had their day. The adoption of the Constitution, and the organization by Washington and Hamilton of an ef-

ficient administrative machine put that danger in its first form behind us. The necessity of much the Federalists did was not manifest to the majority of their countrymen, and was a cause of irritation to many. Had Adams been reelected in 1800 some of the Republican States might conceivably have seceded, and if they had, anything might have happened. But as it was, before the Federalists went out Marshall became Chief Justice, and the defeat which put his party out of power was the one thing needed to make certain the ultimate and complete triumph of the ends which it had been organized to secure. From that standpoint, it is true that Jefferson's election ensured the preservation of our democratic institutions; but is it possible to believe that any attempt to set up kings or nobles would ever have been made by the Federalists, a party powerless to do anything without the support of the town meetings of New England?

JOHN C. ROSE

Two Important French Books

MARIA CHAPDELAIN. By Louis Hémon. BATOUALA. By René Maran.

A MASTERPIECE, already recognized, of the French language and literature, like Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's "Paul et Virginie," concerning our nearest neighbors whom we know the least—that is "Maria Chapdelaine." It has been translated and it seems to be taken for granted that, because it reveals French Canada, it must be a Canadian French book. From the double view of literature and life, which ought to go together, this confusion is a misfortune to Americans who need better acquaintance of both French and Canadians.

The French critics and reading public are not prodigal in bestowing their highest recognition on any book. For "Maria Chapdelaine" they are practically unanimous, though the story conforms little to foreign ideals of French novels. Without press agencies, with its publishers unready to supply the spontaneous demand, its sale in six months has surpassed that of Zola's prime sensations. Like French soldiers in the fighting before Verdun, French readers must be different from all the world's opinion of them. For it is not a special world that has been reading and praising the unexpected masterpiece.

At the political extremes of the Goncourt Academy, radical Lucien Descaves cries, "Here is a book all of beauty," and reactionary Léon Daudet counters, "Two hundred pages have given their author immortality." Among the conservative Immortals of the French Academy, René Bazin hails it as "a poem rather than a novel, the *chanson de geste* of New France, and the man who wrote it was marked with the divine seal," to which Henry Bordeaux adds, "This little book renews the miracle of Mireille." Jean de Pierre-

feu, the severe critic of the venerable *Journal des Débats*, which has so long been the ante-room of the Academy, pronounces: "The work is worthy of our classic period, or rather it takes us back to the golden age of antique literature." Edmond Jaloux, who heads an accepted modern movement, sums up: "It is a book of classic beauty and the word *chef d'œuvre* which has been applied to it is for once not out of place."

The surprising fate of the book is itself an instruction in many things that matter now. A long, long way from his native France, in whose letters he had been nourished, young Louis Hémon found time to write the story of his surroundings beyond the stern cliffs of the Saguenay River and Chicoutimi and Lac Saint-Jean, where French Canadians unnoticed by English and Americans are hewing out a new northern outland for themselves. He sent his manuscript to the serious *Le Temps*, which printed it eagerly as a *feuilleton*. The unknown author had meanwhile pushed on to the Far West, where he lost his life in a backwoods railway accident. In Paris, Daniel Halévy, around whom young writers have been gathering, published a limited edition of the little book in his *Cahiers Verts*—and this was soon out of print. Then an enterprising Paris publisher seized on it and in a half year more copies have been sold than three seasons can sell of best advertised novels about supposedly Parisian women.

Yet the book is a love story from end to beginning. The only passage that has been suspected of wilful literature is a few lines calling up the voices of Quebec, the home for so long of Maria and those who went before her. Not the hero whom "the blizzard caught in the burnt woods—he lost his way"—but the humble and faithful comrade expresses it in his simple prose: "That boy from the States comes and tells you fine things but don't let yourself be caught. You will be better staying here, Maria, among folks like yourself." No wonder a Canadian priest is touched to say: "Louis Hémon has revealed to us wonders that we have had before our eyes three hundred years without knowing how to see them."

"Batouala" is the Goncourt Prize book of the year and it uses the freedom encouraged by that Academy to utter the inexpressible beyond any conventional possibility of translation in a language like good American. It is noteworthy because it is the literary product, very creditable as mere literature, of a descendant of some hundreds of years of Martinique negroes. In time, in education, perhaps in evolved race, except for undying sympathies, he is not simply a negro writing of other negroes. He is a merciless critic of European Colonial officials (of whom he is himself really one), but equally of the Darkest African native. For this reason, he and his book have been much mistaken—but if read with

an emulsion of Sir Harry Johnston's opinions of British and French influences over African peoples, the mistake turned by those we know against all France will stand corrected and rebuked.

STODDARD DEWEY

Paris, France

Wildness to Pattern

THE RIDER OF THE GOLDEN BAR. By William Patterson White. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THE HIDDEN PLACES. By Bertrand W. Sinclair. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

OUT of every hundred American novel-readers, it is safe to guess that twenty-five read nothing but wild-western stories and another twenty-five nothing but pollyannism. Male and female created He the common-schooled, with various tastes for syrup and red liquor. It would be interesting to know how far the Bill Harts and Mary Pickfords of the screen have affected the market of their prototypes in print. Not disastrously, we may judge, from the continued production of glad and wild fiction by people who do not write or publish altogether for their health. A few years ago, when I was following somewhat closely, for a special purpose, the trend of the novel market (I believe "public taste" was the editorial phrase), one thing I could be sure of, month by month, and year by year: However the demand might vary for other kinds of fiction, the demand for the wild-western article never slackened or changed. Nor did the article itself change. Why should it, since the same old thing was good enough to sell? Facts had nothing to do with this fiction. Many years ago Owen Wister said that the cowboy was dead, and offered "The Virginian" as a kind of monument to the dead one. Perhaps he was right. In view of the conflicting testimony it is hard to know whether the plainsman is really as extinct as the forty-niner. But it doesn't matter. The boylike (we need not say puerile) constituency of the wild-western yarn, wants its nonsense not somebody else's probabilities. It wants the cowboy, and the hold-up, and the bad man, and the rustler, and the gun-play; and the rough-and-tumble, bluggy, eye-gouging scrap; and the nothing if not humorous dialogue; and one lovely cowmaid for prize. It gets them. It gets them all in "The Rider of the Golden Bar," and I can think of nothing more to say about that book. A good machine-made article.

There are market and formula also for the romance of the Canadian Northwest. America of the Dominion is not and never will be America of the States. "The Hidden Places" is an excellent example of the British colonial out-of-doors romance, as "The Rider of the Golden Bar" is of our popular yarn about horse-play and gun-play in the cow country. It is very much in the field and even the manner of that most productive among romancers of the Canadian "bush," Harold Bindloss. It

is more than decently "written," as to style and structure; and its people, if they belong to familiar types, are not mere counters in the game of the storyteller. It is plain that he has the honest intention to tell a story worth telling, and not simply to fill out a formula according to the known tastes of the swallowing public. The tale has two more or less distinct aspects. It is a tale of the logging country, of its beauty, its riches, and the secret wiles or open warfare of those natural rivals for its favor, the villain and the hero. And it is a tale of after-war conditions, or an after-war situation.

Bob Hollister is an Eastern Canadian whose father has had interests in the timber country of British Columbia. As a grown boy young Hollister has spent some time in the lumber camps. After graduation from his Canadian university and the death of his father, he marries for love and takes up with vigor the somewhat scattered threads of his father's business. Then comes the war. Hollister leaves his young wife in London. During his long absences at the front, solitude and idleness are too much for her; and she has told him that she "loves another," before he is reported dead. But he is only wounded and in the hands of the enemy. He returns to life, after the armistice, to find his wife and his little fortune vanished from England; she has married the other man. Hollister's face has been plowed by a shell-fragment, and he is hideously disfigured, so that everybody shrinks from sight of him. Otherwise he is sound and in his prime of vigor and desire for life. A timber tract in British Columbia remains to him, by chance. Thither he goes to find ease from the eyes of men, and more particularly of women. There, or thereabouts, he finds a blind maiden of beauty and character to be his mate. There also, by a favorable disposition of chances (from the story-teller's point of view), he finds his former wife and her second more-or-less husband. The ensuing drama is worked out as plausibly as need be. Its most doubtful point is its leading us deliberately up to the crucial moment when Hollister's more-or-less wife (the second one) is to face the test of her love for him at the moment of restored vision—and then begging the question (romantically considered) by leaving her still three-quarters blind. However, one may as well call it a touch of realism—the acknowledgment that even her devotion might not have been proof against the devastating transformation of a tangible lover into a visible monster. . . . In the figure of Myra, the first wife, the writer has tried to interpret, not very happily for this sort of novel, a "modern" woman, with a mind beyond conventions and a soul above shame. Or for "modern" read "primitive."

H. W. BOYNTON

As You Like It

THE WORLD IN REVOLT. A Psychological Study of Our Times. By Gustave Le Bon. Translated by Bernard Miall. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THIS is a curious and in some respects an amusing book. The world is in revolt, and we must turn to psychology, particularly that brand of the science stamped with the name of Gustave Le Bon, to learn why. Psychology can explain pretty much everything (p. 10); indeed, "the majority of political, military, economic, or social questions" belong to it, and nowhere else shall we find solutions for our difficulties.

It may be so. But he who searches this volume for the light of evidence will, it is to be feared, find only increasing darkness. There is plenty of positive and pragmatic assertion; there are repeated enunciations of "fundamental psychological law." But the trouble is that hardly an utterance is made anywhere that is not elsewhere directly or impliedly contradicted. Surely of all men who scorn, repudiate, and defy the hobgoblin of logical consistency, Dr. Le Bon ranks first.

We have, it appears, two sides to our being. One side, stable and fundamental (pp. 21-23), is composed of elements "engendered by atavistic influences" which "constitute our moral equipment. These elements are fixed." On the other side we have "the movable elements, which can be modified by environment, belief, and education, and which serve to form the slightly artificial mind of everyday life." Under ordinary circumstances this subconscious, artificial mind "constitutes our real guide" (p. 23), while under exceptional circumstances the other takes the reins. Still, it is the atavistic influences that count for most. "The motive forces of national life" (p. 10), "apart from biological needs, are to be found in the national conceptions of things. Now these conceptions are derived from passions and feelings which have always been the great motive forces of humanity from the very beginnings of history." And again (p. 24): "The invariable characteristics inherited from our ancestors constitute the collective soul of a people."

On the score of clarity this leaves much to be desired. But one may at least accept it as a starting point. On the one hand we have something in the nature of an inviolable Weismannian germ-plasm, persistent and immortal (that is, the collective soul of a people), and, on the other, a body-plasm, susceptible of variation (that is, the subconscious, artificial collective mind). One does not get far, however, before finding that this immutable part of us is about as susceptible and mutable as anything in the universe. Under the Hohenzollerns the German soul was greatly altered, if not wholly transformed (pp. 11, 28); and by the time we reach page 35 we learn that "the war has exerted a powerful influence" not merely on our intelligence (we



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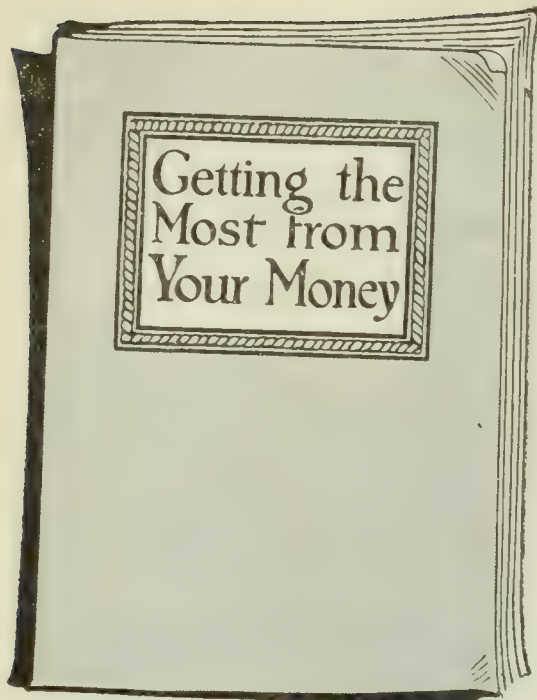
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Are You Old At Forty?

"What's up, Hig? You look all in." "I know it, Dick, and I feel all in, too. I don't get my rest. Have to get up six to eight times a night, and I have pain most of the time. I'm blue and depressed, irritable, and my back aches."

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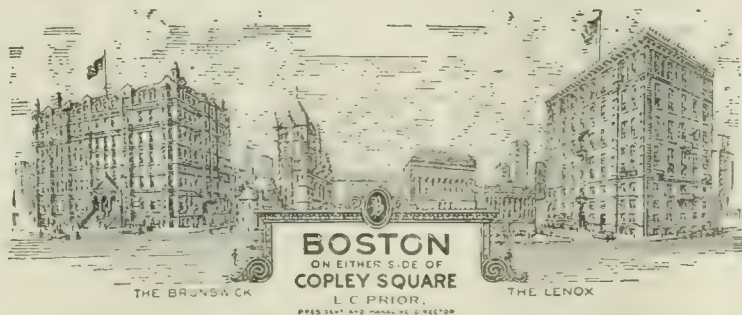
THE ELIZABETH TOWNE CO., Inc., Dept. O-76, Holyoke, Mass.

might have expected that), but on our character and morality. And when we reach page 39 we find that "the moral equipment," which on page 23 was "fixed," "has been more or less shattered everywhere."

Are thought, reason, reflection, of any importance in the human drama? Yes and no. You can have it either way. Neither reason nor experience has any effect upon faith (p. 16). Reason is as a rule too weak (p. 24) to dominate the other influences that prompt mankind; and history clearly shows us "the impotence of reason in great emergencies." In lesser emergencies it paralyzes. "If we had to reflect and reason before each of our actions, life would be a tissue of uncertainties and hesitations." There is much more to the same effect. And yet (p. 17), "Never was reflection so necessary as today. . . Of what value is action without thought for a guide? Reflection leads to foresight and foresight to the avoidance of catastrophes." On the following page we learn that "thought is the most vital element in the history of a people" and that it even alters the unalterable, since it "slowly shapes the national soul." Furthermore, "thought must now be our guide to conduct," and in the task before us "the collaboration of the scientists and the thinkers will be not one of the least important factors."

Yet it was not thought which caused the victory of France over Germany; it was the fact that "the moral forces which sustained our armies have never failed" (p. 31). One would suppose that American, British, Italian, Belgian, and Serbian arms had something to do with the matter, but the point need not be pressed. On the following page we learn that "the German defeat was not due to moral causes only. Strategic causes also played their part in it, with insufficiency of reserves and imprudent manœuvres; there were also biological causes: lassitude due to losses and privations; and lastly affective causes: the feeling of impotence in respect of an enemy whose forces were constantly increasing, etc." On page 65 we are told that it was by "an accumulation of psychological blunders that the Germans roused so many nations against them," and on any other page where the subject is mentioned the cause is as likely to be one thing as another.

Then there is Bolshevism. On page 150 and following we learn that the cause of the Bolshevik revolution is to be found in the character of the Russian people. The Russian mentality has no ancestral framework and therefore no stableness; its convictions are fugitive and impulsive. The Russian character is venal; "from the peasant to the minister the Russian is easily bought." Russia, in short, "has a primitive mentality and is unfit to rule herself." Over such a mentality the Bolshevik promises won an easy triumph. But when we get to page 173 we find that "the development in Russia of revolutionary ideals demanding



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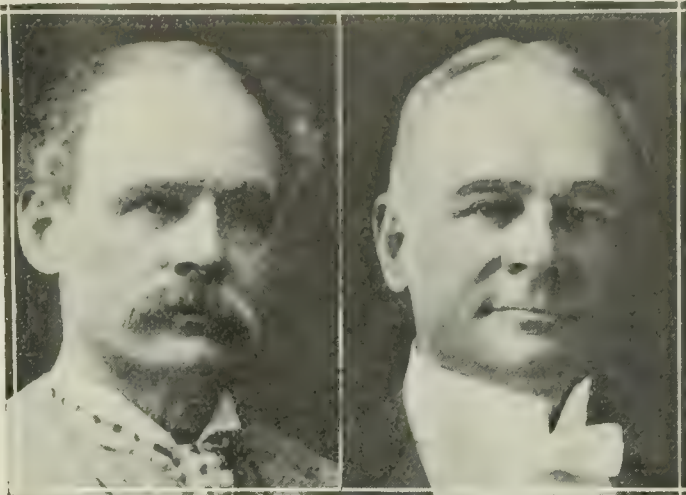
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the dictatorship of the proletariat is above all due to the propaganda undertaken by Germany" (italics ours). And, as though this were not enough, we are further told that Germany, which has previously been declared to have a very different mentality from Russia, and which, under the Hohenzollerns, "gained the qualities of order, vigilant application, patience, attention to detail and discipline" (p. 28), "herself fell a victim" to the Bolshevik blight. "These new forces" (p. 173) "swept away, as though they had been dead leaves, the gods, the dynasties, the institutions, and even the philosophy of the most powerful empire that the world has known." No one can reduce to a semblance of order so contradictory a mass of questionable statements.

There is no section of the book, hardly even a page, which does not riot in these contradictory assertions. And thus, as to most things, there is no telling what the author is about and what he means. That he has a very poor opinion of Bolshevism in its native habitat, and of its sentimental defenders in other lands, is evident; and for this he is to be warmly commended. That he is also strongly averse to Germans, pacifists, Socialists, and state interventionists in industry is not to be doubted. But as to the host of other subjects treated in his book something more than a translation is needed, and that is an exposition. Even on the matter whereon one might have expected a consistent attitude throughout—the claim of supremacy for modern psychology as interpreter, guide, and revealer—there is, toward the end, a falling away which amounts almost to a repudiation of the claim. From the earlier pages one would suppose that psychology took most, if not all, things for its province. By the time pp. 192-93 are reached it can prophesy, and the following "law" is enunciated: "While impossible in respect of individual events, forecasts are often readily made in respect of collective events." But on page 196 the claim, at least for present times, is virtually abandoned. "The future," we are told, "is wrapped in darkness, in which no more than a faint glimmer may be perceived." There is much in the book to interest one, much indeed to stimulate and provoke speculation, and something here and there to amuse. But it is remote from science. It is impressionism applied to problems that demand the most disciplined and systematic thought.

Miss Toksvig, who is a Dane, has selected and edited, and in some instances translated the versions of Andersen's tales given in "Fairy Tales and Stories by Hans Christian Andersen" (Macmillan) in order to keep as much as possible of their native simplicity. The best of the stories are chosen. Eric Pape has decorated and illustrated the book, which for general beauty and good taste is one of the most satisfactory children's books of the year.

W. J. GHENT



Sanford Bennett at 50

Sanford Bennett at 72

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His nervous system was wrecked. He passed sleepless nights. His mental faculties were becoming dulled. Recourse to doctors, drugs and medicines only brought temporary relief, leaving him worse off than before. He felt that he had passed the peak of his usefulness—he was rapidly going down hill. Then something happened.

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Note the fact that these exercises were taken "before arising." Sounds strange, improbable—"a bit thick," as our English brothers would say. Nevertheless, this statement can be taken without a single, solitary grain of salt. How he accomplished a seeming miracle through these elementary exercises is told by Mr. Bennett in his book,

Old Age—

Its Cause and Prevention

The most convincing proof of the wonderful results from adopting Mr. Bennett's system is his own experience. At fifty broken down, discouraged—ready for the scrap heap. At seventy-two a hale, hearty and robust man of athletic appearance and abounding health.

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For Young and Old

There isn't a man or woman, young or old, who will not be vastly benefited by reading and studying this work. You may not be as old as was Mr. Bennett when he made his great discovery—or you may be older—it makes no difference. By using the knowledge and following out the simple instructions in this volume, you pave the way to perfect health and the rejuvenation of your physical and mental forces.

Bear in mind that this is a practical work, written by a practical man. Anyone can understand it. Mr. Bennett prefers words of one syllable—and uses them to advantage. It is not filled with abstruse theories, medical terms and other matter to bewilder the reader. Just straight-from-the-shoulder

facts from a man who has passed through an amazing experience.

What Mr. Bennett Tells

As a faint indication of the wide scope of this work and its practical nature, here are a few of the chapter headings:

—The Will in Exercising—The Fasting Cure—Dyspepsia—The Liver—How I Strengthened My Eyes—The Secret of Good Digestion—Varicose Veins in the Legs; The Cause and Cure—The Duration of Human Life—The Hair—Reduction of an Obese Abdomen—Making Old Folks Young—The Skin—The Lines of Age—Thirty Exercises (Illustrated) — Concerning Various Methods Proposed to Defer Old Age—Exercising in Bed—Man's First Physical Culture System.

No ordinary printed description of this book can do it full justice. It contains nearly 400 pages; there are 70 remarkable illustrations and charts, made under the personal supervision of Mr. Bennett. By studying the text and these illustrations taken from life, any man or woman should get more real, lasting benefit than from any of the so-called "Courses of Instruction" costing \$25 or more. And just think of it! The price of "OLD AGE—ITS CAUSE AND PREVENTION" is only \$3.

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Hair and Its Preservation, R. W. Muller, M. D.	\$1.69
Loss of Hair, R. W. Muller, M. D.	\$1.69
The Care of the Skin and Hair, W. A. Pusey, M. D.	\$1.24

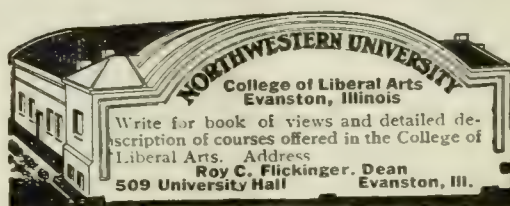
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Random Book Notes

Fishing in the old-fashioned way, as boys do it, is the subject of "Fishing with a Boy" (Stewart Kidd) by Leonard Hulit, associate editor of *Forest and Stream*. It is not a sequel to Bliss Perry's essay, "Fishing with a Worm."

"Lincoln and Prohibition" (Abingdon Press) by Charles T. White is an argument for the theory that Lincoln would have favored prohibition.

The lands visited in Sydney Greenbie's "The Pacific Triangle" (Century) are Hawaii, Samoa, Fiji, Japan, Australia, China, and New Zealand.

Alpheus Henry Snow is the author of "The Question of Aborigines" (Putnam), a study of the law and practice of nations in dealing with aborigines.

A biography of Lord Rhondda, English minister of food in the war, has been written by his daughter and others, and published as "D. A. Thomas, Viscount Rhondda," (Longmans, Green).

The drama, by Jerome K. Jerome, "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" (Dodd, Mead) is now available in first-rate form as a book.

Alice Brown's "Louise Imogen Guiney" (Macmillan) is an exquisite biographical essay upon the well-beloved American poet who died in England in 1920.

A religious movement which interests many in this country is described in "Bahai; the Spirit of the Age" (Brentano) by Horace Holley.

The secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation of England, Robert Williams, writes a brief volume on the international labor situation, entitled "The New Labor Outlook" (Seltzer).

"The Social Interpretation of History" (Sotery Publishing Co.) by Maurice William, is "a refutation of the Marxian economic interpretation of history."

"Modern French Legal Philosophy" (Macmillan) is a translation of the writings on this subject of MM. A. Fouillée, J. Charmont, L. Duguit, and R. Demogue.

The former chief of the music division of the Library of Congress, Oscar G. Sonneck, has collected a number of essays on his specialty in "Miscellaneous Studies in the History of Music" (Macmillan).

A second series of "Poems" (Doran), by J. C. Squire, contains the long poem "Birds" as well as other verses. Mr. Squire is editor of the London *Mercury*.

"Adventures in Swaziland" (Century), by Owen Rowe O'Neil, is the narrative of a Boer, who after being brought up near Swaziland, educated at Edinburgh and Harvard, was made a warrior of the Queen of the Swazis. Much of the book recalls "Al-

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lan Quatermain." The adventures are of great interest; it is not a "travel" book, but the narrative of a man who has lived a great part of his life with a savage African tribe.

A book on Naples which could be used as a guide is André Maurel's "Fortnight in Naples" (Putnam).

Morris Jastrow gives in "The Song of Songs" (Lippincott) a new translation of that collection of love lyrics of Palestine, with a long introducing essay, and extensive notes upon the text.

A collection of legends and stories about Russia is offered in "Romance of Russia, from Rurik to Bolshevik" (Putnam) by Elizabeth W. Champney and Frère Champney.

There are many garden books, but William E. Smythe's "City Homes on Country Lanes" (Macmillan) discusses not only "garden-sass," but hens, rabbits, squabs, bees, goats, mushrooms, and many other practical topics.

Remarkable Remarks

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ROY K. MOULTON—I believe everything a scientist writes.

DR. FRANK CRANE—Americans have to let it alone or get drunk.

PRESIDENT LOWELL OF HARVARD—Universities, if successful, must be beggars.

TY COBB—Nothing improves a baseball player like a change from one club to another.

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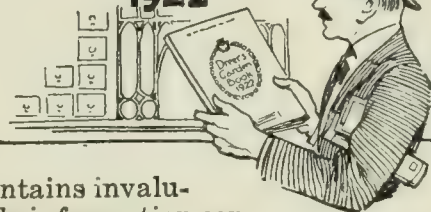
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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. Long Days.

1. Tell what pictures an artist might make to illustrate the poem.
2. Explain the last two lines.
3. To what types of workers does the poem refer?
4. What attitude toward life does the writer think most praiseworthy?
5. Explain the various figures of speech on which the poem is based.
6. What is the writer's belief concerning failure?

II. Lem Hooper on Free Verse.

1. Explain the difference between Free Verse and ordinary verse.
2. Why does Mr. Butler speak of Court-officer Durfey's uniform?
3. Explain the satire contained in the expression, "Too tired or too impatient to bother with rhyme and meter."
4. Explain in detail the characteristics of a sonnet.
5. Explain in full the reference to Gibbon's "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."
6. What relation is there between the work of an architect and the work of a poet? Explain the satire in the paragraph concerning architects.
7. In what sense is a poet the maker of a cameo?
8. Explain the comparison of the making of a watch and the making of a poem.
9. Why does Mr. Butler use such familiar illustrations?
10. Does the last paragraph of the article contradict what precedes?
11. What makes the last paragraph excellent as a concluding paragraph?

III. History Teaches.

1. Give a clear talk in which you explain the theory that is emphasized in the series of pictures.
2. Write a composition in which you point out the contrasts between Mr. van Loon's pictures and the pictures that are printed in many daily papers.

IV. James Bryce.

1. Make a list of Mr. Bryce's praiseworthy characteristics. Arrange the topics in suitable order; then give a talk on Mr. Bryce and his work.
2. Explain how Professor Giddings accounts for Mr. Bryce's ability.
3. Explain in full the criticism that is implied in the last paragraph.

V. When the Pope Dies.

1. Consider the article as an example of exposition. Make an outline that will show the writer's plan.
2. Point out the various expressions that aid in making the article coherent.
3. Write a description based on one of the pictures that accompany the article. Make use of words that have suggesti power.

VI. Not So Fast.

1. The article is about the length of an ordinary school composition. Consider it as a model. What does it illustrate concerning the following? (a) The finding of a subject; (b) The development of thought; (c) Making an introduction; (d) Making a conclusion; (e) Paragraphing; (f) Use of familiar expressions.
2. Point out the contrast indicated between the pioneers and the people of today.
3. Explain what sorts of work modern Platos, Miltons, Dantes, and Michael Angelos could accomplish.

VII. New Books and Old. Book Reviews.

1. Draw up a plan for the principal events in a play based on the life of Shakespeare.
2. Explain the criticism: "Its stories are pointless; plot is non-existent; and the style is crude."
3. What makes "As You Like It" an appropriate title for the article that follows? Why did Shakespeare call his play "As You Like It"?
4. Explain the criticism of modern readers in the first sentence of "Wildne to Patern."
5. Write a section of the outlined story of Bob Hollister.

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. When the Pope Dies, A Pontificate Beset with Trials, Death of the Pope.

1. Try to picture in your mind the election of a Pope as it would appear if you saw it on the screen.
2. What are the considerations that are said to be prominent in the present election?
3. Make a list of the Popes who have been considered greatest and explain the basis of their fame.
4. Compare the position of a Pope today with that of Gregory VII. Account for the difference.
5. Show why the French Revolution was a "trying period of the Church's history." Describe the relations of the Papacy and the present French Republic and show how the war affected those relations.
6. Describe the relations of Bismarck and the Catholic Church.
7. Sketch the relations of the Papacy with the modern Italian Government.
8. Why is it said that Benedict XV "acquitted himself with dignity and discretion" during the war?
9. Describe "the loss of temporal power" by the Papacy and explain why "the Church has gained in spiritual strength."

II. The British Empire—James Bryce, America Shares in Britain's Loss, The End of the Legislative Union, Lord Northcliffe on India, The Canadian Elections.

1. On what does the reputation of Bryce as "a man of affairs," a "traveler," and "a writer" rest?
2. Describe Bryce's relations with America. Why is Bryce's "American Commonwealth" considered the best book on the American Government?
3. Why is James Bryce considered a type of Anglo-American gentleman worthy of imitation by American youth?
4. Show how a sense of realities is emerging in Ireland. What difficulties have been overcome and what difficulties still persist?
5. Look up the acts of the British Government in relation to the Sultan which have aroused the Indian Moslems. Do you think that, therefore, "the recent British policy with reference to Turkey and the Sultan" should be reversed?
6. Explain what this shows about the parties of Canada and their principles.

III. The Farmer's Troubles, The National Agricultural Conference.

1. Why have the prices of agricultural products "fallen far more rapidly than general prices, far more rapidly than wages"?
2. Explain why the farmer has not followed the trend of manufacturing, transportation and commerce toward consolidation. Show how this has affected him adversely.
3. Compare the farmer's methods of financing his business with those used by the manufacturer and the merchant. Account for the difference.
4. Show how the listed subjects "which clamor for discussion by the conference" are related to the prosperity of the farmer.
5. Explain President Harding's proposals for helping the farmer and their limitations.

IV. The Washington Conference, A Pan-American Conference.

1. Summarize the latest developments in the Siberian question, Shantung, and "a showdown of commitments."
2. Look up the "conditions in Guatemala, Haiti, San Domingo, Nicaragua, and Cuba"; "the Peru-Bolivia tangle"; and "the relations between the United States and Mexico" which the International Conference of the American Republics might discuss.

V. The National Government—The Story of the Week.

1. Summarize the important aspects of financing the proposed bonus as seen by Secretary Mellon.
2. What would be the advantage of the proposed "Reorganization of Government Departments"?

VI. History Teaches.

1. In how many different time- and countries can you find history teaching this lesson?

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

February 11, 1922



What May Happen in Germany

Industrial Extremes to Which She May Be Driven

By John Firman Coar

THE gate to normal conditions in Germany hinges, first of all, on Allied action. If this action is rational it is likely to bring Germany into sincere and energetic coöperation with other nations, and we may then look for developments in Germany that will be of inestimable help in the solution of one of the vexed problems of modern civilization. If, on the other hand, Allied action continues to be irrational, one of four irrational developments is likely to occur in Germany. Of these I shall speak first. For whether Germany ventures on the pathway of industrial autocracy, industrial communism, industrial nationalism, or industrial internationalism, in every case the venture will be a dire portent for Europe and for America as well.

We have been hearing much of Hugo Stinnes and the *Stinnes Konzern*. Were Hugo Stinnes such a Napoleon of German industry as he is represented to our sensation-loving gaze, the situation in Germany would be less threatening than it really is. But there are other mighty captains of industry in Germany. Men like Thyssen, Haniel, Klöckner, Wolff, Kirdorf, Funke, the Stumm brothers, and many others, are not Stinnes's lieutenants, much less his puppets, whether they happen to be tied up with him or not.

They too, like Stinnes, are believers in vertical trusts, and so believing they are all headed with him toward a common goal, the organization of all German industries into one huge vertical trust. Vertical trustification was a rapidly developing tendency in Germany even before the attempted enforcement of the Treaty. Through the manner of enforcing the Treaty it became a deliberate policy. Industrial federalism, as it is euphoniously called, is now the watchword of energetic industrialists. We shall do well, therefore, to regard the much-talked-of rivalries of industrial magnates, such as that between the *Hapag* (the Hamburg-American Line) and Stinnes's new shipping concern, or that between the A. E. G. (Germany's General Electric) and Stinnes's *Siemens-Rheinische-Schuckert-Union*, as symptomatic of the struggle now being waged by great industrial interests for tactical position in the final line-up.

Scheme of the Industrial Magnates

When it became apparent last summer that the German Government could not continue to make reparation payments under the ultimatum, Germany's industrial magnates made their initial move. They induced the *Reichsverband deutscher Industrie* (National German Industrial Union), at its Munich meeting, to pass a resolution to the effect that German industry would employ its foreign credits in liquidation of the reparation payments due early in 1922 (January-March) provided *Government undertakings such as railways, posts, telegraphs and telephones were put on a business basis and German industry as a whole permitted to work out its salvation independent of Government interference*. Early in November, at the Berlin meeting of the *Reichsverband*, this resolution was reaffirmed and its purport was defined by a duly appointed committee, in conferences with the Government, as follows: First, the railways, at any rate, must be turned over to private ownership and management. Secondly, there must be no levy on industrial capital and no effort to make German industry directly accountable for reparation payments either in gold marks or in kind; Dr. Rathenau's plan to establish special, Government-controlled alliances of different industries for the purpose of carrying out the Loucheur-Rathenau Wiesbaden agreement must be dropped; legal restrictions on industry such as the fixing of a working day or a wage scale must be abrogated. Unquestionably, the demand for budgetary in place of bureaucratic management of the railways is justified. Likewise there is in the proposal of the industrialists an underlying motive of sincere patriotism. But it ought to be quite clear that the acceptance of this proposal will unlock the door of the vertical trustification of German industry as a whole, including transportation, and simultaneously enable Germany's industrial magnates to dominate not only German industry as such, but also the German people. The proposal is now before the *Reichswirtschaftsrat*, which, under the Constitution, must pass on it favorably before it can be submitted to the *Reichstag*. It is not likely to be adopted, unless external, Allied pressure, such as military and economic sanctions, forces the hand of its chief op-

ponents, in this case the reactionary nationalists and the German workingmen.

Communism Aroused from Its Slumber

Unhappily, the sinister possibilities inherent in the plan of the industrialists immediately aroused the slumbering monster of Communism. German wage earners are fearful of an attempt to saddle Germany's tremendous war debts on the shoulders of "labor." In the aforesaid plan they believe they detect the cunning hand of "capitalism." They are, therefore, supporting two propositions that are now before the *Reichswirtschaftsrat*. The first contemplates the enforced hypothecation of all industrial, agricultural, and rental properties to cover reparations and, accordingly, the direct collection of reparation payments from these properties. The second would authorize the seizure of so-called gold values in the form of a 25 per cent. levy on industrial capital. Here, too, Allied policy will count heavily. If it has the appearance of backing the industrial magnates, German workers will most assuredly get it into their heads that international capitalists and German capitalists are working hand in glove to the detriment of the industrial workers of Germany, and in this case Communism will again become a burning issue in Germany.

Far more probable than either of the foregoing developments, however, is the revival of industrial nationalism, but in an aggravated form.

National Concentration of Industry

Though Germans may be willing to discard national economic egoism, this willingness is predicated on an equal willingness of Germany's former enemies. Unhappily, the war seems merely to have challenged the theory, not to have overcome the practice, of economic nationalism. The Germans, at any rate, interpret the economic and military sanctions as evidence of a purpose to increase the Allies' national wealth at the expense of Germany's. Against such a purpose as this, industrial nationalism offers the only effective defense. In this aspect of the case it seems like both a hard-headed business proposition and a generous patriotic venture, and contains elements of popular appeal analogous to, but far more potent than, high protectionism. In the second place, it implies the coördination of industrial autocracy and industrial communism, for which reason it is sometimes styled "the policy of irrationalism." One may observe the process of "getting together" in the recent offer of the industrialists to provide for the coöperation of "labor" and "capital" in the control of the railways; and in "labor's" suggestion that private ownership of the railways might be worked out by distributing the new railway corporation's stock as follows: 25 per cent. among the unions of railway employees to be held by these unions, 25 per cent. to the national treasury, and the remaining 50 per cent. among the investing public. In the third place, industrial nationalism as understood in Germany will not be inconsistent with the new Constitution, simply because this Constitution provides for the coördination of Germany's economic affairs under a government distinct from the political government of the people. Therefore, industrial nationalism will mean an industrial super-state in Germany, and such a state will be a far more aggressive and dangerous rival of the other nations of the world than the former German Empire was or could hope to be.

Industrial Internationalism

The fourth contingency, industrial internationalism, may seem more remote than any of the three foregoing, but this is chiefly due to its novel character. It signifies the elimination of national lines from the foregoing scheme. In all other respects the two schemes are identical. Industrial internationalism simply means the vertical trusti-

fication of *European* industries, on the principle of the copartnership of employers and employees, as an economically self-governing, but politically independent organization, in other words, an industrial super-state for all Europe. In estimating the chances of this stupendous eventuality, we must bear in mind the extraordinary expansion of German industry aslant international border lines before the war; the temporary disruption of these pre-war industrial units; the recent acquisition of a controlling interest in foreign enterprises by great German industrialists and financiers; and, last but not least, the fact that the industrial workers of Continental Europe have a common objective. It is very difficult to believe that great masses of peoples can think and feel and act as economic internationalists. But given a situation in which the leaders of German industry find, or think they find, themselves facing not only the ruin of every great achievement, but also the throttling of every worthy industrial aspiration, through the political egoism of other nations; and given also a situation in which the industrial workers of Germany see all their young hopes dashed by the same egoism; then industrial internationalism no longer seems an improbable contingency. A drowning man will grasp at a straw. We need also to remember that loyalty to industry as such can become the master-passion, especially if loyalty to country loses its practical significance. We need to remember that loyalty to the cause of "labor" has the same possibilities. We need to remember that Continental Europe has been shot to pieces by political nationalism and that to speak of love of country is apt to provoke satirical retorts. Love of country is still strong everywhere you go, but no longer is it the old thoughtless love. It implies the welfare of the people as human beings, and if it shall appear that political nationalism is inconsistent with economic welfare, political nationalism will become secondary to international industrialism.

The Hope for a Friendlier Spirit

These are the four possible developments in Germany under irrational Allied control. But we must hope that political and economic sanity will prevail. If it does, then the third possibility, heretofore called industrial nationalism, is likely to become a reality but in a greatly modified form. Vertical trustification of German industries on a huge scale will follow, but the resultant organization will not dominate national life. It will be an integral part of it. It will, however, also be an integral part of the world's industry, and being this it will mediate between nations. For instead of an industrialism that will be autocratically national, as German industry partially was before the war and surely will be wholly in the third eventuality, Germans will develop an industrialism that will be democratically national. I have talked with many Germans who look forward to this last possibility with a passionate longing akin to our American war-time longing for a better political order in the world. I have talked with Germans who refuse to discuss any and every measure that may lead to its realization, and who are nevertheless convinced that it would be a consummation devoutly to be hoped for. Sneeringly, mildly ironically, pathetically, or indignantly they will tell you, "What's the use? France and England do not want that sort of thing." Perhaps they are right if France and England are to be judged by the exigencies of mere politics, as they might be right in making the same assertion of America if America is to be judged by the manifestations of political opportunism. But if by "France" and "England" they mean the French people and English people, they are most certainly mistaken. Therein lies the great problem of the present. How are these peoples to understand each other? What at any rate can be done to create conditions that make mutual understanding less difficult than at the present moment?

12th - February - 22nd

ONE month stands mother to two deathless sons,
And as, today, we scan the paths they trod,
We ask what secret through their stories runs:—
“They served men best because they first served God.”
WARWICK JAMES PRICE



Historic Glimpses

By Wightman F. Melton

I.

(Black Mammy's Lullaby, 1855.)

Go t' sleep, lil' honey, white chile,
Ol' mammy love' you so
It mos' nigh breck 'er heaht in two
To hyeah you sobbin' so.

De angels dey is singin'—
De angels all is white—
An' dis is whut dey's sayin':
Good night, white chile, good night.

II.

(Slave, Speaking of his Old Mistress,
1857.)

My ol' Mist'is she done larnt me
Whut de Good Book say' ob sin;
An' den she say, on de Jedgment Day
She' gwine 'o ax Gab'ul t' let me in.
Cou'se de angels gwine 'o do
Whut ol' Mist'is tell' 'em to!

III.

(Dance in the “Quarters,” 1858.)

Plunk-ity; come, Kitty; plunk-ity; plunk;
Ol' shugah, Lu, shugah; shugah, shugah lump!
Whut? Dat thum'string bruck in two?
Den pat Jubah some—dat'll do!

Plunk-ity; come, Kitty; plunk-ity; plunk;
Ol' shugah, Lu, shugah; shugah, shugah lump!
Thum'string mended—banjo gwine—
Swing dem yallah gals down de
line!

IV.

(Negro Slave, Preaching, 1859.)

I take-ah-my tex' f'm de
A-pos'le Paul
Whut a-pinting' uv his 'pis'le
at de 'Presians.

Congregation: M-m-m-m-m-m-m-m-
m-m-m-m-m-m-m-m!

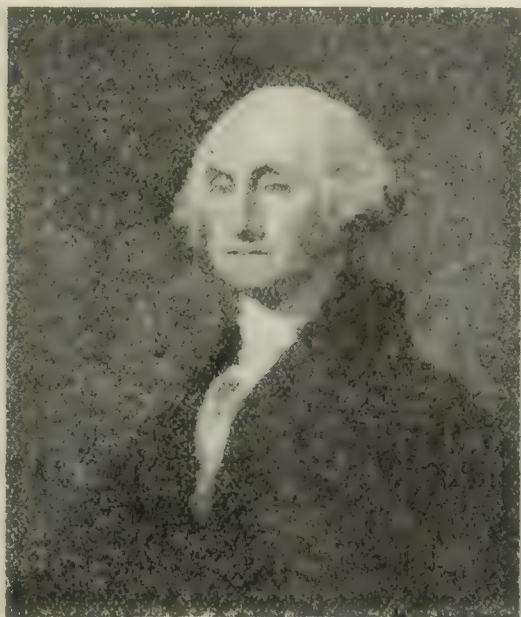
Old woman, in the “Amen Cor-
ner”:

Lawd, dat preachah, wid a
pichah in 'is han'
He's-ah-gwine-ah-draw watah
f'm de Promust Lan'!

Congregation: M-m-m-m-m-m-m-m-
m-m-m-m-m-m-m-m!

Preacher:

All-ah-dese sinnah's is-ah-gwine
ah get shot



An' den-ah-jine Phairo wha' de
watah's hot!

Congregation: M-m-m-m-m-m-m-m-
m-m-m-m-m-m-m-m!

Come on-ah-po' sinnahs, hyeah de
gospil call:

De Mastah am-ah-waiting 'fo' to
save you all.

Old Man, in the other “Amen Cor-
ner”:

Yas, Lawd! Didn' he said it!

V.

(Slave, to his Mistress, 1860.)

Mist'is, hyeah's me! Dis is Jim;
Rastus say' you saunt fo' him;
He got kilt, an' now 'e's daid—
Bullit hit 'im in de haid
'Cause some yankman come an' say:
“Wha's yo' Mastah, anyway?”
Rastus sniggah'd up an' said:
“'F 'e ain' livin' guess 'e's daid.”

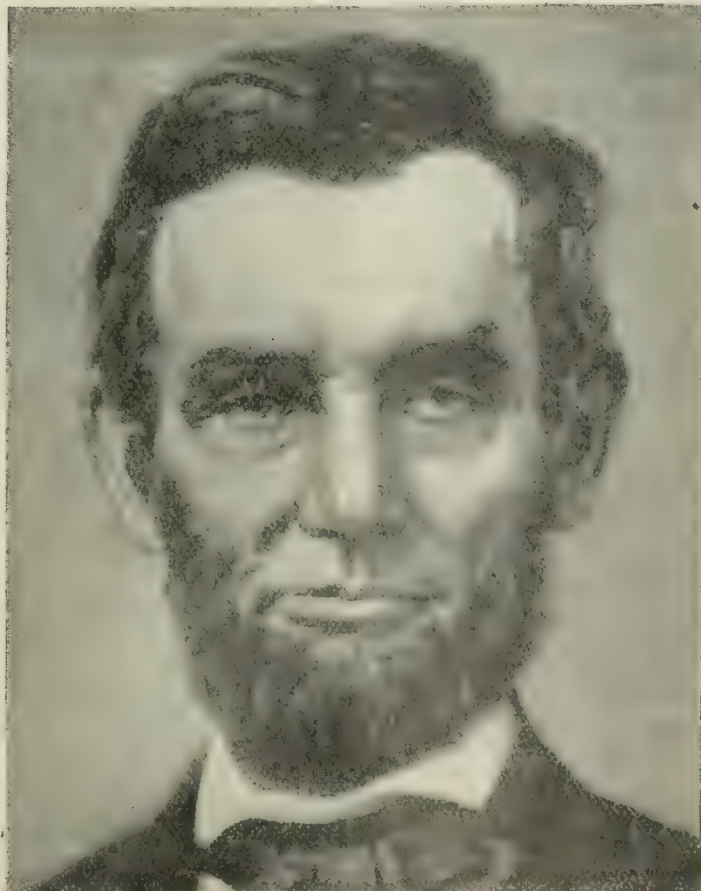
Mist'is, don' you cry no mo'!
Jim'll stan' right by dis do';
An' d' ain' nobody, black 'r white,
Comin' in dis room tonight!

Followed -- Emancipation Proclamation

ON the first day of January,
in the year of our Lord one
thousand eight hundred and
sixty-three, all persons held as
slaves within any State or desig-
nated part of a State, the people
whereof shall then be in re-
bellion against the United States,
shall be then, thenceforward, and
forever free.

Lincoln's Second Inaugural

WITH malice toward none;
with charity for all; with
firmness in the right, as God
gives us to see the right, let us
strive on to finish the work we
are in; to bind up the nation's
wounds; to care for him who
shall have borne the battle, and
for his widow, and his orphan—
to do all which may achieve and
cherish a just and lasting peace
among ourselves, and with all
nations.



The Bolshevik Advance on India

By Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, M.R., A.S., F.R.G.S.

[Unusual interest attaches to the following sensational exposure of the ambitious and aggressive policy of the Soviet Government in the Middle East and their designs on India, because the author is himself an Afghan who has recently returned from an extended tour of the regions described and writes with the authority of an eye-witness of exceptional training enjoying unique opportunities. In connection with the author's account of Bolshevik methods in Central Asia and India, it is interesting to note their subsidizing of agitation for Indian freedom in America, to which attention has already been called in these columns. In view of the activities and tactics herein exposed, a touch of ironic humor is given to the invitation to Lenin at Lloyd George's suggestion to participate in the proposed conference at Genoa.—EDITORS.]

A RECENT sojourn in the countries of the Middle East, which are at present under Bolshevik dominion, has convinced the writer that the actualities of the political position in those regions has most assuredly not been brought home to the press and public of England and America. Now that the possibility of a protracted war in Asia Minor is realized, it is of the first importance that the people of all the civilized countries should be well-informed as to what is actually taking place in those lands which constitute the only barrier between Communism in Russia, with its ambitions for extension, and the Indian Empire.

In order that a clear view of the whole situation may be gained, I will briefly summarize the achievements of Bolshevism in the Middle East. On the collapse of Tsarism the bureaucrats who took upon themselves the burden of its duties were at first inclined to grant absolute autonomy to those Asiatic dependencies which their predecessors in power had labored so strenuously to retain. But when the first fine careless rapture of revolution had passed and they began to settle down more firmly in their departmental chairs, that instinct for possession which grows with consciousness of power, and which is no less latent in Communist and Revolutionary governments than in the more sordid atmosphere of chancelleries, made them look back with regret on this act of generosity. Russia, starved for food and raw materials, looked hungrily across the Caucasus toward the lands she had let slip and recognized that in sacrificing so much to keep them, her murdered autocrats had been inspired by something like self-preservation. Grain, petroleum, coal, copper, the very sinews of a modern state were there for the taking. Georgia, Khiva, Bokhara, the former vassal states, must be retained at all costs, and minds at once more practical and more ruthless than those of the Tsarist administrators resolved upon the creation of a vast Transcaucasian possession which would be productive of those alimentary and mineral supplies which the republic so urgently required. The habit of toil had been temporarily discarded by the Russian people. Let the burden be transferred to the shoulders of those less sophisticated races.

Overrunning the Caucasus

The Leninist Government commenced operations with a cautious survey of conditions in those regions which had formerly been loosely dependent upon the Imperial power. Daghestan had declared its freedom, but had no sooner done so than officials from Moscow were dispatched to guide its destinies so that it might not swerve from the true path of Leninist doctrine. A crude and violent propaganda was initiated in Azerbaijan, and here also, when a Soviet authority was set up, the reins of government were immediately seized by Bolshevik delegates. When, later, the native element displayed a natural restlessness, the country was occupied by a Red army which stripped it of every-

thing moveable. The peoples of these states were informed that, now that everything was held in common, all available wealth must be concentrated at Moscow, but that it would later be distributed according to the necessities of each community. The seizure of Azerbaijan gave the Bolsheviks a firm hold on the Caspian region.

The Conquest of Persia

The next step was obviously the penetration of Persia, toward which Russia had formerly cast covetous eyes and where she had occupied a sphere of influence. On essaying its coast-line the Reds were at first joined by certain Persian malcontents, who, on beholding the approaching ruin of their country, became the most implacable enemies of the invaders, and have not since ceased to harass them in their attempts to subjugate it. But the Bolshevik advance had been arranged with care and skill, and continued irresistibly. Time and again they were forced to retire from the southern province of Mazandaran, but by continued raids they finally succeeded in looting it so thoroughly that nothing now remains but stone and lime. The rest fell after repeated assaults, and the treaty with Persia, which is now exciting widespread interest, seems to mark the end of conquest. The Shah, it is reported, wishes to retire to Europe, where he will no longer be at the mercy of those who have already assassinated one Eastern monarch and dethroned two others.

The focus of Bolshevik effort at present is Turkestan and Afghanistan. A long struggle with the White army, which was intrenched in Turkestan, prevented the Bolsheviks from penetrating this region for many months, but at last Krasnovodsk fell, and the command of the railway, and therefore of the whole province, came into the hands of the Reds. But almost at once they were confronted with a serious difficulty, for the native population did not take kindly to their ideals, which clashed utterly with the Islamic and conservative traditions of this simple but naturally shrewd people, and it was only by bribing the priesthood to spread abroad the impression that Bolshevism was merely a modern form of Islam that they succeeded in overcoming in some slight measure the distrust they had instinctively inspired in the minds of the Turkomans.

Methods of Oriental Propaganda

It soon became apparent, however, that if progress were to be made in the exploitation of the country a much more extensive system of propagandist work would be necessary. The Leninist Government addressed itself to the task with its characteristic enthusiasm for such work, and "Oriental Institutes" were founded at Moscow, Orenburg and Tashkend, where men of ability were trained as propagandist lecturers, whose task would be to initiate the untutored Turkoman in the intricacies of Communist philosophy. From the centres indicated, propaganda trains are constantly run to Khokand, Bokhara, Merv, and Krasnovodsk, and these, indeed, are an elaboration of a system radiating from Central Russia, the farthest extension of which penetrates to Chinese Turkestan.

This system of spreading the Bolshevik doctrines by rail leaves nothing to chance, for in a single train the several carriages include a library, a wireless apparatus, a printing plant, a miniature newspaper office and a cinematograph apparatus, as well as accommodation for the staff. The most extraordinary distortions and caricatures of the capitalist state are painted in lurid colors on the outside of the carriages, and in these the laborer is in-

variably represented as the dupe or the victim of a profiteer of enormous proportions, who chews the brobdingnagian cigar. But the spirit with which these peripatetic factories of pure mendacity are conducted is as remarkable as it is disquieting. The Bolshevik agent at each town or village announces the date of the arrival of a propaganda train some days beforehand, so that when it arrives a considerable concourse of people, collected from the outlying districts, is present at the stations to receive it. From a rostrum on one of the carriages a glib lecturer addresses the ignorant but not unintelligent Turkomans, his theme being the excellence of that Bolshevism which, he tells them, they must regard as the later gospel of Islam. A bulletin of "news" which has been unblushingly manufactured while the train was in transit, is then distributed along with other literature of a propagandist nature, and lastly the cinematograph is brought into play. Pictures of a humorous character are at first released, and when an attitude of attention has been created a "story" is thrown on the screen, the motif of which is a monstrous burlesque of capitalist methods. With this Parthian shot the train steams on to its next stance, where the programme is repeated. The evil seed has been sown, and the minds of the unsophisticated Uzbeks have been "enlightened" regarding the nefarious economic system and ultimate fate of those countries which do not share in the blessings of Communism.

Absorbing the Khanates

The result of this policy is, of course, apparent in the downfall of the Khans of Khiva and Bokhara, and the subjugation of these countries to Bolshevik rule. But a design of deeper conquest, of vastly greater territorial expansion, lies behind these efforts—a Bolshevik invasion and annexation of the Indian Empire.

Lest this statement may be considered strained and lacking in proof, a brief account of recent Bolshevik engineering enterprise in the Khanates should suffice to dispel all doubt regarding Bolshevik designs on India. In the first place, the entire region of Ferghana, a part of Bokhara which is easily accessible from Russia, has been converted into a centre of armament and general supply, a base on which a great military camp might readily be founded. The Khokand district, south of this, has been discovered to be rich in coal of very fair quality, and this is being worked assiduously, while factories of small arms and machine-guns, the output of which is already considerable, have been established in this neighborhood. At Samarkand the petroleum wells are pouring out rich tribute to Moscow, and are being utilized for the large motor-lorry traffic which has sprung up over the newly constructed roads. It is significant that these are much more of a strategic than a commercial character. The Orenburg-Tashkend railway, which at one time had its terminus at Kilif, now runs to the north of Afghanistan, following the right bank of the Oxus, and extends to the elbow of the river at Termez and Hazrat-Iman, a strategic point of great importance, being not more than two score miles from the Afghan centre of Mazar-i-Sharif. From Khokand another line is in active preparation, the intention being that this shall pass by way of Shirabad and effect a junction with the Oxus railway at Kharabad, a few miles from its terminus.

These lines are so devised as to link up with the well-constructed roads which Russian engineers have been engaged in laying for months past with the aid of native labor. These pass through northern Afghanistan to Kabul and through Jallalabad to Kafristan and are adapted to traffic of the heaviest kind. The object of their construction seems to be to link up with Chitral through Kafristan and Peshawar by way of Kabul, Jellalabad and Dakka. Great improvements have also been made in the Transcas-

pian Railway, a branch of which runs to the Merv oasis and has its terminus at Kusht Post in western Afghanistan. It is now connected with Herat by well-metalled roads. This road runs by way of Safed Koh, Bandi Bain and the Kohi-Bana range to Kabul. From Herat, too, runs a new road to the south of Afghanistan, to Farah and Kandahar, which links up with Quetta in Baluchistan.

The Afghan Intrigue

Earnest as Bolshevik endeavor in Turkestan has been, it has shown no less intensity in Afghanistan, where every effort has been made to inveigle the personnel of the Court and employ personages of high rank in the conspiracy to undermine the influence of the Amir. For many months a few Soviet envoys have been the guests of the Amir, whose kindness they have repaid by bringing about an Afghan-Soviet combination in Afghanistan. They were, in fact, the originators of the recent unrest among the Afridi tribes, the blame for which, in some quarters, was ascribed to Afghan enmity. They, along with M. Surich, the Bolshevik Ambassador at Kabul, General Nadir Khan, and the Governor of Jellalabad, are said to be responsible for laying the foundation of the revolt. A large subsidy had just been paid to the Afridi tribesmen by the British Government, but when messengers arrived from the triumvirate at Jellalabad announcing a holy war, the benefits which had so recently accrued to the Afridis from British suzerainty were speedily forgotten or ignored and a war-like spirit soon pervaded the whole community, which gathered in great strength at Spin Dara and Toro Khula, where they hailed with joy the presence of twelve fanatical Mullahs who were at that time the guests of the notorious Mullah Syed Akbar. Notwithstanding that the more politic among the chiefs sternly admonished them to return to their homes, they persisted in their rebellious attitude and by acclamation elected Syed Akbar as "tribal Amir." They eventually dispatched an ultimatum to the British political officer, warning him to cease work upon the Khyber Railway, and threatening the complete extinction of the "Feringees." Heralds of rebellion were also dispatched to General Shah Daula, an Afghan commissary in Waziristan, who was urged to undertake the conscription of the Waziris and the Mahsuds.

Perfidious Soviet Treaties

The recent treaties made by the Bolsheviks with Afghanistan and Persia show in their provisions a strange leniency toward the peoples with whom they have been contracted and in this the hand of subterfuge and crafty policy is readily discerned in concert with the intention to weaken all civilized prestige in the East, and exalt the Communist ideals of generosity and goodwill. In the treaty with Persia the Soviet Government sets forth that it is its intention to deal with Persia in a friendly manner, and to depart from the policy of aggression carried out by its Tsarist predecessors. All exploitation is denounced, the old Russo-Persian frontier of 1881 is restored, and the territory taken from the southern kingdom in 1893 is handed back intact. Its internal affairs are to be left entirely to the direction of its own statesmen, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, is entered into between the high contracting parties. All previous loans are cancelled, and all the buildings and stores, military and economic, accumulated in that part of the country which formerly constituted the special sphere of Muscovite influence, are presented to the Persian Government as a gift from the Russian people.

Magnanimous and touching as are these amenities, they read curiously in view of the continued occupation of Persia by the Bolshevik forces after the ratification of the treaty. None of the clauses of the treaty in any way alludes to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Persia. Obviously

the Reds protest too much. Their main object is, clearly, to obtain by guile what they have found too expensive to retain by force. An unfriendly Persia, a Persia requiring a large army of occupation, would spell ruin to their other ambitions in the East. Therefore they have adopted an attitude of studied friendliness which will give them a great advantage in the exploitation of the country and in the dissemination of their doctrines, while at the same time they intend to retain within its borders a limited but well-equipped force which will deter other powers from trading with Persia, and the Persians from throwing off their commercial yoke. Who is to be blamed if he suspects the motives of a Power which have so recently drenched the East in innocent blood?

Clearly the same intentions are mirrored in the Russo-Afghan treaty. The establishment of Russian consulates at centres which are of little commercial but of great strategic importance is in itself sufficient to indicate the specific tenor of the Bolshevik intention, especially when we find that "military agents" are to be attached to these posts. Further consulates and "consular points" may also be opened in Afghanistan by special agreement. The high contracting parties agree to the actual independence of the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara, "whatever may be the form of government in accordance with the wish of their peoples." This will be good news indeed to the inhabitants of these states, who, as I have personally observed, are at present groaning beneath a system of conscriptional tyranny which is not to be distinguished from slavery, and who have become nothing but hewers of wood and drawers of water to their Bolshevik taskmasters, mere bond-slaves in the mines and on the land, whose only recompense, except the paltry wages they receive in kind, is the honor and glory of toiling for the upkeep of a common Soviet Socialism with their overlords. These treaties rather tend to belie the old proverb that one cannot both eat one's cake and have it. They have been ratified, but the conditions binding upon the Russian signatories have so far not been carried out, nor are they likely to be.

Proof of the Red Designs

Lest these observations seem in any way strained, or lest the friends of Bolshevism should regard them as lacking in truth and arising merely out of hostility to the cause of "freedom" in the East, it may be as well to substantiate them by quoting briefly from a document which recently came to hand, exposing definitely the nefarious aims inspiring the efforts of the Red Council of Action and Propaganda in the East. This is a confidential instruction for trade agents, and is signed by Pavlov-Veltman, N. Bukharin, and Berezin, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Third International, and is the measure of the precise value of the pledge made by the Soviet authorities in connection with the recently concluded trade agreement to abstain from all Bolshevik propaganda outside Russia.

"In aiming at the achievement of a world-revolution," this precious document begins, "and the destruction of the capitalist régime, the following instructions must seriously and conscientiously be observed." The first instruction lays down that "trade relations must always subserve the purposes of Communist propaganda." The lines on which propaganda work should be carried out are indicated thus: "the spreading of discontent among the workmen and soldiers; and the initiation of strikes and disturbances." Efforts are to be made to buy the press, the "merciless persecution" of the officer class is to be proposed to the troops of the several Oriental Powers, and the organization of militant workmen's Soviets, prepared to struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The usurpation of state control is suggested, and it is insinuated that new "war scares should be invented," and that the "application

of terror is not excluded." "Secret revolutionary staffs," adds the order, "should be firmly established."

It is difficult after perusing such a document to place the slightest credence in Soviet protestations regarding Persia or Afghanistan. It would be absurd to suppose that the disappearance of Tsarism from Russia has removed the Russian menace from these countries, and, above all, from India. Russia has merely exchanged one tyranny for another and a worse, and it is clear that the lot of the Eastern peoples who now groan under her régime is greatly more wretched than it was under the rule of Tsar Nicholas. So will it be in India should Russia succeed in gaining a footing there, and that she intends to do so is obvious to anyone in possession of knowledge of affairs there.

Nothing will clear away the storm clouds like a definite policy on the part of the civilized Governments of the West. I have an unshaken faith in the honest purpose of the great British and American public, and well-informed Asian statesmen agree with me, but of late that purpose has been masked by diplomatic considerations, and consequently obscured and prejudiced in the minds of the far-removed peoples of Central Asia. The pressing need is for a clear exposition of enlightened policy that will restore faith in the aims and purposes of the civilized nations and block the ambitious designs of the Red autocracy of Moscow.

Poetry

They Shall Perish, But Thou Shalt Endure

By Walter S. Hinchman

"When your fire's last song is sung,
These old stars will still be young."
—Clement Wood.

WHEN Kai Khosroo was yet unborn,
Ere Moses read the stars,
Full fifteen centuries before
Young Greece went forth to wars,
The pyramids upreared their bulk
Across the desert sand,
And tombs of Ti and Ptahotep
Grew wondrous by man's hand.

And still today, still proud and high,
As if 'twere yesterday
That Kephren's toilers raised the stones,
They mark the desert way;
They line the sunset sky—the path
Which even kings must tread—
And with their age-enduring stone
They mock the many dead.

They mock—and wastrel winds at night,
Leading a ghostly dance,
Build and unbuild sand pyramids,
To flout their arrogance;
To flout man's brief and futile toil;—
The stars join in the jest!
And yet—or ever stars were born
Was born creative zest.

For still—in face of wastrel winds
That howl their mockery,
In face of stars that join the jest,—
Forget not you that he,
The man of only three-score years,
Wrought here with deathless art,
That more enduring than the stars
Is man's enduring heart.

Cabbages and Kings

By Henry W. Bunn

The Renaissance of China

I REMARKED several weeks ago upon the most impressive fact of human history; how the Chinese Empire subsisted substantially unchanged from 1122 B. C. down to our own day. But observe, dear reader, that I was speaking in a large and sæcular way.

For some centuries now the Chinese have been passing through a succession of unhappy phases. In the year 1260 A. D. the Mongols debellated China and imposed upon the ideal government I have described their soulless, elaborate Mongolian system. To be sure, within a hundred years Chu Yüen-chang was able to expel the degenerate descendant of Jenghiz Khan and to establish a Chinese dynasty under the name of "Ming." But the Mings were a poor lot. They took over the Mongolian system and administered it without distinction until in 1644 they were dispossessed by the Manchus, a race to whom the system was congenial. But the system, so alien to the Chinese genius, was never completely naturalized in China; it never extinguished the ideal government of the *literati*. Its most unfortunate effect was to discourage the free and joyous play of the Chinese intellect. It cast a blight on Chinese art; so that in China, the Ideal Country, there has actually grown up that most damnable of things, a School of Realism. But in 1911 the Ch'ings were evicted, and a so-called republic was established.

"Republic."—Ask Mr. Bland about that. He knows. What the philosophical observer sees is a repetition of the conditions which prevailed in the latter days of the Chóu dynasty (*i. e.*, about 650-250 B. C.). The Tuchuns, who have parceled out the empire among themselves, correspond to the kinglings or feudal barons of those ancient days, and the President may be likened to the last *fainéant* Chóu Emperor, Nang-wang. The aforesaid observer momentarily expects the emergence of a new Shi Hwang-ti, who shall restore the immemorial ideal government in its pristine purity, purged of all vitious Mongolian tincture.

Methinks I behold emerge from the chaos, from the faction, the New China; that is, the Old China with youth renewed. All the arts shall revive and again ye shall see the dewy freshness of Ching and Ch'u, the fierce energy and spiritual power of the T'ang masters, the supple grace, the easy majesty, the supreme elegance of the Sung era. There will be a Renaissance of the invincible and Luciferous Chinese Spirit; and whereas now

The languid strings do scarcely move,

The sound is forced, the notes are few;

soon shall "profuse strains" astonish and entrance the world.

Oh, Horrible! Horrible!

Colonel Haskell, Director of the American Relief Administration work in Russia, says: "Where a few months ago the people were dying by hundreds, they are now dying by thousands. In a few months they will be dying by hundreds of thousands. One of the relief men in a trip covering more than four hundred miles found only two places where food could be had for love or money."

Large part of this could and should have been prevented, ye timid and fatuous Governments! God forgive you!

New Haven Transformed

It is said that the Yale authorities are conferring with the municipal authorities of New Haven with a view to gradually transforming New Haven into a dream-city like Oxford. If only Mr. Rogers, the architect of the Harkness group, might have *carte blanche*; East Rock, West Rock, how blest would be thy vision!

An Entomological Choice

The Turkish Nationalist Government is "profoundly surprised" at not having received an invitation to the Genoa Conference. The Sick Man hasn't been invited nuther. Perhaps, if the British and French reach an accord on the Near and Middle East before the opening of the conference, one or t'other, the Sick Man or Mustapha Kemal, will receive an invitation. Turkey is, in a manner of speaking, a European Power. As to which of the two gentlemen mentioned is the better entitled to an invitation, the choice is an entomological one; Dr. Johnson's famous difficulty of choosing between the louse and the flea.

Moral Guarantees

However it may be urged (and rightly) that the present financial plight of the Germans is due largely to their own faults of omission and commission since the great Armistice; however it may be pointed out, and rightly, that the present plight of Russia is due to an economic Bacchanalia since before the great Armistice: yet the argument is difficult to resist that the best hope of payment of German reparations, of recovery from Russia of Czarist debts and compensation for confiscations, etc., lies in international loans to Germany and Russia.

"But surely there must be iron-clad guarantees," say the Allies. "Ah, yes, most surely," answers Moscow. "The very best of guarantees. Liens on national assets, in the first place. But much more important than these—moral guarantees, *mutual moral guarantees*."

Lenin has stolen the capitalistic moral thunder.

A Bird-Sanctuary

The Department of Agriculture contemplates establishing a game preserve of 150,000 acres in the extreme south-east of Texas, in order to save from extinction by the hunter certain rare varieties—birds especially, but also some four-footed creatures. The fierce peccary may roam unmolested in the mesquite of the sandhills of the happy region. The singular chachalaca may rest undisturbed in the ebony bushes, and the Texan kingfisher, the gorgeous Derby flycatcher, the white pelican, the roseate spoonbill, the reddish and the snowy egret, and the red-billed pigeon will have only each other to fear. Whenever one hears of a new sanctuary for bird or beast, one should greatly rejoice.

Several Things

Anatole France has renounced communism. Yet the fact that this lucid intellect, this satirist not unworthy to be mentioned with Lucian, Swift, and Voltaire, should entertain that heresy in his mature age, must disturb the assurance of us old moss-backs.

* * *

"Johns Hopkins needs financial aid."—And should get it.

* * *

"Seven more dead from poisoned liquor."—Euphranor, old friend, it may be our turn next.

O Caesar Anderson, nos morituri te salutamus.

* * *

Another Portuguese cabinet has resigned. They walk right in and turn around and walk right out again.

* * *

Bomb-throwing is still the chief outdoor sport in Fiume. A bomb was thrown at the President the other day, but failed to "get" him.

* * *

I note with admiration the latest exploit of Publicity. The announcement of Mrs. Asquith's lecture tour gives prominence to the proud claim that she is the original of William Watson's "Woman with the Serpent's Tongue."



EDITORIAL



A Landmark in Human Progress

THE fifth plenary session of the Washington Conference was held on February 1. From the nature and scope of the matters dealt with, it is evident that the momentous meeting is drawing to a close and little of importance remains to be done. Probably by the time this reaches our readers the final adjournment will have taken place. One may, therefore, with propriety venture to comment on the work of the Conference as a whole.

A Novel Diplomatic Method

The achievements of the Conference may be viewed from two standpoints: the concrete results arrived at, and the success or failure of the novel diplomatic method employed. As a matter of fact, both are closely connected, and the effectiveness of the results will in a considerable degree flow from the character of the negotiations by which they were attained. This point deserves especial emphasis because of the sharp contrast that it presents to the League of Nations method and the nature of the negotiations that took place at Paris. The problems at Washington were approached from the standpoint of mutual accommodation, and the force that was brought to bear upon their solution was that of enlightened public conscience. At Paris the fatal mistake was made of attempting to combine in one and the same treaty peace terms arrived at by bargain and barter, and a supernational organization charged with enforcing peace. As we have pointed out before, the real sanction for international law and international agreements lies not in any artificial organization but in the conscience of mankind and its acceptance of principles of justice and standards of conduct. It is the unique distinction of the Washington Conference that by the very nature and method of its proceedings it called to the support of its decisions precisely this sanction.

Dangers of the Brilliant Opening

Nearly three months have passed since the Conference was opened with Secretary Hughes' epoch-making announcement of the American programme for naval limitation; three months of arduous toil and incessant labor. This announcement at the beginning was not without its perils; there was always the danger of the anti-climax, of high enthusiasm dampened by the more prosaic discussions to follow, of loss of public interest distracted by other sensational events while the necessary committee work was being carried on. There was also the danger that the overwhelming importance of the problems of the Pacific and America's principle of the open door might be overlooked because of popular sentiment for disarmament. Happily these dangers have been averted and the Conference comes to a close with an extraordinary record of work accomplished.

The Four-Power Treaty

The Conference has first of all established a policy for the preservation of peace by mutual respect on the

part of the Powers for the rights of each rather than by a balance maintained by alliances. This is the significance of the Four-Power Treaty. There is not in it a hint of alliance or guarantee, but it forbids aggression on the part of any of its signatories, and provides a great safeguard against collision by its arrangement for conference. Likewise the Conference has definitely put an end to competitive navy building and lifted from the shoulders of the peoples of the world a great burden of unproductive and wasteful expenditure. It has adopted resolutions calculated to render submarines ineffective by limiting the field of their legitimate employment. It has banned the use of poison gas in war.

China and Japan

The achievements of the Conference in the settlement of Far Eastern questions are not less noteworthy, though here, indeed, many will feel that the results fall short of things hoped for. In the first place, the general principle of the sovereignty and integrity of China has been recognized and the honor of each of the nations is involved in its observance. Practical steps have been taken to free China from certain hampering restrictions, such as extraterritorial jurisdiction, foreign postoffices, and tariff limitation, as far as circumstances justify. But the real triumph lies in the return of Shantung and the substantial modification of the Chino-Japanese Treaty of 1915, familiarly known as the Twenty-one Demands.

That the Chinese and Japanese delegates should have been able to reach a satisfactory agreement, with the good offices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour, for the return of Shantung testifies eloquently to the effectiveness of the methods of the Conference. To Americans in particular this settlement is a matter of great satisfaction, for it rights the wrong and in a measure removes the stigma, of the iniquitous arrangement consented to by President Wilson at Paris as the price of securing the adherence of Japan to his League of Nations project. The return to China of Wei-Hai-Wei by Great Britain, and of Kwang-Chao-Wan by France, added to the general satisfaction and tended to strengthen the principle of Chinese integrity.

Nothing could have been better calculated to arouse suspicion of the motives of Japan, and distrust of her plans toward China, than the imposition of the Twenty-one Demands, against which there has been such a general outcry. It has been evident to all that Japan took advantage of her neighbor in a moment of extreme weakness and at a time when her allies could not protest because of the exigencies of the war; but in considering the matter in connection with the Conference it had to be remembered that after all, no matter how unjust or contrary to the principle now enunciated, it had to do with a regularly executed treaty, and in such a matter it is not easy to plead duress. There is accordingly double reason for gratification at the voluntary relinquishment by Japan of the special privileges that

infringed China's sovereignty and violated the principle of the open door, particularly those contained in the Fifth Group of the Demands. But even here the real issue of the open door has not been lost sight of by Mr. Hughes and he has made it clear that these concessions by Japan do not by any means close the case. The transfer of special privileges hitherto held by Japan to the international consortium must not exclude anyone else, and no claims of Japan in China that infringe our rights under the most-favored-nation clause in our treaties will be conceded.

The Siberian Settlement Imperfect

The settlement of the Siberian question leaves much to be desired, yet even here a distinct advance has been made. It would have been possible at any time for Mr. Hughes to come to an agreement with the Japanese delegation upon a compromise, but he did not do so. Instead, he read into the record a statement side by side with that of Mr. Shidehara, which makes the issue crystal clear and places upon Japan the onus of any failure to live up to the principles announced. And here is to be noted another significant feature of the Conference and the forces that operated in it. Japan yielded in the matter of Shantung and the Twenty-one Demands because she could not stand in the face of the united sentiment of the Powers represented. In particular we had the full support of England. In the matter of Siberia it was quite otherwise. We hoped for and expected British support. Mr. Balfour personally was in sympathy with our position, but he had to yield to instructions from his Government, instructions undoubtedly connected with the latest policy of Lloyd George toward Russia. We trust that on his return to London Mr. Balfour will make clear to his colleagues the danger to Anglo-American relations that is contained in just such breaches of principle. We do not fear for Siberia—Japan's conduct there will be under close scrutiny and she will be insistently reminded of her promises—but we should have felt far better satisfied if in this matter, as in that of China, England had stood shoulder to shoulder with us.

The Washington Conference has established a record of accomplishment that entitles it to be regarded as a landmark in the history of human progress, and it has inaugurated a method of diplomacy that holds out a brighter promise for peace among nations than anything hitherto attempted in that field. If in some respects its achievements fall short of the ideal, let us take comfort in the thought that it is a fine and hopeful beginning and that other similar meetings are likely to follow. It now remains for the Senate to ratify promptly the treaties that have been concluded and thereby restore world confidence.

Two-Thirds or Majority

TREATY ratification—or non-ratification—has played so crucial a part in our recent history that the question of the wisdom of our Constitution's provision on the subject has awakened much interest. The object of the requirement of a two-thirds vote of approval in the Senate is obvious; the intention of the founders was that the country should not be drawn into any international engagement that did not com-

mand the unquestionable approval of the nation. But in these times of relations at once complex and vital with foreign countries, the requirement presents a formidable obstacle to negotiation; and it is justly pointed out that repeated instances of momentous diplomacy brought to naught by refusal of the necessary two-thirds assent of our Senate would inevitably result in making it impossible for foreign statesmen to regard as of serious import anything which the representatives of our Government may propose.

Nevertheless, there is much to be said in favor of the two-thirds rule as well as against it. The question turns, in our judgment, very largely on a consideration that transcends the mere arithmetic of the matter. Two-thirds is greater than one-half only by one-sixth; but the two-thirds requirement points to a difference that may be regarded as qualitative rather than quantitative. In our two-party system, it may be assumed as an almost invariable rule that one party or the other has a majority. Hence the dominant party may be supposed usually to be able to put through, as a matter of course, anything that requires only a majority. The requirement of two-thirds carries the implication that the mere will of the party in power at the moment should not be regarded as conclusive in the matter of treaties; and if that implication were adequately recognized—recognized to the point of making every Senator vote according to his own judgment, informed by intelligent study and prompted by a spirit above party—the benefit of the two-thirds rule would outweigh its injury.

The Harvey Enigma

SOME days ago the newspapers carried a dispatch from Paris to the effect that Ambassador Harvey was conferring with the French Government for the purpose of indicating to them the conditions under which America would participate in the Genoa Conference and implying that Colonel Harvey was himself the authority for this amazing piece of information. The State Department at Washington promptly disavowed the authorization of any such negotiations. In view of this the peripatetic Colonel, then in Ambassador Herrick's bailiwick, stated that he was merely paying his respects to President and Premier. But the affair has an air of mystery that we should like to see cleared up. Is it possible that Colonel Harvey has a personal ambition to represent America at the Conference and occupy the predominant position which it is admitted that representation would carry with it? And is it possible that he has presumed on his personal relationship to carry on a correspondence with the President concerning it over the head of Secretary Hughes? We cannot believe that Mr. Harding would wittingly allow himself to be drawn into such a dangerous position. We do not want a super-diplomat acting as a personal representative of the President in our foreign relations confusing and thwarting the policy of the department charged with their conduct, and Mr. Hughes could scarcely accept with complacency such an anomalous situation. We hope that the fears we have heard expressed are without foundation in fact, for the forcing out of Mr. Hughes at the present juncture of affairs and under such circumstances would be a national calamity.

Peace and War in the Coal Industry

SENATOR-JUDGE KENYON'S scheme for regulating the coal industry through the agency of a Federal body similar to the Railroad Labor Board deserves a careful appraisal because of its source, and still more because it is the only concrete plan now in evidence for dealing with an industrial situation that gravely threatens the peace and safety of the entire country. It is quite evidently Mr. Kenyon's reaction to the West Virginia coal troubles, which he, with other members of a Senate Committee, investigated. And if the coal troubles were confined to West Virginia, his plan might be of some practical value. But the difficulties actually confronting the coal industry are much broader than the "industrial code" by which the Senator proposes to settle them. Senator Kenyon, in short, has not thought through the problems he attempts to solve.

Two main facts dominate everything else in the bituminous coal industry—and it should be realized that it is this part of the industry, not the anthracite, that raises the threatening problems of today. First, the coal industry is a markedly *seasonal* industry. Second, it is an *over-developed* industry—there are more mines opened and drawing on capital for overhead costs than can earn a reasonable profit under normal conditions of the coal trade as at present developed. From these two facts proceed the various conflicting attempts at adjustment that plague the country as well as the industry itself.

Two opposing policies are contending for mastery in dealing with these fundamental difficulties. The operators naturally incline to make all necessary cost adjustments by cutting wages to a profit point, and employing labor only when the mines can earn a profit on the operators' terms. This policy, in general, prevails in the non-union fields of West Virginia. Under the peculiar conditions of today this policy operates more profitably to the mine-workers in that field than would otherwise be the case.

The Mine Workers' Union, like labor organizations in other seasonal industries, has adopted a very different policy. They have tried, first, to secure the highest possible rate of wages for the time they actually work; and second, they have tried to lengthen the working period in each year—the aim of the two measures being to secure to each mine worker as near as may be to a living annual wage. This is in itself a legitimate policy. In certain other industries managements of a few enterprises have succeeded, by changes in sales and production policies, in largely filling up the hollows in a seasonal business, and have consequently increased the stability of the annual incomes of their employees. It is one of the misfortunes of the bituminous industry that, so far, no one has discovered a similar workable policy for coal.

Lacking such stabilizing devices on the employers' side, the United Mine Workers have undertaken to secure a more adequate annual income for their members by unionizing the entire industry and forcing wages to a level where whatever annual time is worked will bring in a living annual wage to the workers. They

secured unionizing of practically all the mines of the Central Competitive Field by promising the operators of that field that they would unionize all competing non-union fields—specifically West Virginia—and so raise labor costs in those competing fields as to equalize the conditions of competition between mines there and in the Central Field. In other words, with wages and working conditions uniform throughout the country, competition would be regulated by distance from markets.

In applying this policy of imposing uniform labor costs on all the bituminous mines of the country, the United Mine Workers have resorted to violence without restraint. They have shot and killed non-union miners and mine officials, and have destroyed not only mine equipment but mines themselves. The Coronado Case now before the Supreme Court represents the application of these measures to a group of non-union mines in Arkansas. The West Virginia troubles are the consequences of attempts to apply the same measures in that field, and of a resistance to them carried out by the operators largely through a corrupt and menacing control of public officers and public processes. The failure of the Mine Workers to "equalize" the conditions of West Virginia competition—aggravated also by minor forces—has produced the present determination of the Central Field operators to insist on a reduction of wages. The Union is determined to resist this with a general strike, in which they now hope to involve the railroad unions.

No lengthy application of Senator Kenyon's code to these basic facts is needed to show the inadequacy of that code. We need not quarrel with his first principle, that coal is a public utility. We believe the country is pretty well agreed on that. We agree also to the general conception behind his second principle—that human standards should govern wage scales, and the seventh—that unskilled workers should receive a living wage.

But to meet these desirable ends, the industry must earn sufficient profits. Principles ten and eleven specify an eight-hour day, a six-day week, and punitive overtime. Yet the only provision looking to a profit sufficient to maintain these things is principle three, which specifies that "capital prudently and honestly invested in the coal industry should have an adequate return. . . ." Aside from the fact that competent engineers assert that most mines are inefficiently managed, the crux of the whole coal problem may be said to be just this question of adequate return and how it is to be secured in the face of a widely fluctuating seasonal demand. The very facts of the industry are in dispute, yet Senator Kenyon's code makes no provision for ascertaining them, and no provision for that reconstruction of the entire industry which everyone with any knowledge of it sees to be the prime condition of peace and prosperity.

Similarly, principles four and five, asserting the right of both employers and workers to organize, and to bargain collectively, ignore altogether the threatening possibility of a labor monopoly of the coal industry. The United Mine Workers aim at a labor monopoly which by strikes will be able to force payment of such wages as they consider adequate. We are quite certain that neither the courts nor the people of this country will accept such a solution.

What is needed, and the only thing, in our judgment, that will provide a base for both peace and prosperity is such an investigation of the whole industry (under public authority) as shall determine and set forth all the essential facts. At present, no one knows enough of the actual facts to be qualified to draft a plan for settlement. This basic lack will be remedied, it is to be hoped, by the commission of investigation which, we understand, is soon to be announced by Secretary Hoover.

Act at Once, Mr. Harding!

PRESIDENT HARDING has been imposed upon and the result is an appointment to office that is indefensible on any grounds. We refer to the appointment of one E. Mont Reily, of Kansas City, to be Governor of Porto Rico. Were the appointment to an office within our own country it would be bad enough in all conscience, but we could bear with it; as an answer to the responsibilities America has assumed in this island dependency it is unthinkable.

The record of Reily is such that his name should never have been considered. At one time assistant postmaster of Kansas City he was several times investigated and recommended for removal and finally dismissed for cause. Immediately upon receiving the present appointment, for which he was in every way unfitted, he proceeded to remove able officials, even before reaching his post, to make places for his equally incompetent associates. In this connection ugly stories are afloat to the effect that venal considerations entered into these appointments, in other words, a commission on their salaries, and color is given to these charges by the affidavit of a reputable man in Kansas City as to such overtures being made to him.

In the six months he has been in Porto Rico he has succeeded in disrupting the civil service and intimidating the courts. His conduct has been that of a cheap politician combined with a oriental satrap. The prestige of America in the island has suffered sadly and the seed has been sown for infinite trouble.

We admire in President Harding the quality of loyalty to those in whom he has once placed confidence, and we should not esteem him so highly as we do were he to listen to idle gossip concerning his appointees. But here is a case where he has been shamefully imposed upon and the honor of America demands that he act promptly. Reily should be suspended at once pending investigation. In a few days the Senate of Porto Rico will meet and its first act will be to reject the Governor's appointments, which are an offense to the decent people of the island. Then investigation will come perforce. Now is the time to act, if a noisome scandal is to be averted.

Margot's Visit

IT was, if we remember aright, Hester Stanhope who, as the kinswoman of William Pitt, kept house for him until he died. But she, alas, did not come afterwards to lecture us Americans. She preferred to mingle with Bedouins in Syria and we are the more glad, therefore, to find in Mrs. Asquith one who at least chooses us for company instead of the Arabs. So far as we can discover, we have no advantages over the Arabs save one, but perhaps that was decisive. We do at least have the dollars. Otherwise, we cannot but

be flattered by Mrs. Asquith's forgiving ignorance of our existence. When, in our humble way, we ask her what she thinks of our eminent women, she disarms all criticism by inquiring, "Who are they?" She has been so good as to overlook even Miss Jane Addams of Hull House, Chicago; and to be more at home with Miss Ida Adams, who has the good taste to act in England, than with Miss Maude Adams who, we fear, more usually acts in America. Possibly the genius of our American women is too sisterly to be superior. But we think that in Miss Bebe Daniels there might be found for Mrs. Asquith a kindred spirit. The escapades of these artists are similar, and while Bebe has met fewer monarchs than Margot, her behavior at Court would be, we are sure, such as Margot would approve. Perhaps, however, we do Miss Daniels an injustice. Mrs. Asquith might find her decorum too dull.

Many admirers have, we believe, inscribed love sonnets to Margot, but we think that Mr. Lee Keedick has shown a surer instinct when he selects for his publicity Mr. William Watson's passionate panegyric of the woman with the serpent's tongue. The question arising in our mind is as to our British friends. For eight years, as we understand the matter, Margot presided over Downing Street. There she occupied a position analogous to that of the first lady of our own land. As such, we should have wished to welcome her. Had she thought it worth while to recollect President and Mrs. Harding at Washington, we are sure that she would have been received by them with courtesy, as Americans of position are received in London. But perhaps she would consider that dull and unremunerative.

Shortage of funds is, of course, a mark of good breeding. All people who wish to be polite are now impoverished. Mrs. Asquith would not be her true and exclusive self if she did not lack pin-money. Mr. Carnegie recognized that pensions for distressed statesmen are among the first claims on the humane purse. After all, these are days when only libraries are free. We hope, however, that Congress will probe into the pocketbooks—even the steel boxes—of our ex-Presidents and their wives lest any should be inadvertently starved into lecturing the English. If, however, this should happen, and if the Martha Washington of tomorrow emulates the Margot Asquith of today, we suggest that, in London, when the reporters gather, she omit the cigarette.

Of Mrs. Asquith's indiscretions, we must say nothing. We feel sure they are fully protected by copyright and we have the most profound reverence for her royalties. We are sure that our friends the English will like her disclosures of the mediæval way in which German prisoners were maltreated. That will be good news for Mr. Hearst, who, as Mrs. Asquith thoughtfully observes, runs his yellow press for the Chinese. We do wonder, if we may respectfully say it, whether the alleged mediævalism may not have been in a measure Mrs. Asquith's own fault. She was always just and kind to the Germans. Could she not have told her husband how they were abused and could not he have put things straight?

Mr. Asquith leads the "Wee Free Liberals." His interesting wife suits the party and perhaps accounts for it. She is so wee and she is so free. She did well to describe for us at such length the grey mare. It was the more egotistic horse.

The Story of the Week

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

The Domestic Budget

The Foreign Debt Refunding Bill

THE Foreign Debt Refunding bill has been passed by the Senate, 39 to 29. All who voted for the bill were Republicans—a fact not too creditable to the Democrats, since voting on such a matter should not be guided in the least by partisan considerations. Attempts to tack on a bonus bill as a rider were defeated. This does not mean that the Senate is opposed to the bonus. It does not even justify assurance that the bonus bill adopted as a separate measure (for a bonus act seems as certain to come as next Fourth of July) will not entangle interest payments on the Allied war-debts with bonus payments; but it does justify a hope of that.

The bill provides for a commission of five, of which the Secretary of the Treasury is to be chairman. The other members shall be nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The commission is empowered (subject to the President's approval) to refund or convert, or extend the time of payment of the principal or the interest or both, of any obligation of any foreign Government "now owing the United States or any obligation of any foreign Government hereafter received by the United States."

The time of maturity of any obligation falling within the purview of the bill shall not be extended beyond June 15, 1947. Interest on the refunded debts shall not be less than 4¼ per cent. The life of the commission shall be three years from the date of enactment.

Senator Walsh's passion for "pitiless publicity" found satisfaction in an amendment which requires the commission, at the conclusion of each refunding negotiation, to report the results to the Senate.

The Election and the Bloc

It is expected that, though many agricultural *bloc* candidates should be elected to the next Congress, the nominal Republican strength will not be reduced in consequence; merely (but 'tis an important "merely") "radical" or *bloc*

Republicans would supplant Republicans of the standardized type.

The National Agricultural Conference

The National Agricultural Conference sat from January 23 to 27. The resolutions adopted by it indorse

the project of a St. Lawrence-Great Lakes waterway for deep-sea vessels and Henry Ford's Muscle Shoals plan, call for the creation of "a credit machine adapted to a farm turnover at reasonable rates of interest," demand that "industrial labor" and capital share with the farmers the cost of readjustment, enthusiastically approve the agricultural *bloc*, thank President Harding, Secretary Wallace, and the Congressional Joint Commission of Agricultural Inquiry headed by Mr. Sidney Anderson, request the Administration to assist in the economic rehabilitation of Europe, and express disapproval of the Panama Canal Tolls bill. They allege that "the permanent banking machinery of the country is not adequately adapted to meet the farmers' requirements for operation and marketing credits"; and, referring to the War Finance Corporation's functions as "temporary" and declaring that the Federal Farm Loan system is "hampered in its development," demand further relief from Congress.

Mr. J. R. Howard, president of the American Farm Bureau Corporation, in his remarks on the Conference stresses the importance of coöperative organization:

The Farm Bureau will undertake to organize all the farmers of the nation and unite them into strong commodity marketing associations which will improve the distribution of food to the lasting benefit of both consumer and producer. We want to bring the eater and the grower closer together.

The National Agricultural Conference will go down into history as the most far-reaching conference of farmers ever held. The topmost feature, of course, was the address of the President of the United States and the commitments which it contained of the Administration's attitude toward agriculture. Probably no Chief Executive of the nation has previously indicated so deep and intelligent an interest in the farmers' affairs. President Harding recognized the bad state of agriculture at the present time; stressed the outstanding importance of agriculture in our national life; showed that the farmer must have a credit system adapted to his needs; asserted that lasting improvement is to come only through the development of co-operative marketing; favored a scientific limitation of production and pointed out the dignity of the profession.

The coöperative marketing movement, as fostered by the American Farm Bureau Federation, is a protest expressed in action against excessive margins and distributive costs. It is no new thing. It has been carried on successfully in Europe for hundreds of years. Within less than fifty years Denmark, through co-operative marketing, has reduced distribution costs so that the producers receive 72 cents of the consumer's dollar, more than twice as much as we get here, and through coöperative marketing has rebuilt her entire national prosperity.

The Bloc Loses Kenyon

Senator Kenyon of Iowa, leader of the agricultural *bloc*, has accepted appointment as Circuit Judge for the Eighth Federal District. The members of the *bloc* are visibly downcast at the loss of their champion. Optimists see tokens of the disintegration of the *bloc*. For example: The *bloc* members voted "regular" on the Foreign Debt Refunding Bill. To use an expression not too colloquial for some senators, a good deal of "bull" is being talked about the *bloc*.

Professor Ripley on the Esch-Cummins Law

William Z. Ripley, Professor of Economics at Harvard, hopes that the Supreme Court and Congress will leave the



News of the World, London

Mother Erin: "Arrah! It's for the moon ye're cryin', Avick! Take your cake an' ate it!"



Keystone

Vessels of the American Merchant Marine at "dead moorings" (unemployed) off West Point

Esch-Cummins law ("the first really constructive statute in our railroad history") intact. Should they do so, in Professor Ripley's opinion the railroads would slowly work their way back to prosperity and efficiency. We quote:

The present condition of the railroads of the United States is most critical. No restoration of normal conditions generally can occur without a rehabilitation of the railroads, placing them in position, while paying fair wages, to raise the funds necessary to keep pace with the growth of population and of the transportation load. Cessation of new construction, downright abandonment of mileage, inadequate maintenance, are all the result of slow starvation for years, followed by the acute burdens imposed during the war.

Should the Supreme Court uphold the law, a definite measure of relief would come to the carriers, because they would no longer be subjected to the harassment of financial and rate regulation by a multitude of statutes, conflicting and discordant, of the different States.

What Mr. Hooper Thinks

Mr. Hooper, of the Railroad Labor Board, thinks the Board should be given power to enforce its decisions; or, in the phrase so dear to journalism, that the decisions should be "provided with teeth."

The Railway Shop Crafts and the Rules

On January 24 the Committee of One Hundred which, acting on behalf of the six railway shop crafts, has been considering the new set of railroad shop rules recently promulgated by the United States Railroad Labor Board, ordered rejection by the crafts of all the rules on overtime which substitute straight time for time and one-half and double time pay previously prescribed. The procedure upon this order is to institute disputes with the railroad management over the new rules, and, in case of failure to agree, to carry the disputes to the Labor Board for hearing. Certain rules relating to other matters were also ordered rejected.

A Rival to the St. Lawrence Project

A bill has been introduced in Congress which would authorize construction by private enterprise of two ship canals thirty feet deep and 200 feet wide; one to run from Lake Erie to Olcott Harbor, Lake Ontario, the other from the mouth of Sage Creek, east of Oswego on Lake Ontario, through the New York counties of Oswego, Oneida, Herkimer, Montgomery, Schenectady and Albany, to Kenwood on the Hudson. Among the advantages claimed for such an "All-American Route" over the proposed Lake

Erie-St. Lawrence waterway, are: It could be used a month longer than the Canadian route, thus giving the American farmer a month longer to complete his marketing by water; the insurance rates would be only one-third the rates on the Canadian route, the latter debouching on waters menaced by fogs and icebergs; only nine locks would be required against seventeen on the Canadian route; it would require no Federal appropriation. No tolls would be charged, profit to be derived from the sale of hydroelectric power.

If realization of the enterprise promises to kill the St. Lawrence project, it should be easy to find abundant financial backing for it in New York City, whose trade, many serious students of the question think, is shrewdly menaced by the St. Lawrence scheme.

Regulation of Motor Vehicle Traffic

Manslaughter by automobile, become intolerable, has called forth a proposal of a new State machinery for the regulation of motor vehicle traffic in New York State. During the year 1921 automobiles in the State killed 1,981 persons and seriously injured 40,000 more. In New York City and throughout the State disregard of the lives of lawful pedestrians has become monstrous.

The pedestrian takes his life in his hands every time he ventures on the streets. In the great cities (especially New York) subsurface or elevated roadways should be built to which all motor vehicles should be confined except business trucks, public conveyances, and the vehicles used by the fire and police departments, hospitals, and doctors; or else all motor vehicles (with the exceptions noted) should be excluded from the city limits. The speeder should be treated as a murderer; for by the mere act of speeding he endangers human life. We should say that at least 50 per cent. of drivers are brutally insolent and wholly indifferent about the convenience or safety of pedestrians. There is something essentially fatuous about a system of government and a pedestrian majority that allow so enormous an outrage to continue.

Influenza and Pneumonia

Dr. William H. Park, of the Health Department of New York City, informs us that the net result of three years' intensive study of influenza is that the experts are only the

more fully convinced that they know nothing whatever about the disease. It is, of course, the work of a bacillus, but the little rascal has never been cornered.

Experiments towards perfecting a pneumonia vaccine seem to have been crowned with success. Five hundred monkeys imported from Africa and South America have cheerfully contributed their bit towards this happy accomplishment. Says Dr. Park:

The experiments on monkeys have shown conclusively that when the monkey is vaccinated he does not get pneumonia, even though he is inoculated with the germ. If he is not vaccinated he does get the disease when inoculated, and usually dies. This does, of course, mean that experiments on human beings would show precisely the same results.

Indirectly, the pneumonia inoculation is a protection against the effects of influenza, for it isn't influenza itself that is feared so much, but the fact that influenza is so likely to induce virulent pneumonia.

A bas Darwin!

A controversy is in full blast in Kentucky, the nature of which is sufficiently clear from the letter quoted below:

President Frank L. McVey,
University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Ky.

My Dear President McVey: I have this morning your telegram advising me that a bill has been introduced in the Kentucky Legislature to prohibit by heavy penalty the teaching of evolution, or the use of books favoring evolution, in all schools supported by public funds. This proposal is, I take it, the result of the reaction of some enthusiastic admirer of the eloquent addresses that have recently been given on the subject of evolution by my good friend William Jennings Bryan.

The bill, as you describe it, seems to me to lack vigor and completeness. It should, I think, be amended before passage to include in its prohibition the use of any book in which the word evolution is defined, used or referred to in any way. It might even be desirable to include a prohibition of books that use any of the letters by which the word evolution could be spelled, since in this way some unscrupulous person might, by ingenious effort, evade the salutary provisions of the law.

I take it for granted that the introducer of the bill is in close communion with the rulers of Soviet Russia, since he is faithfully reproducing one of their fundamental policies. Truly we are getting on.

Faithfully yours,

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

It seems that the anti-evolutionists of Kentucky imported no less a person than Mr. William Jennings Bryan to champion their cause; who toured the State, denouncing what is commonly known as the Darwinian Theory with great effect, especially in the country districts. In response to requests by President McVey for expressions of opinion on the matter in controversy, educators all over the country have telegraphed protesting against the proposed legislation. The following, from two professors of the Rochester, N. Y., Theological Seminary, is a vigorous example:

Proposed legislation to prohibit teaching of theory of evolution in public institutions of Kentucky is contrary to the spirit of American freedom, derogatory to self-respect, legislative deprivation of right of free intelligence, degrading to people concerned, dishonoring to God, and must be ultimately futile.

Brief Items

It cost New York City \$1,000,000 to clean away 3 inches of snow.

* * *

A bitter fight between East and Middle West is expected over the proposal of a great Congressional appropriation towards the creation of the projected waterway for deep-sea vessels from Lake Erie via the St. Lawrence to the ocean.

* * *

The Foreign Trade Financing Corporation, of which so much was predicted, announces abandonment of its \$100,000,000 plan for promotion of foreign trade.

The Washington Conference

Revision of the Rules of War



International
Sir Ernest Shackleton, the great explorer, who died in January on the Steamship "Quest," while en route to the Antarctic

A RESOLUTION has been adopted by the Committee on Limitation, of the Washington Conference, which provides for a commission representing the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, to revise the rules of international law with relation to the "new agencies of warfare," and requires the Powers above-named to "confer as to acceptance of the commission's report and the course to be followed to secure consideration of its recommendations by the other civilized Powers."

It was originally proposed to have the Five-Power commission undertake a general revision of the rules of war, but the subject-matter was narrowly limited at the instance of Mr. Balfour, who doubtless failed to see the necessity of even the more limited commission, in view of the fact that a commission of the League of Nations is at work on a general revision of the rules of war. The demeanor of Mr. Balfour during discussion of this matter suggested the Arthur Balfour who knew there was an Ice Age and hoped there would be another.

It was originally contemplated that the report of the Conference com-

mission on revision of the rules of war should be referred to a general conference of nations, the latter to be the first step toward that "association of nations" of Mr. Harding's inaugural speech, of which we once heard so much, of which we now hear nothing at all.

Resolutions on China

Seventeen resolutions relating to China have now been adopted by the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Affairs. It cannot be doubted that two more resolutions [one relating to importation of arms into China (important in view of the heightened prospect of civil conflict), the other relating to the Chinese Eastern Railway] will be added. As to whether a third, relating to the Manchurian Question, will be spread on the record, we are discreetly silent.

The Five-Power Treaty

At last the conferees reached agreement on Article 19 of the Five-Power Naval Treaty, and the completed treaty was on February 1 presented at a plenary session of the Conference and adopted. The first draft of Article 19 provided that the *status quo* as to fortifications and naval

bases in the Pacific be maintained "with the exception of the islands of Japan proper, Australia, New Zealand, and Hawaii." The wording was vague, since there was lack of agreement as to what islands should be considered "islands of Japan proper." The British therefore proposed that a quadrilateral be drawn north of the equator within which the *status quo* should obtain. Finally the article took the following form:

The United States of America, the British Empire and Japan agree that the status quo at the time of the signing of the present treaty, with regard to fortifications and naval bases, shall be maintained in their respective territories and possessions specified hereunder:

1. The insular possessions which the United States now holds, or may hereafter acquire in the Pacific Ocean, except (a) those adjacent to the coast of the United States, Alaska and the Panama Canal Zone, not including the Aleutian Islands, and (b) the Hawaiian Islands;

2. Hongkong and the insular possessions which the British Empire now holds, or may hereafter acquire in the Pacific Ocean, east of the meridian of 110 degrees east longitude, except (a) those adjacent to the coast of Canada, (b) the Commonwealth of Australia and its territories, and (c) New Zealand;

3. The following insular territories and possessions of Japan in the Pacific Ocean, to wit: The Kurile Islands, the Bonin Islands, Amami O-Shima, the Lu-chu Islands, Formosa and the Pescadores, and any insular territories and possessions in the Pacific Ocean which Japan may hereafter acquire.

This affords an interesting study in geography. The really important matter, however, is that the article forbids increase or improvement of naval facilities or coast defenses in the Philippines, Guam, or the Aleutian islands. Japan is protected against an offensive by the United States and can capture Guam and the Philippines without difficulty, if she pleases.

The British naval base at Singapore is not affected by the article.

Japan and Great Britain have good old-fashioned reasons for being pleased with Article 19. Americans have the joy of self-sacrifice. The cynic or pessimist may add—the probable sacrifice also of the Filipinos and the Chinese and the Russians of Siberia. Like M. Clemenceau, America must be an optimist.

The Shantung Treaty

The Shantung Question has been settled; not absolutely settled, perhaps, but agreement has been reached on all points and a treaty will be signed within a few days. So Secretary Hughes announced to the Conference in plenary session on February 1, amid tremendous applause.

The Chinese have at last yielded on the "insignificant" issue upon which they have held out so long and so obstinately. That is, for at least five years, and thereafter until the last kopeck of the purchase price of the Tsi-nan Railroad has been paid over, there is to be a Japanese Chief Traffic Manager for that railroad. To be sure, this official is to be subordinate to a Chinese Managing Director, but the Chinese (speaking from bitter experience) have urged (and convincingly) that a Japanese Traffic Manager means *de facto* Japanese control of the railroad. At first blush there seems to be logic in Japanese insistence on control of the road until they get their money; but that argument falls to the ground in face of the fact that the Chinese offered present cash and the Japanese refused it. China gives Treasury notes, redeemable at any time within the period beginning five years and ending fifteen years from the date of consummation of the treaty.

We apologize for lack of enthusiasm over the terms, but we see no occasion for bonfires either in China or in the United States. The Japanese Traffic Manager is to be subordinate to the Chinese Managing Director; he is, "in principle," in a manner of speaking. *Banzai!*

The reaction of the Chinese people to the terms of the treaty will deserve particular watching.

The British Empire

Death of Shackleton

THE world is much poorer by the death of Sir Ernest Shackleton, the Antarctic explorer, one of the most intrepid fellows that ever lived and not the least entertaining of writers. He died in harness, *en voyage* to the Antarctic regions, with equipment and personnel for elaborate scientific investigations. It was to be his last voyage; and it was.

The Independent Liberals

It is difficult to understand the complications of English party politics, but it would seem that the Independent Liberals (as distinguished from the Coalition Liberals) are out for Lloyd George's scalp. They would restore the party system of Government and overthrow the Coalition. They would revive the old Liberal party in its former glory. They include some great names—as Lord Grey and Mr. Asquith. An Opposition headed by so great a man as Lord Grey should be formidable; but the fact is that Lord Grey's very greatness is a political handicap. He is above those petty shifts and manœuvres necessary to political success.

It is pleasant, amid all the bitter things that are being said against France, to hear the following from Lord Grey: "The establishment of good relations with France is the most vital thing in European politics today. Until that old trust and confidence are restored between the two Governments, no conferences, none of these attempts to reconstruct Europe, will fare well." It seems almost a pity that Lord Grey should not be given the chance as Premier to attempt the restoration of the old relations; he is probably better qualified than any other Briton for the task. He is a statesman in the grand style. Rightly or wrongly, Lloyd George is profoundly distrusted in France.

Brevities

BY order of the Sultan, flags on the public buildings in Constantinople were half-masted in honor of Pope Benedict. We are at a loss for the proper philosophical remarks upon this occasion.

* * *

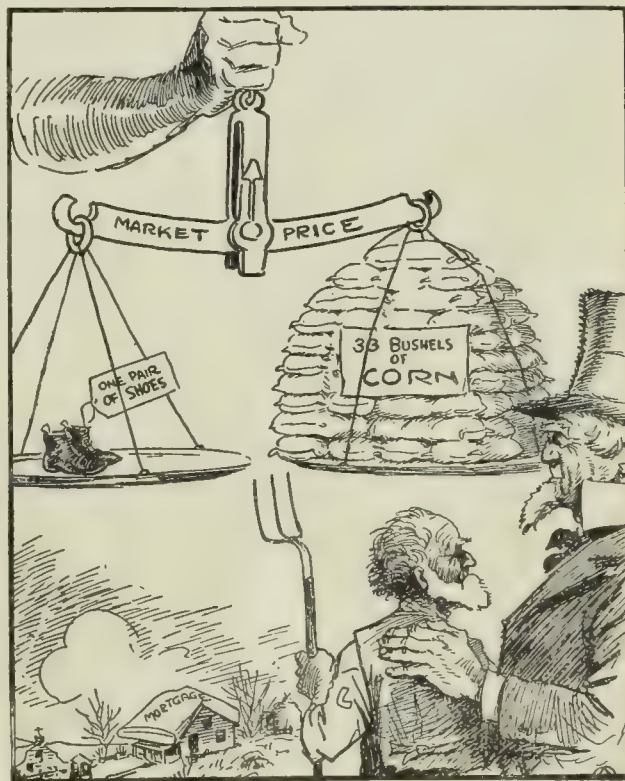
The Oxford Dictionary of 15,000 pages, begun in 1879, is nearly completed.

* * *

That old bandit, the Moorish chief Raisuli, is again making overtures of surrender to the Spaniards. That is Raisuli's idea of being funny.

* * *

Through the cruelty of that wanton beast, man, many species of wild animals in South Africa are becoming extinct—such as the white rhinoceros, the charming mountain zebra, and the beautiful nyala.



Morris

About Time We Had an Economic Conference in America

The Fisherman's Path

By Robert Palfrey Utter

I HAVE caught a good many trout first and last, though seldom one that was hard to catch, and never many at a time. Still, I am become so good a proficient in my term of years that I can drink with any fly-fisherman in his own language for the rest of my life. Nimbly and sweetly does the odor of the fish recommend itself to me as I cook it in a sandy place by the stream where the smoke of my tiny fire goes delicately up in whorls of blue and violet among the slanting shafts of sunlight through the pines. But I suspect that flavor of trout which the true fisherman believes is unsurpassed and unparalleled is mainly the sweet savor of victory. This taste I have not detected in any fish since I was ten years old, and caught what we called pickerel in a pond at the edge of the meadow. It had a few trees about it and was reputed bottomless. We knew no finesse. When we hooked a fish, we



yanked him as high in the air as possible. If he landed in a tree, we climbed after him; if in the grass, we ran and fell on him lest he flop back into the water. After the mauling, we grilled the fish savagely over a smoky fire. I have tasted nothing like it since.

IN those days I knew nothing of the fisherman's path; I had a mind single on the catching of fish, and no other consideration whatsoever affected my notion of the sport. If I caught fish, I was happy and the day was a success. If I caught none or few, meadow grove and stream had no celestial light, nor did the sounding cataract haunt me like a passion. But now I am sensible of remoter charms, and if a day's fishing leaves me with a light creel, my heart is none the heavier. Whatever dainty morsel my carnal appetite may lack, my inner eye has joy for solitude in the memory of the pure beauty of the "lucid shallows" and deep-hearted pools when the sunlight strikes to their veined and wavering bottoms, pale greenish gold like liquid moon-

light. And even of the fish I did not catch (most damning confession) I can think with pleasure, his arrow-like form poised as if by sheer volition against the racing current as a hawk rides the wind, like a translucent shadow—the shadow of a shadow, for the real shade on sand or gravel beneath is more solid-seeming than the fish himself. As for the fisherman's path, if I knew it the less I should have fared the better at breakfast now and then; but I can buy breakfast food (of a sort) at the grocery, and I refuse to starve my imagination for the sake of it. My knowledge of the fisherman's path is cheap at the price.

IN much of your fishing, your highway is the stream itself. You wade straight down the middle of it, and by this means as by no other you learn to know the very stream as you know the rug before your hearth or the pattern of the wall-paper of your bedroom. You know its every swirl, riffle and back eddy, every foot of sand and gravel in its bottom, and every invisible rock. Except for its ceaseless flow, the surface pattern of the brook is like a section cut through your cloud of pipe smoke by a thin edge of sunshine that slips past the side of your window shade. When you go to bed after a day's wading, you see this pattern slide along the inside of your closed eyelids, measured off by the periodical tiny splash and ring-ripple of your fly.

Following the highway stream like a shadow, is the closest companion, the fisherman's path. The road, if any such there be in the valley of your trout stream, is said by those who use it to "follow the river," but it does so only at such distance as may be convenient, because it was laid out by a cow or other engineer seeking the easiest grades. The fisherman's path is the stream's exact parallel within a rod's length wherever casting is possible, and, come horsebriars or high water, blackberry thicket or quaking bog, it will not depart far from the water.

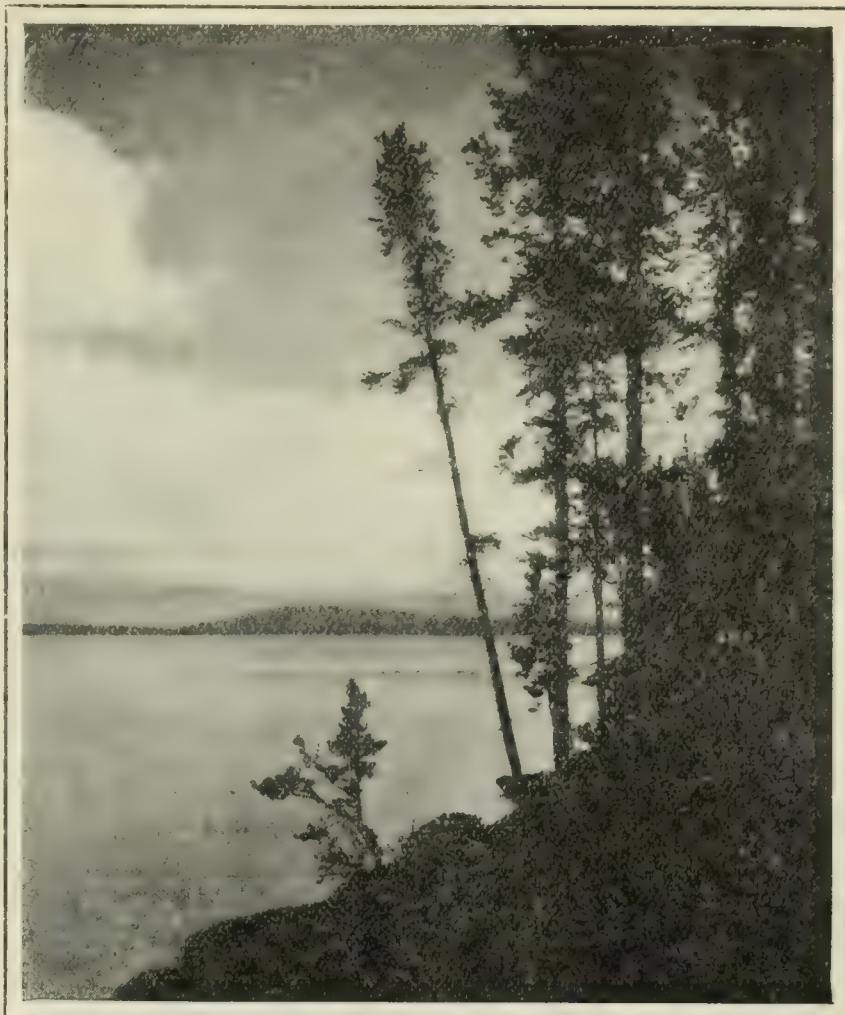
I HAVE maneuvered my rod like a trembling antenna through miles of its shady intimacies in New England hills, among birch, willow, alder and white pine, where the oven-bird lashes his whip-like call and veery and wood-thrush ripple the cool quiet, along banks knee-deep with royal fern, bracken and meadow rue, with here and there a cardinal flower like a spray of signal lanterns. There I have returned to it out of season when the edges of the pools are untrampled; even in winter, when the stream tinkles like a music-box under the snow-cruled ice, when the cascades over the rocks are "domes of many colored glass," and the water shows only in black sluices where it runs too swiftly to freeze.

I have followed it in the Rockies, in canyons lined with aspen, pine and spruce, along roaring streams that come creaming and spouting through rocky gorges and boil up into pools of effervescent green. It winds up the canyon, climbing occasionally over a shoulder when the water churns down between vertical black walls where man cannot go nor fish stop to feed, up to successive lakes of opal and aqua marine, the first of them with gold-green shores and sombre pines and shadows, but higher up there is clean white granite with snow banks and towering naked summits. I have followed it down between red walls and pinacles, slopes of scrub oak and sliding runs of loose rock, where sun bakes my skin and the smell of pennyroyal rises from my footsteps. But not there did I linger, or often make my catch. My fishing grounds are mine no longer. They were the little mountain "parks" or intervalles at the headwaters, high up under the snow banks, bottomed in

deep turf, jewelled with star-in-the-grass, buttercups and flax flowers. Through some the stream laboriously ran a meander pattern, alternating white sandbars and crescent-shaped pools. In others it ran narrow and deep, grass to the very brim, and vertical sides of black soil held in matted grass roots.

NOW for me the fisherman's path lies in the Sierras, winding among black-veined pillars, tawny, red, or wine-colored, of yellow pine, sugar pine, and incense cedar. Or gleaming shafts of white alder line its aisle, down which its companion stream shoots in shimmering cream and jade into boiling pools of mingled green and amber. Camping places are floors of granite sand like rock salt where lupin makes a lambent mist of blue and lavender, pussypaws lift little cushions of pink velvet, or alum-root its impalpable spray. Grossbeak, thrush and robin sing continuously at dawn. Along the water flourishes mountain dogwood, a glorified sister of that which displays its May stars against the dark New England hemlock, and, as its petals fall, the azalea opens its white trumpets. Azalea, willow and young pine and cedar often make the bank impassable, but the stream is laced back and forth with fallen logs, from which one may with convenience but scant security touch with a fly the surfaces of the tempting pools and riffles.

ONE such path in the season last past lured me far from my tent and hoarded tins of food, up between bare granite shoulders and snow banks until the late sun glowed orange on the peaks beyond the valley I had left. It was no trail to walk in darkness, and the moon was too young to help me down. I camped without bacon or blanket, and through the night dozed, tended fire, and watched Charles's Wain trundle solemnly round the pole. My fire illumined the tall clean shaft of a Jeffrey pine and the under sides of the layers of green high up a Douglas fir. Between the two hung Cassiopeia's sketchy chair like a cat's cradle. As soon as the stars faded, I fished for my breakfast; for once I fished in earnest, and for an hour I fished in vain. As I walked back to my campfire, I thought of Piscator and Venator on their fourth day together, with "three brace of



Burlington Route

Yellowstone Lake

trouts" in their creel, making their "brave breakfast" on "a bottle of drink, a piece of powdered beef, and a radish or two." Silly men! It was only perforce that I contented my appetite with what I had left, four walnuts, a heeltap of bread, and a pint of vigorous coffee. The next time I really want a fish to eat, I am going back to Pickerel Pond. It is only three thousand miles away—an easy jaunt compared with the distance back through the years.



The Bohemian Club encampment in the redwoods. The Campfire Circle.

Lem Hooper Explains the Chinese Puzzle

By Ellis Parker Butler

OUR eminent jurist, Justice of the Peace Lem Hooper, gave a friendly nod to Sam Lee, that esteemed Oriental laundryman having been haled to court by an irate citizen because he insisted that his laundry rule of "No tickee, no washee" superseded the usual property rights in three 16¼ collars and two white shirts.

"Belly cold, Mistla Hoopla," said Sam Lee, bowing deeply as he snuggled his hands in the wide sleeves of his loose blue Oriental jacket.

"It is, is it?" grinned the good-natured judge. "In that case, Sam, I might say, as the Irish washlady said to one of your compatriots on a day like this: 'Well, ye heathen, if yez put yer shirt inside iv yer pants like a Christian yer belly w'u'dn't be cold.' Have you heard that one before, Sam?"

"Evly day twloo-thlee times," admitted Sam Lee cheerfully.

"Have, hey?" said Judge Hooper. "Well, there's good sense in it, all the same, Sam. 'When in Rome do as the Romans do.' Take those Japs, now—they wear regular coats and pants and vests."

"Sam no likee Jlap," declared Sam Lee.

"No, I don't suppose you do," agreed Judge Hooper. "I dare say I'd feel sort of irritated myself if I was China, Sam. I'd feel like one of these long-limbed St. Bernard dogs feels when a pesky flea hops onto him and takes a bite and Mr. Dog is too ancient and feeble and played-out to lift up a leg and do a little first-class scratching. If I was that flea-bit dog I wouldn't know whether to lie down and die or sit up and howl."

"One trouble with China, Sam, seems to be that she thinks it might be a good notion to bite herself in two and let the flea-bit half do its own scratching. The real trouble is that when a feeble dog is cut in half that way you don't have two dogs. You don't even have one dog; all you have is crow bait. And up in the top of the old tree the whole flock of European and Asiatic crows are craning their necks, all ready to flop down and eat hearty."

"Maybe you don't see any reason why Uncle Sam should lie awake nights worrying about China, Sam. His reason is pants, Sam; metaphorically speaking, it is pants. Take Japan, now. We've panted Japan in first-class shape. When we pried Japan's door open the flood of pants flowed in and onto the tidy Japanese legs, and the yen and the straw mat flowed out and into our own pants' pockets. The tidal wave of pants and normalcy and stiff hats that swept over Japan made all of us glad and some of us rich, Sam, and we hoped to see the same life-giving wave of civilization and trousers flow over China, but the trouble is that a dead dog has no use for pants. A dead dog stops panting. That's a pun, Sam, but it's no joke."

"The serious condition of China, Sam, is due to the fact that in a world that has taken to the creased trouser as a fish takes to water, China still clings to the garb of Confucius. In a world that is all modern Romans she won't do as the modern Romans do. In a world where the motto is 'This suit \$35, reduced from \$65,' it is justly thought that a heathen that wears his shirt outside his bloomers has no coat-pants-and-vested interests that need be respected. Another pun and a good one! I'm in fine form today."

"In other words, Sam, the nations believe that trade follows the grab, and they are ready to grab. All we would get would be a job lot of Oriental laundries and since the invention of the electric washing-machine, the Oriental laundryman is quoted at ninety-nine per cent. discount, market dull."

"Even a poor ignorant heathen like you, Sam, can see that Uncle Sam—supported by Hinklestein & Blitz, makers

of the famous Loddy-Daw College-Style Clothes, by Custom Coat-makers' Union No. 549, and by United Pantspressers' Union No. 642—is strong for a well-preserved China, able to stand on its own legs and cover them properly with a natty garment that has two hip pockets and ankle cuffs.

"Commerce! We want commerce, Sam, and I look with high hope to the conference at Washington. The delegates of the great but more or less wobbly nations of the world are assembled there, trying to re-arrange the pieces of the Chinese puzzle and from them build a hale and hearty China. It's a hard job, but I hope for the best. Unfortunately, a few of the pieces are missing. Because of the prevalence in this jurisdic-

tion of boots with capacious legs I have been unable to give the conference the benefit of my wisdom, Sam, but I can sense their difficulties. In putting the puzzle together they come to the shin-bone and it is not there."

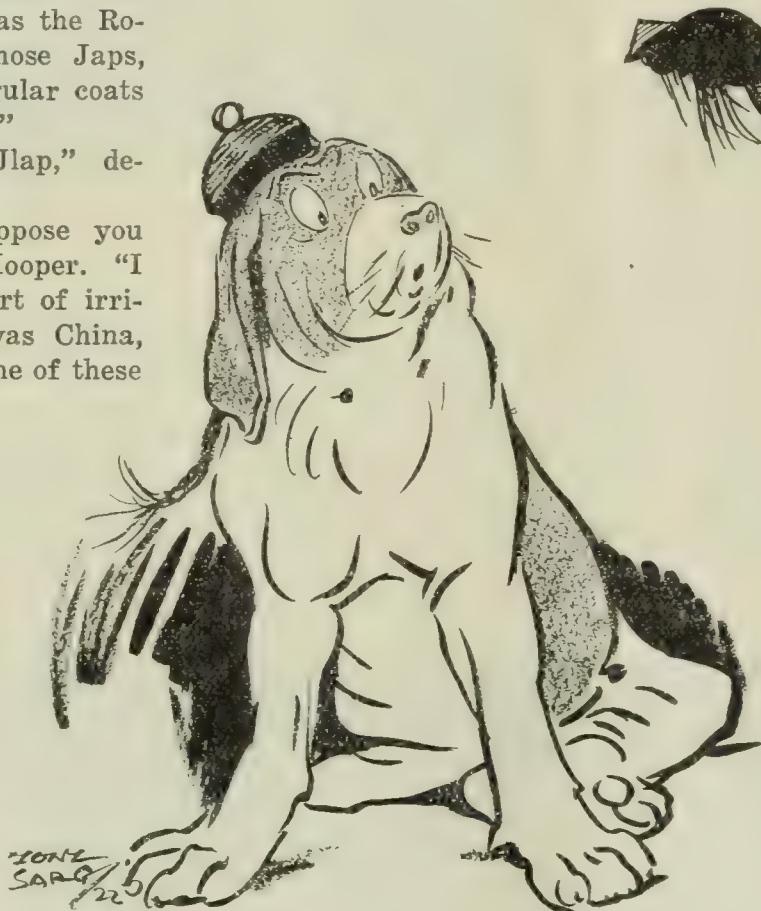
"The shin-bone!" says Mr. Hughes. "Who has the shin-bone? The job is not complete until we have the shin-bone. Who has it?"

"He means Shantung," says the French delegate, giving the Jap a sharp look.

"At that, Sam, the gentleman from Japan looks distressed but stubborn. He looks to see there are no ladies present."

"So sorry!" he says. "Would most gladly return Shantung shin-bone but cannot do so. Sadly necessity compelled humble servant to create suspender buttons out of Chinese honorable shin-bone. Removal of said buttons from European style Japanese pants at this moment probably result in suddenly downward drop of nice leg-coverings, causing intense grade of shame accompanied by naughty return of oldenly quality Japanese war-madness. Such a pity!"

"And there you are, Sam Lee! What can be done when



shin-bones have been carved into pants-buttons? Should somebody get the scissors and let the worst happen, or should old China try to hobble along without shin-bones?

"But that's not what brought you here," said the judge. "What are you going to do about this man's laundry?"

Instantly Sam Lee's cheerfulness fled and an unfathomable Oriental blankness overspread his countenance.

"No tickee, no washee!" he said.

"And that," said Judge Hooper, "is just about China's attitude at Washington, too, Sam Lee."

The Mardi Gras

By H. E. Dounce

WORD that the Krewe of Comus would not participate as usual in this year's Carnival festivities came from New Orleans some weeks before Mardi Gras. Comus is the oldest of the Carnival societies. Its identity with the city's most representative and influential club is an open secret. Its parade and ball on Mardi Gras night have long been the Carnival's recognized social climax. Comus announced itself ready to parade, but not to give the ball, for which, since the old French Opera House burned, it had found no place of suitable size and character.

The loss of the Opera House two years ago was as serious a thing as could have happened to New Orleans traditions. It stood in the heart of the old French Quarter, the *vieux carré*. Its history for the better part of a hundred years was the pleasure-loving city's social history. All the masked balls of the Carnival season—ten or twelve of them, beginning with the Twelfth Night Revellers' on that evening and ending with Rex and Comus on Shrove Tuesday—were held in it. The quaintly classical decorations of its auditorium, the historic brilliancy of the boxes of "horse-shoe," the entire setting of the crash-covered stage and dancing platform, theatrically beaten upon by the beams of calcium moons, gave the tableaux and the dancing a quality not to be recaptured in a modern ballroom. New Orleans has excellent modern halls, and the societies are now making shift with two of them.

The costumes for these balls and for the street pageants are especially designed and made in Paris. The wax masks, too, are imported, and so are many of the properties and the favors for partners. The gorgeousness of the ball, also the contributions and assessments entailed and the further personal expense to a masking participant, can be faintly imagined. For instance, if the theme of the ball is Chinese, the mandarin coats worn are real. Cheap fabrics simulating choice ones were unheard of a few years ago. The rivalry of the friendly societies stopped at nothing. Now the cost of living has resulted in somewhat simplified costumes and scenery.

The favors mentioned are almost anything you please. The flowers-candy-and-books restriction is lifted at Carnival time. A popular debutante or girl visitor, as she leaves the hall laden with favors and such souvenirs as a Moon Elf's wand, a Turk's gilt scimitar, a mandarin coat,

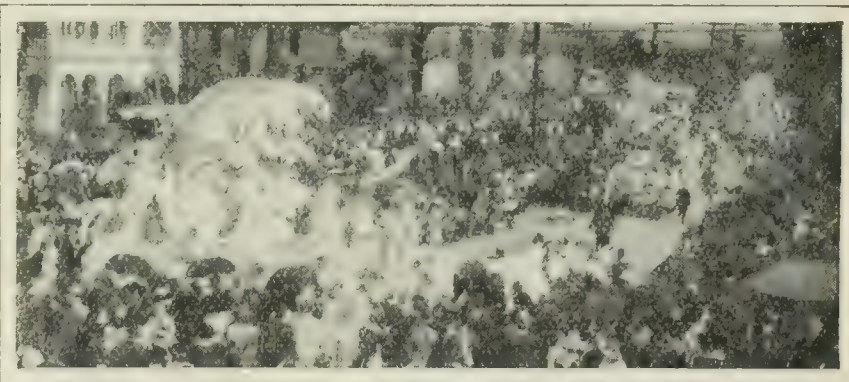
or a purple cloak—casually presented by costumed partners during the dances—looks like nothing so much as a perambulating what-not from a house in old Salem in the clipper-ship days.

Each ball has its king, whose queen and her maids are chosen from among the women guests "called out" for the first dance. The choices are ostentatiously made by lot. A good ear for whispers has been known to learn about them days before the lots were drawn!

Rex, king of the Carnival, is always a liberal business man of high standing. His queen is the daughter or other young relative of a similarly solid citizen. Rex officially emerges from the Gulf on Shrove Tuesday, and comes up the river on a royal yacht. He is given the keys of the city, and parades with the pageant of his retinue and society in the afternoon. His ball, in the evening, has a rather municipal atmosphere. Its givers are the unofficial city fathers, and its souvenir is that of the Carnival.

Like Comus, Proteus, and the Knights of Momus, the other organizations that usually give street pageants are quasi-secretly identical with important social clubs. Momus takes an evening just before the Mardi-Gras week-end, Proteus Mardi Gras eve.

The famous tableaux on horse-drawn floats are designed according to the pageant's general theme, which may come



International

from mythology, history, folklore, or even zoology or religion. The parade of Rex is as sumptuous as a daytime parade could be, but does not compare with the parades at night. These are illuminated with oil torches, some carried by maskers in the tableaux, many more by marchers on foot. The rich yellow light, streaming and flickering, really transfigures the long line of glittering floats. Electric lights have been tried with inferior results.

The Latin festival observance of Shrove Tuesday was brought over to New Orleans about 1827, when some young Creoles lately back from France paraded the streets in costume. Parades of floats date from 1840, and have since been given in all but the Civil War years. Comus dates from 1857, Momus from 1872. Most of the other societies are comparatively recent.

Ten years ago the cost of the four street pageants alone was officially figured at \$200,000. It must have doubled since that time. The number of visitors annually attracted to the city is supposed to be 100,000 or more. Whenever the Carnival dies, its mourners will be numbered in every State of the Union. It is the supreme good time of the American community that knows best how to have good times and give them.



International

New Books and Old

Books of the Week

THE STUDY OF AMERICAN HISTORY, by James Bryce. Macmillan.

THOMAS HARDY: Poet and Novelist, by Samuel C. Chew. Longmans.

JOANNA GODDEN, by Sheila Kaye-Smith. Dutton.

A novel.

JOURNAL OF A LADY OF QUALITY, edited by E. W. and C. M. Andrews. Yale University Press.

Narrative of a journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the years 1774-76.

WATCHED BY WILD ANIMALS, by Enos A. Mills. Doubleday.

Beavers, bears, bighorns, and bob-cats—and how they watch man when he doesn't know it.

A REVISION OF THE TREATY, by John Maynard Keynes. Harcourt.

Sequel to "The Economic Consequences of the Peace."

ONE of the best chapters in Mr. Enos Mills's "Watched by Wild Animals" (Doubleday) concerns the otter. This engaging animal (you recall young Portly Otter in "The Wind in the Willows"?) is a born athlete, play-fellow, and all-round sport. He likes to shoot rapids, likes to swim or travel overland for amusement and adventure, is a good fighter—tackling the wolf or wild-cat on land and the beaver in the water—is a fine hunter and better fisherman. He is keen-witted, curious, graceful. Mr. Mills calls him "inscrutable and half-mysterious." I have never seen him, as Mr. Mills has, in the wilds, but two captive otters, with whom I was privileged to have a calling acquaintance, used to perform on their hind legs a jovial *pas de deux* for the soda biscuits which I brought them. Then they invariably ate the biscuits lying luxuriously on their backs in the icy water of their pool in mid-winter. Another game was for me to throw snowballs into the pool, which the otters would methodically push ashore with their fore-paws, repeating the thing over and over again, thoroughly amused and delighted.

Two books about Thomas Hardy have appeared lately. One is a second edition of H. C. Duffin's "Thomas Hardy: a Study of the Wessex Novels" (Longmans), already known to admirers of the greatest of living English novelists. The other, by Samuel C. Chew, is "Thomas Hardy: Poet and Novelist" (Longmans), published under the auspices of Bryn Mawr College, where its author is professor of English. It is an attractively printed little volume, and the author is to be congratulated upon a work marked by modesty, by good sense, knowledge, and sympathy.

If people keep on writing intimate memoirs of the great, somebody may produce a good book. There are things in Mr. Hesketh Pearson's "Modern Men and Mummies" (Harcourt) which indicate that he may have done it. He utters some conventional nonsense about Bernard Shaw, but he redeems this by his essay on Sir Herbert Tree. And when I come to this about Joseph Conrad, I think there is much to be said for the family name: "The English language has been ransacked for superlatives to do his [Conrad's] genius justice. . . . May I venture the suggestion that the critics should, for the future, discuss him in Sanscrit? . . . I am afraid his popularity has been gained by his style. It is a style that hints at immensities, at vastnesses, at expanses, at illimitables. . . . The souls of his readers wander aimlessly through star-lit spaces, trying to find expression in those terrific silences. The creed was revealed to me not long ago by an ardent Conradian in these mystical words:

"'Heavens alive, man! One can even feel his dots. . . .'"

Does anybody think this an exaggeration, an invention? Let him recall the review of the latest Conrad novel in the New York *Evening Post*, in which the writer of the review told how little joy there was in life for the devout Conradians. They writhe in perpetual torment, trying to figure out how different Novel 14, by the Master, would have been if it had been written between Novel 6 and Novel 7. And after the faithful acolytes had all explained to each other how one of the recent novels exemplified his later manner so perfectly, "it was divulged that nearly all the book had been written twenty years ago! The Conradians are going to have a bad quarter of an hour on that Day when the secrets of all hearts are laid bare, and they are asked the fatal question: Did you really enjoy those books?"

Technically, Mr. Raymond Weaver's book, "Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic" (Doran), may be open to a number of criticisms. It is not well balanced—but that is not the author's fault, for Melville's life was most oddly weighted at its beginning. In a sense, his life was over long before he died. There are many discursive passages. But these are among the most readable in the volume. The book is never dull, and it will send its readers to Melville's own writings. If those are not positive merits, canceling minor faults, what can they be termed?

Mr. Stoddard Dewey, writing from Paris, reviewed in last week's number of *The Independent*, Louis Hémon's remarkable novel, "Maria Chapdelaine." He worked from the novel in French, and so failed to mention the English translation, which is by W. H. Blake, published by the Macmillan Company.

A series of lectures on the Silliman Foundation at Yale, by Sir William

Osler, have been collected as "The Evolution of Modern Medicine" (Yale University Press). The medical knowledge of the Greeks, medicine in mediaeval days, the rise of the study of anatomy and physiology during the Renaissance, are three of the subjects. The book is elaborately illustrated.

The death of America's true friend and wise critic, James Bryce, came almost at the same time with the publication in this country of his "The Study of American History" (Macmillan). This was the inaugural lecture of the Sir George Watson Chair of American History, last July.

May is remarkable, writes Mr. Robert Lynd in "The Pleasures of Ignorance" (Scribner), for being the only month in which one does not like cats. No; the author is wrong. There are eleven other such months—just as Pudd'nhead Wilson found one month in which it was unlucky to speculate—one month, and eleven others. There is too much about cats in Mr. Lynd's book. There is too much about cats in most books, except in "Once Aboard the Lugger," in which it is shown what an awful ass a man could make of himself about a cat, absurdly named the Rose of Sharon. And there is a cat in "Tom Sawyer," a cat named Peter, who was given a dose of pain-killer, which he had solicited, but characteristically did not like. There are many cats in Mark Twain, but the only good one was taken with Tom and Huck to the graveyard, as one of the ingredients in Huck's complicated remedy for warts.

I turn to my book-shelves to see what is said about cats by Mr. Pepys. The only entry in that wondrous index (the Wheatly edition) is "Catcall, Pepys buys a," but the reference is disappointing. He bought it of Adam Chard for two groats. What he did with it I do not discover, although in the search I observe that on March 12, 1660, Pepys took a remedy for his cold, which I will set down for the benefit of anybody who likes to try it: "A spoonful of honey and a nutmeg scraped into it . . . which I found did do me much good."

Lewis Carroll, according to his biographer, seems not to have been concerned with cats—though he imagined an unusual one in the Cheshire Cat. Lockhart's "Scott" passes them by; so does Strachey's "Queen Victoria and Wilfrid Blunt's "Diaries." Mrs. Asquith, one is prepared to learn, adores them. But of all the characters of history or romance, Little Tommy Green alone dealt with them firmly, adequately, satisfactorily.

Political relations between the United States and the Latin American countries are discussed in Samuel Guy Inman's "Problems in Pan-Americanism" (Doran; \$2.00). The author is instructor in international relations in Columbia University.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

Book Reviews

Personality

THE FOUNDATIONS OF PERSONALITY. By Abraham Myerson, M. D. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

FOR quite obvious reasons the reflective medical man is often drawn toward philosophy, and the technical philosophers have learned to expect certain characteristic merits—as well as certain characteristic defects—when a physician writes a book on their subject. Sometimes he attacks the age-long puzzle about Body and Mind, coming to it full of ideas which he has acquired in the dissecting room or the physiological laboratory, and not embarrassed by realizing the difficulties which lie beyond all experimental solution. Or he raises some question about instinct and emotion and behavior—some ancient problem of the social moralist—and ventures an answer with all the emphatic freshness of one who thinks that philosophers have merely dreamed about this in the study, while the doctor has met human nature face to face in that consulting room where no secrets are hid and where he has disputed with the priest the right to be called “*curé* of souls.” Ever since Cabanis said that the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile, and that poetry seems to be a function of the smaller intestines, we have had adventurous medical speculation of the first kind. And Dickens in “*Little Dorrit*” has given us the reason for the medical man’s authority on subjects of the second sort: “Here is a man who really has an acquaintance with us as we are, who is admitted to some of us every day with our wigs and paint off. . . . We may as well make an approach to reality with him, for the man has got the better of us and is too strong for us.”

Dr. Myerson’s book on Personality illustrates at once the advantages and the limitations of the author’s professional training. It is no systematic treatise, but deals somewhat discursively with many different ways of feeling and acting in which personality is revealed. Thus we have discussions about memory, habit, hysteria, varying types of temperament and character, the emotions, the sex impulses, Freudianism, and much more. The value of the book does not lie in any new contribution that it makes to theory, and it does not even attempt to solve the old enigma about “Selfhood.” It lies in the unconscious psychologizing of the experienced physician as he thinks over the cases he has treated, rather than in the effort to construct new technical formulae or to transform old ones. Dr. Myerson has drawn upon the accumulated stores of his professional memory to put before psychologists many a curious fact and many a suggestive guess. He knows human nature—including what has been called “the dark pathology of the soul”—and his book is replete with

excellent common sense, with sagacious advice on the conduct of life, with instructive illustration from many therapeutic fields. A fault is his tendency to over-elaborate the obvious, and to beat out his lessons a little too thin, but there is much in these chapters to reward the careful reader. One notes the medical man’s alertness of observation, devotion to the concrete and dislike of the abstract, fear of arguing from an insufficient number of cases, quickness in quoting a contradictory instance to refute some rashly formulated generalization. Dr. Myerson’s general literary style is by no means a model, but it is always lucid. This is especially notable when he is writing for the general reader upon subjects that are remote from the general reader’s ken. He can make himself intelligible, for instance, to any reasonably educated person when he deals with the relation of bodily to mental states, and uses in illustration the phenomena of Cretinism, Acromegaly, Myxoedema, Paresis. Such clearness it seems too often is either beneath the professional dignity or beyond the expository gifts of the scientific expert to exhibit. Here and there Dr. Myerson entertains us with a sharp satiric thrust, as when he speaks of “the vegetarians who are sad because it is wrong to kill for food; yet they wear without compunction the leather of cattle who have neither committed suicide nor died of old age.”

The title of the book is not well chosen. Those who open it in the expectation that they will see a further probing of “the abysmal depths of personality” will close it with a sigh of disappointment. The special problem in which such readers are interested is pushed to one side, and in a quaint sentence Dr. Myerson himself acknowledges this. He writes: “I shall take a very simple view of consciousness, simply because I shall deliberately dodge the great difficulties.” And he adds in a footnote: “I have not attempted to discuss the matter from the philosopher’s point of view, for the very obvious reason that I am no philosopher.” This frank avowal would disarm criticism, if the writer had remained faithful to the self-denying ordinance that he imposed upon himself. But sometimes, remembering that he has set out to treat “the foundations of personality,” he ventures dogmatic statements of a fundamental kind as if they were established truths, while—at the very best—they must be called the disputable tenets of a school. To declare, for example, that beyond all doubt “mind and character are organic, are functions of the organism and do not exist independently of it,” is not to dodge the great difficulties. It is to plunge right into them. But, if personality is not in this book plumbed to its “abysmal depths,” there is much valuable surveying of the superficial currents and eddies. Nor should such work, although it is concerned with the surface of things, be called “superficial” in the

contemptuous sense of that word. It may well be a guide to knowledge that is profound. But when Dr. Myerson, forgetful of the limits he has prescribed for himself, advances in some casual confident phrase a new solution of the psycho-physical mystery of the ages, we can best reply with an adaptation of familiar words: “Behold the feet of them that buried thy predecessor are at the door.”

HERBERT L. STEWART

Lost Valley

LOST VALLEY. By Katharine Fullerton Gerould. New York: Harper & Brothers.

WE who admire Mrs. Gerould as a brilliant essayist and accomplished story-teller must take up her first novel with more than casual hopes. What better basis for a novelist’s art than the experience and accomplishment of this keen observer and skillful commentator? What better omen for her success than the very tardiness of her attempt? . . . After reading the book we may find ourselves meditating ruefully upon the specious nature of these questions. The truth is, there is only one excuse for a novel, as for a poem, and that is that the author has to get rid of it or suffer. The deadly thing about the current “novel” is that so many people are cultivating it, or imitating it, or laboring in its wake, as if it were a prize vegetable, or a mechanical toy, or an object virtuous and valuable for its mass and shape or for the idea and purpose that have gone to its making. The only important consideration for those who revere the novel is whether the novelist had a story that must be told: had the real Carlylean “fire in his belly.” If he had, all is well, no matter what else is ill; if he had not, the product is at best a study, at worst a commodity—in neither case a sound fruit of the creative process. Kindly people examine it, and say “How clever,” or “Why, yes, that’s pretty good, isn’t it?”—and so damn it forever.

The unwelcome fact is that for all its recognizable excellences of detail, I have found “*Lost Valley*” slow reading, hard reading. There is a good idea, there is a good initial situation; but the narrative proceeds from them rather than grows out of them. We feel the chronicler at work laboriously building the fabric of her tale. That her status as literal “chronicler” is thus challenged does not matter. Everybody knows that a creative novelist is far more than a chronicler; but nobody, at the moment of contact, is aware of him as anything but a chronicler. A live, sinewy action conveys always its illusion of fact; though we know that fact in itself is not alive or sinewy, and even though we are of our own will moving in the plane of dream. Don Quixote and Monte Cristo, Esmond and Feverel and Lapham, seem to be real because of what they do. They are embodied in

the action, and we can't spare any of it without spoiling everything. In reading "Lost Valley," I am aware of much that might be condensed, or spared outright, but to no real use.

The "idea," I say, is very good, very promising—so far as an idea can promise anything for a story. It is the idea of the beautiful but abandoned New England back-country, hopelessly going to seed, not to be restored to the old life, yet living forever in the hearts and veins of certain of its children. Out of this idea comes the opening situation upon the Lockerby farm, with its neglected buildings and stony acres, its hapless inmates. The Lockerbys are of the best "Valley" stock, but are come upon evil days. Andrew Lockerby, head of the household, keeps nothing from the Lockerby past but his mortgaged fields and his unreasoning pride in the fact that he is a Lockerby. Of the three other members of the family, one is Andrew's demented mother, and another is Lola, a half-witted niece. The third, Madge Lockerby, is the heroine, the princess, the Cinderella of the piece; but a Cinderella without charm. We hear of her beauty, but it does not touch us, for her sponsor will not let us escape from her hard, dry, stubborn Yankee mood and manner. Very well: we swallow hard, and accept Madge. We are evidently in for a work of sombre New England portraiture, and we think of glorious precedents, from "The Scarlet Letter" to "Ethan Frome." . . . Disconcertingly, as the chapters unfold, we discover that our dry, charmless, handsome Madge is a being involved in an elaborate romantic—or rather unrealistic—fiction, and does not know very well how to get on with it, or how to get out of it.

All of the action, after the first few chapters, hangs upon an intricate network of coincidence, misapprehension, and cross purpose, and is burdened, not illumined, with detail. Who believes, as he reads of it (what he believes on second thought doesn't matter), in Madge's long search for Lola? Who does not feel that it is deliberately prolonged for the author's purposes? Who believes in Lola, or, in the end, in Madge herself, puppet of so many wires? As for Arthur Burton, the feeble snob, and Desmond Reilly, the conquering male, who wants to believe in them? . . . The book's lack all comes down to the lack of that miraculous co-ordination between idea, character, and event which marks a true story from an invention. Miracles are not performed by taking thought. Therefore, while Mrs. Gerould has plainly made a most honest and earnest attempt to achieve a novel of power and substance, it is quite within the probabilities that she should have failed. You never know: The play and the novel are two forms of expression at which every writing person tries his hand sooner or later. The issue is in other hands.

H. W. BOYNTON

An Essay in Eugenics

IS AMERICA SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY? By William McDougall. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

IT might seem like presumption on the part of Professor McDougall to discuss the domestic affairs of this country so soon after his arrival, were it not that he does it impersonally and in the name of science, presenting some phases of American social life in illustration of principles applicable to all the countries of the Western world. Besides, he saves our feelings to some extent by the assumption, so flattering to the vanity of our old families, that their progenitors were chiefly of the Nordic race, tall, blonde, and long-headed, and superior in most respects to other varieties of mankind.

Of course, anthropologists differ as to the very definition of "race"; it is not certain that there ever was a distinct race of blondes; and the assumption of superiority is hard to defend against rival claims. However, it is generally admitted that there are three chief types among European peoples—the Nordic, the Mediterranean, and the Alpine—and Professor McDougall's description of their salient characteristics, while open to question on some points, is exceedingly interesting and suggestive. The Nordics, as he puts it, are, physically, tall and fair; mentally they are of what Dr. Jung calls the introvert type—slow, taciturn, reflective, self-reliant, assertive, unsociable, and even stern and gloomy, though strong in wonder and curiosity. The Mediterraneans, on the contrary, are, physically, short and dark; mentally they are extroverts—quick, vivacious, expansive, loquacious, gregarious, sociable, sympathetic, emotional, and even hysterical, and relatively weak in curiosity.

These main physical and mental characteristics serve to indicate and explain a long series of differences in the character and attainments of the two races. As to art and literature, the classic predominates in the south, the romantic in the north. In religion, Catholicism has kept its hold on the south, while Protestantism has flourished in the north. Suicides and divorce are more prevalent in Normandy and other parts of France where blondes predominate than in the regions where brunettes are more numerous, although the brunettes, being more passionate, are often guilty of homicide. The Nordics are relatively more addicted to strong drink, probably because it arouses their sluggish emotions, making them, for a time, happy extroverts. The Nordics are great adventurers, colonizers, and leaders, while the Mediterraneans like to stay at home, are more easily satisfied with things as they are, and more submissive to the powers that be. The Nordics are highly independent, provident, and individualistic; the Mediterraneans more coöperative, improvident, and socialistic.

These are sweeping generalities, to which anthropologists might well take exception, while cynics might be tempted to scoff; yet the author's conclusion

that the Nordic race or type or variety of the human species has certain peculiar characteristics is orthodox enough. It may be admitted, too, that the blondes are something more than a mere "sport," that they have played a notable part in history, and that it would be a pity if, through some perversity of natural selection, they should perish from the earth.

Yet Professor McDougall believes that this very calamity threatens the United States and all other progressive countries, because the best people, as they climb the social ladder, fail to reproduce their kind, while the masses of inferior breed multiply at a rapid rate. As the well-known biologist and eugenicist, C. B. Davenport, has said, at the present rate of production, 1,000 Harvard graduates of today will have only fifty descendants 200 years hence, by which time 1,000 Rumanians will have increased to 100,000. Thus the best of the old stock and of the earlier immigration from northern Europe has begun to decline, and is being replaced by the progeny of the less capable of the native-born and of the newer immigrants from southern Europe and the Slavonic countries.

Some sociologists view this movement with indifference, because they hold that the poorer classes are as good, physically, mentally, and morally, as the well-to-do and professional people, that the newer immigration is not at all inferior to the earlier, and that there is an inexhaustible reservoir of potential ability from which civilization may draw its leaders for centuries to come. Professor McDougall, like most other eugenicists from Galton onward, seriously questions this popular optimism, and believes that the modern social stratification corresponds to a stratification of innate moral and intellectual quality. In plain language, he holds that the upper social strata of any democratic country constitute a real intellectual and moral aristocracy, and that education only makes matters worse by giving the most capable individuals of the lower strata opportunity to climb the social ladder toward destruction. In fact, the author goes so far as to formulate this tendency as a law of social degeneracy, thus:

"Our civilization, by reason of its increasing complexities, makes constantly increasing demands upon the qualities of its bearers; the qualities of those bearers are diminishing or deteriorating, rather than improving."

In proof of this pessimistic proposition the author probably relies too much upon intelligence-tests conducted in the army and in the public schools, although the tests are as yet very new and crude and do not justify any definite conclusions. Also, the evidence presented of correspondence between intellectual ability and moral character is very slight. Nor is evidence presented to show that the upper strata of American society are chiefly of the Nordic type. Nor does the author take account of Hungarians, Jews, Armenians, or other people outside of the

threefold classification. Nor does his suggestion of a bonus to large families of the better class seem quite feasible at the present time. So, although Professor McDougall has presented a strong and startling case for immediate action along eugenic lines, he is likely to receive from most readers a Scotch verdict—"not proven."

For all that, the author is probably right in his main contention, that if the more capable and successful people are to be destroyed through the deadly operation of the social ladder, there will be a net loss of physical, intellectual, and moral qualities that can never be made up. Is it not time to preach a crusade against all the evil forces that threaten the American family and to exalt the old ideals of plain living and high thinking—the gospel of the common life?

J. E. LE ROSSIGNOL

Van Loon—Historian

THE STORY OF MANKIND. By Hendrik van Loon. New York: Boni and Liveright.

MR. VAN LOON'S history is unique, just as is that of Wells. If history can be compared to a range of mountains, Wells takes us up to a distant high place and shows us the entire panorama; with Van Loon we trudge up the foot-hills to the peaks themselves and view the passing show at close hand. We rub mental shoulders with the characters; the glamor of distant years yields to close inspection and we perceive unexpected faults and frailties, beauties and dignities—resemblances to ourselves and our day which the "Outline" never gives. Wells' is a magnificent man's history, Van Loon's is a historical "Alice in Wonderland," belonging both to men and to children. It makes us think of Kipling's "The Greatest Story in the World," which is superlative praise. It makes us think of organic evolution, which all historians should but do not consider. We follow the rise of man from prehistoric times, through the building of great materialistic pyramidal structures, on past the age of glorification of artificial physical prowess, to that of mental dominance; and we recall the similar evolution of all other living creatures. With this in mind we realize the brief geological moment during which all this human history has occurred, compared with the ages of monad to worm, to amphibian, to reptile, to mammal, to man. And, constantly checked by this thought, our appreciation of the marvelous rapidity of man's rise is brought home. We are able to understand the persistence of primitive instincts in man, which so few years ago were uncontrolled by any mental or spiritual responsibilities. And, on the other hand, we need place no curb on our hopes for mutations so sudden that *a priori* one would be tempted to hail them as miracles.

The excellence of Van Loon's volume is two-fold, the illustrations and

the first two-thirds of the text. The pictures are preëminent because they are like what we ourselves might draw if we tried very hard for a long time, and besides they place a premium on imagination. As no man or no writing can make life as vivid as life itself, so we automatically derive less interest

from the text as we reach modern times. My advice is to read up to this point and then re-read the first part.

It is one of the very few non-scientific books I am taking to the jungle to pick up at odd moments in my study of animal evolution.

WILLIAM BEEBE

Drama Author, Actor, and Audience

THE THEATRE OF TOMORROW. By Kenneth Macgowan. New York: Boni & Liveright.

REJUVENATION, revitalization, novelty are the very life of the theatre, which is an artistic institution rather more fluent, complex, and, on the whole, more mysterious than we ordinarily suspect. But the revitalization of the theatre is, in the final analysis, dependent upon three constant factors, which we may summarize as author, actor, and audience. How these three factors influence and mutually determine each other; how they function in the theatrical experience; how one or the other of them tends at various epochs of the stage to dominate the other two, and is yet held rigidly and rigorously in relation to them—here is a knotty problem that needs fresh study, a problem in æsthetics the surface of which has thus far scarcely been scratched. The perfect theatre, one suspects, would result from a divine coördination of these contributory and creative elements—the perfect play, the supreme interpreters, the audience of genius. But we should not forget that this coördination cannot be consciously, nor by laborious effort, obtained. Theatrically speaking, the dramatist must be independent and uncompromising in his expression. He must concede nothing to the audience nor to his interpreters. The same independence is likewise the prerogative of the actor. His creation is likewise independent, yet of an independence that in no way conflicts with the aim of the author, but intensifies and adds solidity and dynamic power to the living performance. The function of the audience in this psychological experience is no less contributory; yet in a more complex, more involved fashion. The audience, we may venture, like the actor, re-creates, re-interprets the conflict deployed by the author. The audience is the very soul of the theatre, as it is the very soil out of which the tradition of great drama or great acting must grow.

The theatre of tomorrow, like the theatre of today, like the theatre of yesterday, must be the result of the interplay of these living and creative factors. We cannot have great popular dramatists, great actors, without great audiences. And so, finally, the problem of the theatre becomes the problem of life. The outlook for the future, from this point of view, is not cheerful: our democratic audiences seem

progressively inert, exploitable, lacking in discrimination and the critical spirit, duped by the press-agent and the voluntary log-roller, and exhibiting only the most feeble reactions to the meretricious proceedings that occupy nine-tenths of the theatres of the world.

These pessimistic thoughts, let us confess, have resulted from reading Mr. Macgowan's amiable and optimistic eulogy of the modern theatrical engineer, mechanic, electrician, scene painter, lighting expert, designer, decorator, director, *régisseur*, of those self-advertised pleonectic solipsists of the "new stagecraft" who would banish author and actor from the theatre of tomorrow—and undoubtedly also would be glad to dispense with the audience. Mr. Macgowan writes of swinging stages, sliding stages, revolving stages, sinking stages, plastic stages, shadow stages, of the *Kuppelhorizont*, of the *Neu-Inszenierungen* which enables the enterprising Germans to "put over" "*unser Shakespeare*." Half of his big book, in fact, is devoted to the mechanics of the stage and the "new stage." Only secondary is his interest in the "new playhouse"; and almost as an afterthought he considers "the new play." In his latter section, which is as near as Mr. Macgowan ever comes to the task of the dramatist, we read some astonishing statements—statements which lead us to believe that things are actually worse in our theatre than we had suspected. It suggests the approach of the silly season in criticism. Here is one of our foremost metropolitan critics saying that the dialogue in the drama of the future "will go to the point sharply and briefly." Has it ever failed to in any great play of the past? Moreover: "Something of the directness of the motion-picture subtitle or printed caption will invade the stage. Playwrights will come closer to the condensation of the advertising writer." It will be, in short, "a frank and open discourse between the actor and his audience, a reaffirmation that this is a play which is being acted, a remarkable game between these two. . . . The dramatist of the future will think more in terms of color, design, movement, music, and less in words alone." Poor Euripides! Poor Molière! Poor Shakespeare! They could not condense like the modern writer of advertising copy; they were lacking in the advantages of the cycloramas and

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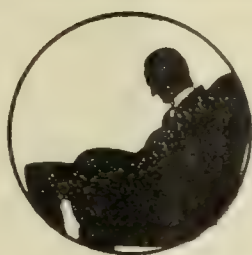
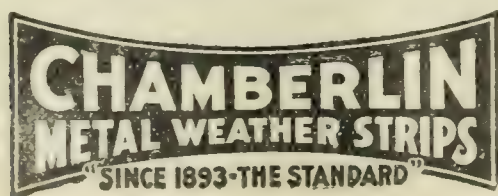
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thousand-watt lamps which these forward-looking gentlemen tell us do so much to free the imagination and liberate the technique of our modern dramatic Titans. The dramatist of the future will not think for whole hours in blank verse, suggests Mr. Macgowan. That, apparently, was the mistake Shakespeare made; though Mr. Macgowan, with a remarkable catholicity of taste, has a good word even for poor Will, who overcame the monotony of blank verse. "The fact that Shakespeare managed to do this, that he was able to give monotony to the monotonous te-tum te-tum te-tum te-tum te-tum of this verse form, is perhaps the greatest tribute to his technical power."

It is not because this interpreter devotes less space to the consideration of the dramatist than to the "new stagecraft" that he exposes the weakness of his vision. It is his perfunctory, superficial, and provincial conception of drama and the function of the dramatist that invalidates his thesis. In brief, he mistakes the effect for the cause. Contemporary preoccupation with scenery, lighting effects, mechanical and scenic perfection may be not the sign of a renaissance in the theatre, but of decadence. When the manager, the box-office, the press-agent, and even the director begin to assume a dictatorship over the dramatist, the actor, and the audience, we may only conclude that the theatre is not functioning in a healthy fashion.

Pretty colors, pretty lights, pretty costumes may be used to bribe and entice the audience into the playhouse. Thousand-watt lamps, "mediums," "reflectors," dimmers and borders—I cannot use these words with the facility and eloquence of Mr. Macgowan—may almost completely conceal deficiencies in acting and interpretation. But despite their brilliance they can never completely blind the intelligent audience to the poverty of expression of pretentious playwrights and ill-equipped actors. For it is the true function of the theatre—yesterday, today, and tomorrow—to stimulate the audience to the re-creation of the experience of the dramatist himself. In coming under the spell of great drama through the theatrical experience we in the audiences undergo a vicarious adventure. The only true dramatist is he who extends the frontiers of the imagination, who leads us into the unknown territory of the spirit, and who thus confers upon the least of us, temporarily at least, something of his own greatness.

Let us hope that the theatre of tomorrow may attain the greatness of the theatre of the Greeks, the theatre of Molière and Corneille, the theatre of Shakespeare—the theatre of the great undying tradition.

ROBERT ALLERTON PARKER

A new edition has been published of H. Addington Bruces dramatic biography of Daniel Boone, called "Daniel Boone and the Wilderness Road" (Macmillan, \$1.75).

The Future of the Farmers' Movement

Perils That Threaten It, As Seen By Its Leaders

WHAT do the leaders of the Farm Bureau Movement really think about its chances for success or failure? Their speeches and their "publicity" have made fairly plain the larger objects they aim at accomplishing. The swift rise to supremacy of the agricultural bloc in Congress, and the enthusiastic support of the movement that appears to come from the whole mass of the country's farmers, gives a first impression of a tide so strong that it can override all probable obstacles in the immediate future. The rest of the country looks on this present culmination of the agrarian crusade in astonishment by no means unmixed with apprehension. How can the non-farmers make a forecast of what is coming out of all this sudden overturn? Actual heart-to-heart talk with the farm leaders themselves might disclose what those leaders themselves fear most; and in proportion as those leaders were shrewd and far-seeing, their fears would be illuminating to the outsider—a statement of them might well offer the best basis for a forecast.

Something surprisingly like such a confidential talk, with its natural disclosures, now comes to the general public in O. M. Kile's book on the Farm Bureau Movement.* Mr. Kile was assistant Washington representative of the Farm Bureau Federation, when its office at the Capital was first opened, and later was secretary of the Farmers' Marketing Committee of Seventeen which dealt with the national organizing of farmers' grain marketing. His book shows him to be familiar with the history of earlier farmers' movements and with the causes that wrecked most of them. He also "knows his farmers." And while his knowledge of business is perceptibly less sufficient, he knows at least enough of it to make him apprehensive of certain definite sorts of failure in the Federation's undertakings. His own relation to the movement, together with President Howard's introduction to the book, give Mr. Kile's work almost official standing, as a statement of farm leaders' views of future possibilities.

Three main sources of danger to the Federation are outlined by Mr. Kile. The danger that fits most closely with popular expectation is the possibility that the Congressional bloc will develop into a political party. This tendency seemed already to have shown itself in the "mention" of Senator (now Judge) Kenyon of Iowa, leader of the Senatorial bloc, for President. Mr. Kile, and presumably the wiser leaders of the farm movement, fear such a development. Partisan political activity has

*THE FARM BUREAU MOVEMENT. By O. M. Kile. With introduction by J. R. Howard. New York: Macmillan.



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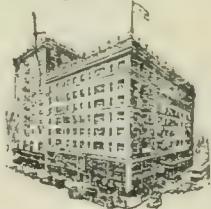


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always wrecked earlier farmers' organizations that indulged in it. The present movement believes in political action by the method of capturing both parties and forcing them to pass such legislation as the farmers want. But partisan action of this sort is clearly seen to be dangerous. As soon as a party organization is set up, and successes in legislation are attained, loyalty shifts from the creating farm organizations to the party; and then, between manipulation by politicians and irrepressible personal prejudices and antagonisms, the wreck of the party organization follows. This seems to be due, in part, to the famous "individualism" of the farmer—a trait whose often obstructive consequences are fully noted by Mr. Kile in connection with coöperative marketing plans.

"Sectionalism" is another source of serious danger to which Mr. Kile gives prominence. And this is perhaps the place to note that in Mr. Kile's book there are frequent little discrepancies in the discussions of the same topics in different parts of the book that a more practiced and less sincere propagandist might have avoided. As the book stands, these occasional naïveties are suggestive evidence. Speaking, early in his account, of how the Farmers' Union made economic effort the basis of its appeal, he says: "This in itself has never proved a satisfactory basis for a national agricultural organization. It can be but sectional, at best, since crop interests are sectional."

In point of fact, sectionalism, of a sort that promises to be of increasing importance, cropped up at the first conference which undertook to form a national federation of Farm Bureaus. It is perhaps important to note (how important, future developments will have to disclose) that the first County Farm Bureau of the type on which the present national Federation stands, was organized in Broome County, N. Y., in March, 1911. The first State Federation of farm bureaus also arose in New York, in 1917. At the Chicago meeting of November, 1919, delegates from twenty-eight States attempted to organize a national body, and at that meeting "sectionalism" came sharply to the front. The Middle West was strongly for radical action, while the States of the outside fringe (including New York) favored a mainly educational campaign. Various compromises were made for the sake of getting a national organization, but it was March of 1920 before a satisfactory basis was reached. After this the national body supplied funds and agents for intensive State membership campaigns modeled on the Liberty Loan drives, and in a short time forty-four States were represented in the Federation. The bulk of the membership remains Middle Western, with all that that fact implies in the light of past experience.

Still another serious danger Mr. Kile sees in the possible failure of one of the larger marketing plans that have been launched under the auspices of the Federation—such, notably, as the United

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States Grain Growers, Inc. The Federation has wisely avoided the error made by earlier organizations, and has separated the actual conduct of these undertakings from the national body itself, handing them over to independent agencies. Yet Mr. Kile confesses that a radical failure of any of these would probably so shake confidence in the general movement as to cripple it.

Among the protective excellencies of the Federation plans Mr. Kile emphasizes a definite, active programme of work—there must always be something doing to hold the interest of members. But here also is probably a serious peril. "The membership is loyally supporting the organization as yet," says Mr. Kile, "but is awaiting redemption of the oft-times too rosy promises of solicitors." There is a saying, perhaps recently revived, that "Nothing succeeds like excess"; and it would seem to be a natural fear that this might lead the Federation into impossible undertakings ventured upon in the hope of satisfying a membership that in the economic nature of things *cannot* be satisfied quickly by anything that is sound.

Those who wish to understand the Farm Bureau Movement will be well repaid by reading Mr. Kile's book. It is much less explicit than it might be in dealing with the hardships under which the farmers now labor. It shadows out, rather vaguely, it must be confessed, the large ideas of the farmers as to the reshaping of commercial practices and economic conditions through legislative and coöperative action. It seems to this reviewer plainly to overestimate the degree and amount of change that is possible; but that is a matter partly of judgment, and, as Mr. Kile asserts, largely of management.

BENJAMIN BAKER

Remarkable Remarks

PRESIDENT HARDING—Democracy has come to its great trial.

REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS—The Arbuckle case is not exceptional.

VICENTE BLASCO IRANEZ—The bet is unknown in the Spanish bull ring.

FRANKLIN P. ADAMS—We hereby join in the propaganda against propaganda.

SIR JAMES CANTLIE, M.D.—Of all sports swimming is the most detrimental physically.

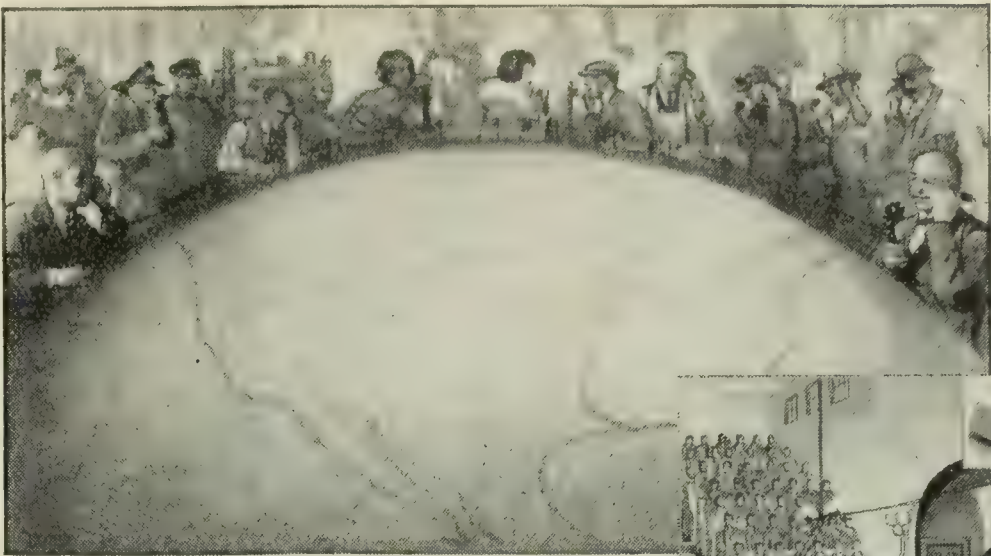
CHARLIE CHAPLIN—Capital must realize that a little more of the profits must go to the workers.

OTTO H. KAHN—In America women are an ornament, in England they are an object, in France they are a passion.

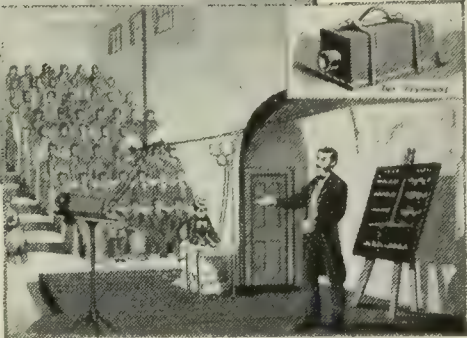
NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER—No inconsiderable part of the community now lives by regulating the habits or activities of the vast majority.

MELVILLE E. STONE—It is almost as difficult to name the conspicuous members of the Senate as to repeat the words of the National Anthem.

J. M. HAUBER, vice-president Newark Board of Education—How can high school young men keep their minds on their studies when they are surrounded by a lot of bob-haired girls with bare knees?



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The Bankers Say—

American banks are widely equipped with expert special staffs for the systematic study of basic conditions in all phases of business, under the direction of experienced bank officers. A composite digest of the highly valuable analyses issued currently by these departments will be presented on this page as an aid to our readers in forming their business judgments.

NUMEROUS signs of improving commodity movements, carrying forward the general financial betterments of the past year of price and credit deflation and giving promise of greater activity ahead, are cited by leading banks in many sections of the country in their current business discussions. Agricultural conditions are generally reported as favorable; a growing volume of buying by the farmers is forecast as good crops place them in funds to satisfy needs deferred by impaired purchasing power; retail merchants are reported as low in stocks, which require replenishment; wholesalers and manufacturers in some sections report growing orders for future delivery. At the same time conditions are diverse and the banks are measured in their optimism, seeing need for further reductions in freight rates and certain classes of wages, better alignment in prices, and other corrections of maladjustments that will make return to normal activity slow.

The Girard Trust Company, Philadelphia, in its business letter says that 1922 will demand courage, patience, and industry to triumph over business and financial difficulties, with further deflation toward pre-war conditions most severe upon war-expanded industries now faced with decreased demand. "They suffer the further handicap of wages still far above the level of 1914, while the productiveness of labor per hour is far below the standard of ten years ago. But this last element tends to disappear as the demand for labor lessens. Last year saw a partial cure of that evil, and 1922 promises to see this country more nearly approach the old standards of a fair hour's work for a fair hour's pay."

The Commonwealth Trust Company of Boston says that, having passed through the depression, we are entering a period of recovery. "It is just as well to admit, however, that in no trade or productive occupation can progress toward great activity be otherwise than slow, and perhaps in some directions it is going to continue for a long time to be discouragingly slow."

"The real basis for confidence in the course of business in 1922 is now clear," says the National Bank of Commerce in New York. "Notwithstanding the severe depression during the past year, purchases by the American people in terms of physical volume were sufficient to absorb to a large extent accumulated stocks, so that a gradual increase in output of many classes of manufactures may be expected. Future needs must be supplied primarily from current production. This means greater business

activity and explains the expansion in manufactures which has taken place in recent weeks."

Emphasis is placed on the effects upon American business of world conditions by the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, which says: "The financial and commercial interrelations of nations are so comprehensive and intricate that no country, however favorable its domestic conditions, can, in a world-wide readjustment, escape the ill effects of economic derangement elsewhere. Nevertheless, American business activity in general has been for some months gradually emerging from the trough of depression."

The main improvement, believes the American Exchange National Bank of New York, which sees "business getting a little better every day," is due to a "steady increase in the volume of hand-to-mouth buying as a result of the gradual elimination of surplus stocks. This minute but growing improvement is slowly rebuilding confidence in the price basis."

While diligent search for panaceas for the world's business troubles has shown that there is no such thing, it has resulted in "a greater understanding of world economic problems that is a clear gain," comments the New York Trust Company. "The most hopeful feature of the present situation is that without panaceas some of the nations which suffered most as a result of the war are already proving that they can, if given time, rehabilitate themselves, and are already making real progress in this direction." Evidence shows that "without any artificial stimulant or international plan real progress is being made in repairing the world's economic structure by hard work and tried out methods. It is in this spirit that the world has already set out on the long road to prosperity."

"The purchasing power of the farmer is a fundamental factor in the business situation in the United States. As important as all the great urban consumption centres combined are the rural districts," says the bulletin of the Chemical National Bank of New York, which, by an elaborate statistical comparison of yield, money value, and commodity value of leading crops, shows that farmer purchasing power for 1921 was only 52 per cent. of that for 1919. "Unequal price variations mean impaired purchasing power. Impairment of purchasing power as extreme as that indicated above means business depression. One of the essential requirements for full recovery is the lessening of the inequalities in present price relations."

Passing from these banks of the Atlantic seaboard cities to the mid-continent business centres—the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago says year-end reports demonstrate the continued upward movement of business and indicate gradual restoration to normal conditions. Freight rates continue as a disturbing factor, due to the belief that

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reductions already announced as affecting some commodities may be much more widely extended in the near future. The relatively lower prices which have been realized for both cereals and cotton have proved discouraging to trade in the agricultural districts. The Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis finds trade better in respect to sales for forward shipment. The first two weeks in January were marked by a decided improvement both in tone and in actual volume of business, orders received giving an excellent showing for early spring delivery. The purchasing power of the people in the district is reported lower than it has been since 1914 and no material change can be expected until new resources are created by new crops. With nature assisting liberally, next fall should mark a definite return to normal. The Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, Tex., sees the agricultural outlook for the year as very encouraging. The prospect for heavy business next fall is reported to be good. The farmers are so situated that it will be necessary for them to limit their purchases until another crop is assured. This holding off will make necessary larger purchases than usual next fall.

In the Far West the American National Bank of San Francisco says: "The consensus is that the worst is over, the coming year should be better than the last, that improvement will come about very gradually and with no sudden or remarkable burst of activity. It is conceded that the financial situation in America is very satisfactory, in marked contrast with most European countries, where it is highly unsatisfactory, that unemployment is waning, and that prospects for profitable manufacturing and merchandising operations are improving. Agriculture and live stock are 'coming back' and better prices to the farmer are anticipated."

From academic circles comes a general corroboration of what the bankers say, the weekly letter of the Harvard Economic Service saying that "the forces making for increased production continue to gather strength. In a year such as 1921, stocks decline and needs accumulate. Many markets have for months been convalescing. Some now manifest an interest in future business. Of course, there are serious deterrents—incomplete liquidation, unadjusted wages, agricultural distress, international confusion. But the process of readjustment proceeds nevertheless. Unsatisfactory margins of profits do not preclude an increase of business. In fact, following depressions, an expansion of output ordinarily precedes a rise in prices. The increase of the volume of manufacture from August to October is significant. If November and December showed no further rise—in fact, a slight decline—the explanation is to be found largely in seasonal influences. A slackening of industrial pace is characteristic of mid-winter. But with the opening of the new year a further upward movement is in order, even if a rapid acceleration of production is hardly to be expected."

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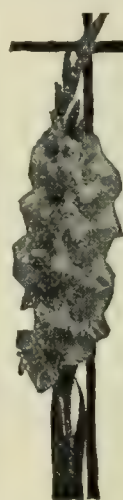
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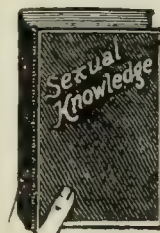
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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and
Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

- I. The Fisherman's Path.
1. Mr. Utter's essay is especially delightful because of its spirit. What is that spirit?
2. By what means does the writer communicate his feeling? Just what does he make the reader wish to enjoy?
3. Explain in what respects the article differs from formal, informational articles on fishing, or tramping, or out-door life.
4. What effects did Mr. Utter wish to produce on the reader?
5. What do you notice, in the essay, concerning introduction, development, and conclusion?
6. Read aloud any paragraph of the essay. What do you notice with regard to the sentences? How do the sentences differ from those in ordinary newspaper articles?
7. Read aloud any one sentence that you think especially well-written. What gives the sentence its excellent quality?
8. Make a list of a dozen or more effective combinations of noun and adjective. How do the words differ from the words that you yourself are accustomed to use? Why did the writer select the types of words that he employs?
9. Make a list of a dozen or more words that you have never noticed before. Give the meaning of every word that you select. What is the value of every such word in contributing to the spirit of the essay?
10. Read aloud at least five sentences containing figures of speech. Tell what every figure of speech means. Why did the writer use figurative language?
11. What does the essay tell you about the personality of the writer? Are you interested, more or less, in the passages that tell most about the writer?
12. What proportion of the essay is description? Comment on the writer's use of detail in description.
13. Read aloud the paragraph that you believe produces the best effect by means of description.
14. What is the effect of the last sentence? What is the relation of that sentence to the spirit of the essay?
15. What do you learn from "The Fisherman's Path" concerning the nature of the "Essay" as a literary type?
16. Write a short and somewhat similar essay on some subject in which you are keenly interested.
- II. Historic Glimpses.
1. Write a series of character sketches based on the various songs.
2. You have read "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Associate one of the songs with a character in that book. Narrate the circumstances under which you imagine that the character sang the song you select. Make your work such that your story might be added to "Uncle Tom's Cabin."
- III. Drama.
1. What two attitudes toward the drama are presented by the author of "The Theatre of Tomorrow" and by the critic who reviews that book? Which attitude is most in accord with what you have been taught in your study of Shakespeare?
2. In what respects does the modern theatre differ from the theatre of Shakespeare?
3. Explain the following sentence: "Contemporary preoccupation with scenery, lighting effects, mechanical and scenic perfection, may be not the sign of a renaissance in the theatre, but of decadence."
4. What does the critic mean when he says: "The true function of the theatre is to stimulate the audience to the re-creation of the experience of the dramatist himself?"
5. Explain how Shakespeare illustrates the following: "The true dramatist is he who extends the frontiers of the imagination, who leads us into the territory of the spirit, and who confers on us something of his own greatness."
- IV. An Essay in Eugenics.
1. Study the third paragraph as an illustration of a paragraph of contrast. What is contrasted? By what method did the writer present the contrast?
2. Classify every sentence in the paragraph, both grammatically and rhetorically.
- V. The Mardi Gras.
1. In what English classic is the "Crew of Comus" mentioned? Why are Comus and his followers suitable characters for a Mardi Gras?

- History, Civics and
Economics
- By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School
- I. A Landmark in Human Progress, The
Story of the Week.
1. Summarize the "extraordinary record of work accomplished" by the Conference.
2. Explain the "method of diplomacy that holds out a brighter promise for peace among nations" and show why it is considered promising.
3. If possible, get the actual text of the treaties made as a result of the Conference, of Japan's statement on the Twenty-one Demands, and of the American and Japanese statements about Siberia, and explain the settlements in as much detail as you have time.
4. What was "the iniquitous arrangement consented to by President Wilson at Paris" and how does this settlement right the wrong?
5. Look up the full history of the American policy of the Open Door in China and decide how successful we have been in realizing the policy.
6. In what respects do the achievements of the Conference "fall short of the ideal"?
7. To what do you attribute the success of the Conference?
- II. The Bolshevik Advance on India.
1. Show to what extent and how Russia under the Czars had gained control of the regions mentioned here.
2. To what extent was India an objective of the Czars? Show how England had been concerned about this.
3. On a map locate the countries, strategic centres, and important lines of communication mentioned here.
4. Summarize "the achievements of Bolshevism in the Middle East."
5. What do you think is the bearing of this situation upon Lloyd George's trade agreement with Soviet Russia and his Russian policy in relation to the Genoa Conference?
- III. Peace and War in the Coal Industry.
- (a) Look up the important coal fields of the country, locate them on a map, and describe how they differ. (b) State Senator Kenyon's scheme for regulating the industry. Explain the reasons for the editor's disapproval of the scheme. (c) Define "a public utility" and show why "coal is a public utility." (d) To what extent is there a monopoly in the coal industry now?
- IV. Two-Thirds or Majority, Story of the Week.
- (a) Explain the advantages and disadvantages of our method of treaty ratification. Compare it with the methods of England and France. (b) What other powers of the Senate are illustrated in this issue? Why were they given the Senate? (c) Explain "two-party system." Compare it with the party systems of England at present and of the chief countries of Europe.
- V. Transportation—The Story of the Week.
- (a) Describe the needs and problems of the railroads mentioned here. (b) What opinions on railroad legislation are given? (c) Review the St. Lawrence Project and explain the transportation problem which it and its rival would help solve.
- VI. The National Agricultural Conference, The Future of the Farmers' Movement.
- (a) Summarize the resolutions of the National Agricultural Conference. What is the significance of the Conference? (b) What are the dangers to the Farm Bureau Movement mentioned here? (c) What are the accomplishments of the Bureau so far?
- VII. The Bankers Say—
1. Summarize the chief elements of the economic situation upon which there is general agreement.
- VIII. Van Loon—Historian.
1. From this review do you think you would like to get "The Story of Mankind" from the library?
- IX. What May Happen in Germany.
- (a) Explain the difference between the vertical and the horizontal trust. Which has been the prevalent type in the United States? (b) Why has the trust movement gone so much farther in Germany than in the United States? (c) Explain the terms upon which the German industrial magnates will bring their resources to aid in reparations payments. (d) State your understanding of the author's presentation of "industrial autocracy, industrial communism, industrial nationalism, or industrial internationalism."

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

February 18, 1922



Last Bulwark of Feudal Japan

The Passing of Prince Yamagata

By Stanhope Sams

PRINCE YAMAGATA'S long career and labors were of great significance to America; for he was the type and the most perfect representative of all that we fear from contact with "orientalism," and particularly of the orientalism in the Japanese character and institutions. His death is, therefore, of still greater importance to America, since with him has fallen the last great bulwark of feudalism, which was a fundamental source of friction and misunderstanding between the two peoples.

Feudalism, which was formally and solemnly decreed at an end as of October 1, 1871, by Imperial edict, might now be announced as really and utterly dead in Japan. Yamagata, and what Yamagata stood for, were all that had maintained it for a generation after its official demise. If "Young Japan" is ever fully enfranchised, it might well date its "era" from the death of this feudal prince, Aritomo Yamagata, head of the "Clans," head of the "Genro," or Elder Statesmen, and virtual dictator of the Japanese Empire for nearly half a century.

Japanese character and institutions, at least so much of these as are distrusted and unwelcome to us, may be summed up in two now distinctively Japanese terms—feudalism and clan. Yamagata was the high priest and head of both, concentrating in himself all the spirit of feudalism and the subtle, mystic, and terrible forces of the ancient clans.

It was resolved by the enlightened young Emperor, Mutsuhito, of the revered Meiji—"Great Enlightenment"—to break the bonds of the destructive and encrusting power of both feudalism and the clans by a single great stroke. Mutsuhito had a fine quality of succinctness, and the happy faculty of being able to formulate weighty edicts that meant the revolutionizing of some condition in his Empire, in a few words, Cæsarean in their brevity. In 1871, therefore, he issued the following remarkable and famous decree:

"The Clans (Han) are abolished, and Prefectures (Ken) are established in their places."

The "Han" or clans represented the ancient Yamato order of things; the Prefectures (Ken) represent modern popular institutions—as far as these are yet possible in Japan.

Dr. William Elliot Griffis, then a missionary resident in Fukui, Japan, was so elated that he recorded in his important work, "The Mikado's Empire": "Tomorrow (October 1, 1871) Fukui bids farewell to feudalism. The era of loyalty—that is, of Bushido and the clan system—"is passed. The era of patriotism has come."

But "patriotism" in the sense intended by Dr. Griffis has not come yet. So we find that Dr. Griffis can write in 1921, fifty years later, partly adopting the words of Hiroshi Sato: "The clansmen and bureaucracy is the apex of the national government, ruling by divine right."

Feudalism, with all its evils and barriers to humanity and freedom, survived, and Yamagata remained its chief representative and bulwark. So long, therefore, as Yamagata remained as a power upholding the old order, feudalism would remain and the growth of the Japanese people be dwarfed and the nation stunted, like one of its own seared and stunted pines.

Yamagata won and maintained his vast power through his military ability, which, though not great, was sufficient for the hour, and through his manipulation of the clans.

His triumph may be dated from the time he became Chief of Staff of the "Army of Subjugation," nominally led by Prince Arisugawa, in 1877. The army was used to put down the great rebellion of the Satsuma Clan, the rival always of the clan of Yamagata, the Choshu. Since that period the control of the clans largely, or entirely, was in the hands of Yamagata, and his own clan of Choshu has always dominated the army, while the clan of Satsuma was given control of the navy. The other clans divided up the



organs of power in the Empire, forming together the most perfect bureaucracy that the world has perhaps seen up to this time. So far from being abolished by the Imperial rescript of 1871, the bureaucracy and clan system have developed to their highest power and efficiency since that year, and in the midst of the great Era of Enlightenment, the reign of the Emperor Mutsuhito or Meiji.

Yamagata became, also, one of the famous band of Genro, or veterans in the service, known outside Japan as the Elder Statesmen, and during the last decade had wielded absolute control of that body of imperial advisers. The Genro, some half dozen military or political leaders who had aided the young Emperor to regain his power and prerogatives from the Shogunate (now shrunken to decrepit Marquis Matsukata), soon became, by reason of having always the ear of the Emperor, and the Emperor's word being absolute, the real power in the Empire. He also, as long ago as 1906, succeeded Prince Ito, greatest of modern Japanese, as head of the Privy Council, second in importance to the Genro and now its probable successor as controlling adviser of the Throne. So that Yamagata for many years held in his hands the reins of government by reason of his headship of the Clans, of the vast and despotic bureaucracy, of the intimate counsellors of the Emperor—both the Genro and

the Privy Council—and his marvelous personal organization and following.

It was not until 1913, after the warning of the popular mobs in Tokyo, that a political party in control dared oppose, or refuse to obey, the will of the Throne. This brave stand was taken by the constitutional party created by Prince Ito, the Sei-yu-kai—and it was successful, although it led to the break-up of the party under the assaults of the "loyalists."

These are some of the things, some of the ancient tyrannies and crimes against the people, that have passed with the passing of Prince Yamagata and his sinister influence. The death of this last great feudal chieftain, a samurai from his birth to his death—born soldier and born despot—removes barriers that no amount of diplomacy or of parleyings could have leveled.

We are probably—almost certainly—looking upon a new Japan today. Feudalism has finally been shattered by the slow pressure of time and growth, after resisting successfully the edicts of Emperors and the emulation of alien and rival civilizations. There begins a new "era" in Japan—the era of popular government. Even this era will dawn slowly, but it is already appearing in the Land of the Sun-Origin.

Concerning the Newberry Case

A Statement by Senator George Wharton Pepper

[Almost immediately after taking his seat in the Senate, Senator Pepper was called on to vote for or against the expulsion of Senator Newberry. He cast his vote in favor of Newberry. In view of his eminence, both in character and ability, it seemed to us that a statement of the grounds on which he based his action would be of great public interest. In answer to a letter asking whether he would be willing to make such a statement, Senator Pepper very kindly placed at our disposal the following memorandum, which he had drawn up as a record of what he would have said, in substance, on the floor of the Senate if he had had an opportunity to speak.—EDITORS.]

THE Michigan Primary was held August 27, 1918. Mr. Newberry was a candidate for the Republican nomination. Mr. Henry Ford announced himself as a candidate for the Republican nomination and also as a Democrat contesting for the Democratic nomination. Ford had a State-wide industrial organization which he was able to use for publicity and campaign purposes without the expenditure of additional money. Newberry, being without this advantage and being continuously absent from the State on naval duty, the Committee in charge of his campaign raised and spent about \$195,000 to bring his name before the people of the State.

This money was all spent for purposes authorized by the Michigan statute governing election expenses. Whether the money was wasted or wisely spent is a matter of opinion. It is likewise a matter of opinion as to how much money it is justifiable to spend on campaign publicity. Welfare drives and similar campaigns involve enormous expenditures for such purposes.

Newberry received the Republican and Ford the Democratic nomination. Within ten days, as required by law, the Newberry Committee published (on September 6) a classified statement exhibiting the receipt and disbursement of the sum above specified.

Thereupon the Ford machine attacked the expenditure as unjustifiable and the subject was vehemently discussed all over the State for two months. At the end of two months, namely on November 5, both candidates left the issue to the people. The people chose Newberry and rejected Ford by a clear majority of over 4,000 votes. Nobody contended in the Senate that this election was other than fair or that money had been used improperly to in-

fluence it. The entire expenditure under attack was a pre-primary expenditure.

Newberry, having been duly elected, and the judgment of conspiracy to defraud entered against him having been reversed by the Supreme Court of the United States, was sworn in as a Senator and began the discharge of his duties.

Ford, having thus been twice defeated, once by his fellow citizens and once by the highest Court in the land, added still another to his list of affronts to patriotism and decency by instituting in the Senate a contest to wrest Newberry from his seat although Ford himself had no possible claim of title to it.

The question before the Senate thereupon was this: Where a Senator is fairly chosen by a majority of the voters of his State after a full public discussion of the expenditures made previous to the primary, shall the Senate vote to expel him on the ground that it would have been in better taste for the majority of voters to vote the other way?

In other words, *shall the Senate substitute its judgment for that of the people of Michigan as to what is a reasonable pre-primary expenditure?*

From the moment that I perceived this to be the real question in the case I was never in doubt about the answer. Some Senators who were opposed to expulsion thought fit to couple their conclusion with a condemnation of so large an expenditure. Personally I had no opinion on that subject because enormous publicity expenditures are a necessary incident of the direct primary system. My view was (and is) that where charges of corruption are not sustained and where the whole question is one of the reasonableness of the expenditure the people of the State are themselves the final judges and that the Senate should not disturb their verdict.

I accordingly voted against expulsion, although if I had been framing the resolution I would have framed it differently. I have heard the subject twice reargued in the Senate since the final vote was taken, and these posthumous arguments, which were both vehement and vitriolic, have confirmed me in my opinion that any other decision would have been the mongrel offspring of malice and muddy thinking.

Twenty-Two Years Ago

By Agnes Repplier



G. Bernard Shaw

WHAT did we read twenty-two years ago? It takes time to remember, and it takes some comparison of dates to make sure that our recollections are correct. Before nineteen hundred the torrential Mr. Wells, who is now overflowing our bookshelves, had written nothing but his wonder stories, "The War of the Worlds," "When the Sleeper Wakes," and that appalling and mad book, "The Island of Dr. Moreau." We were not largely engaged in reading these productions. Mr. Bernard Shaw, destined to occupy the front of the stage from the publication of "Man and Superman" in 1903 until the Great War tried and found him wanting, was represented by "Plays, Pleasant and Unpleasant," and the amazing novel, "Cashel Byron's Profession." If Americans did not read this book when it appeared in 1883, it was because few of them had ever heard of it until a dozen lines in one of Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson's letters, published sixteen years later, awakened them to its incontestable merits, and to its value as a topic for conversation. "I test the mentality of my friends," said the president of an American college, "by asking them what they think of 'Cashel Byron's Profession.'"

The two authors who divided the public's attention and shared the public's heart were Stevenson and Rudyard Kipling. They were not much discussed, offering few problems for our solution. They never served as touchstones of intelligence. The simplest of us understood them without effort, the dullest flashed into a transient glow under their impelling fancy. Even "Dr. Jekyll and Mr.

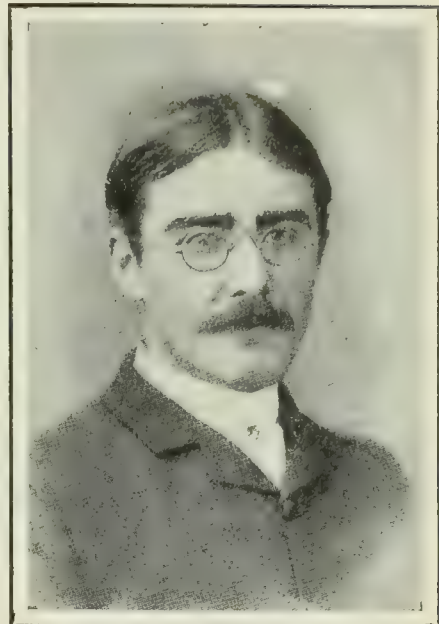
Hyde," a story made perfect by elimination, and which has been murderously dealt with on the stage and in moving pictures, is so plainly told that he who runs may read. Even the flawless "Markheim," if less obvious, is no less comprehensible. Even Kipling's "Brushwood Boy," an adventure into the unknown, has form and substance. It is a structure, not the shadow of a cloud.

Perhaps our enjoyment of these masters of romance was enhanced by the aridity of American fiction, of a school which had grown into favor by substituting the realities of a life we knew for vague impressions of a

life derived from older books. It would be hard to overestimate the value of Mr. William Dean Howells's earlier novels. The dean of American letters, he had no less than seventy volumes to his credit when he died; and the best of them, "The Minister's Charge," "A Modern Instance," and "The Rise of Silas Lapham," were written in the last century. So also were the "Italian Journeys" and "Venetian Days," gay and agreeable books, none the less popular for being immeasurably remote from the spirit of Italy.

Even now it seems strange that American readers, who hailed the new school of fiction so enthusiastically, should have tired of it so soon. For my part, I do not believe they did tire of it. They received the first short stories of Miss Mary Wilkins (a thin vein of purest gold) with delight that ran little short of transport. I believe they tired of being told over and over again how wonderful it was, and how they were never going to have anything else to read as long as they lived. The veritist turned critic was not content with praising his own wares. He was not content with decrying the wares of others. He said plainly and distinctly that the story of adventure and romance was outgrown, that it was a survival of childishness in an adult age. Consequently when "Kidnapped" and "Treasure Island" flashed meteor-like across the literary horizon, intelligent adults read them, defiant and unabashed. No one felt that he needed the backing of Mr. Matthew Arnold, the great prince critic of the day, who rendered a verdict in their favor; but all remembered this circumstance when the supercilious ventured a scornful word. What was good enough for Mr. Arnold was good enough for them.

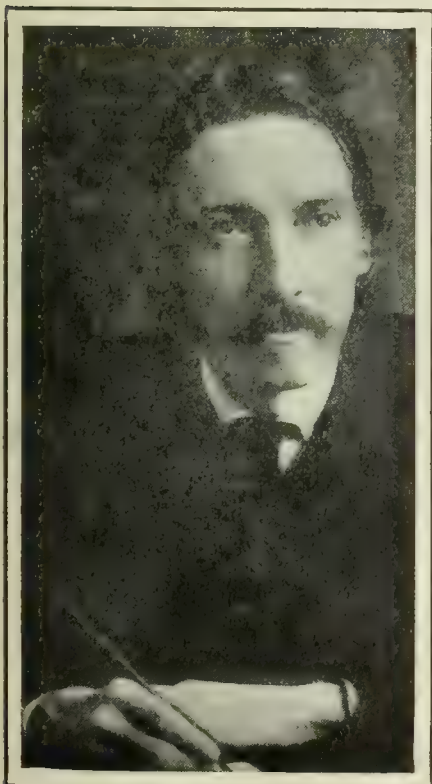
In 1898 appeared Margaret Deland's "Old Chester Tales." In 1899 Edith Wharton's first volume of stories, "The Greater Inclination," saw the light. These two American writers belong to the twentieth rather than to the nineteenth century; but Mrs. Deland had already abandoned the path of controversial fiction to enter her true domain, and Mrs. Wharton had shown herself a finished artist and a past mistress of irony before the new era dawned. By 1898 Mrs. Humphry Ward had recompensed us for reading "Robert Elsmere" and "David Grieve" by writing "Marcella," "Sir George Tressady," and her one masterpiece, "Helbeck of Bannisdale." By 1899 Dr. Weir Mitchell had published his immensely popular novel, "Hugh Wynne."



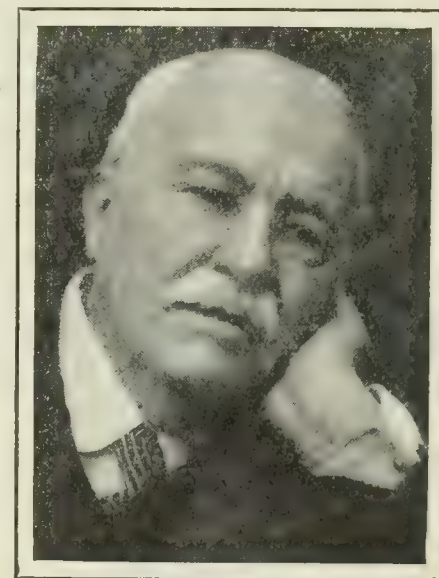
Rudyard Kipling
At the Age of 21



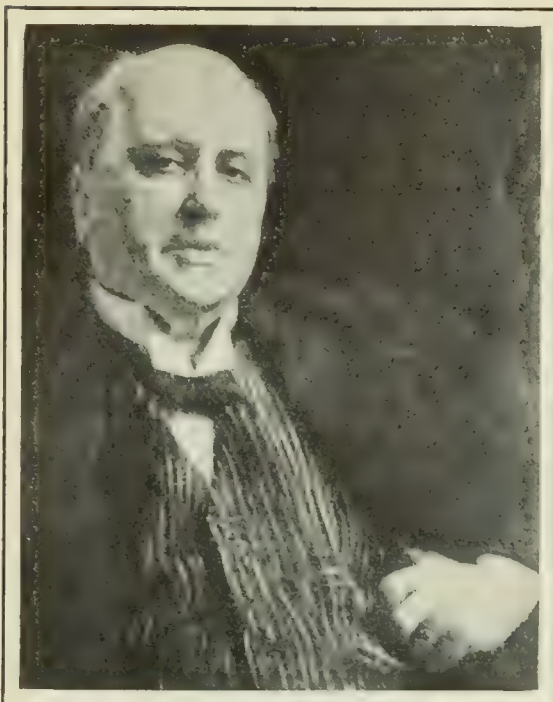
H. G. Wells



Robert Louis Stevenson



William Dean Howells

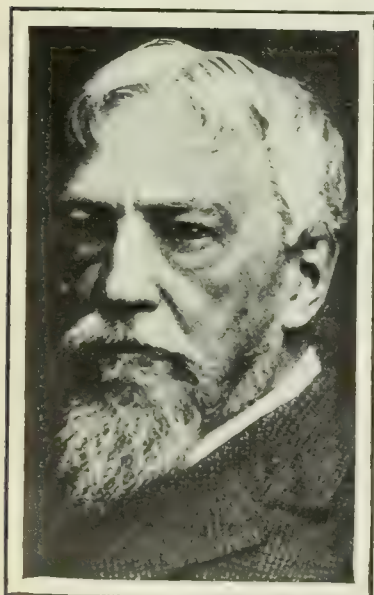


Henry James

renown. "The pleasure of being read is a pleasure so difficult to forego when it is attainable," says Mr. Brownell, "that Mr. James's indifference to it is striking." But who shall make sure that he was indifferent? He did not give the public what it wanted because he was a literary artist and could not forswear the principles of his art. His mannerisms, like the mannerisms of George Meredith, grew with years, and deflected the casual reader from his books. But the reader is one thing and the casual reader is another. A more approachable story than "Daisy Miller" we can hardly hope to find; yet it was turned ruthlessly down by a big American publishing house which had the casual reader in its mind, and feared lest even this slight and simple tale might furnish food for thought.

I do not know when the brilliant trifle, "A Bundle of Letters," was published in England but a cheap paper-covered American edition bears the date 1880. It is not in the least like "Darkest James." In fact it is transparently clear. It is not complex. Words of one syllable could convey its meaning. But there is in it, besides humor and observation, that prophetic sense which is the quality of genius. Reading it to the end (there are only sixty pages), and smiling as we read, we yet see foreshadowed the deadly wrong done by the Teuton to the world in 1914.

The close of the last century reestablished the popularity of the essay. Mr. Andrew Lang's "Letters to Dead Authors," an ingeniously conceived and brilliantly executed little book, and the Hon. Augustine Birrell's "Obiter Dicta" and "Res Judicatae" supplied the light-minded with as much wit and wisdom as they could

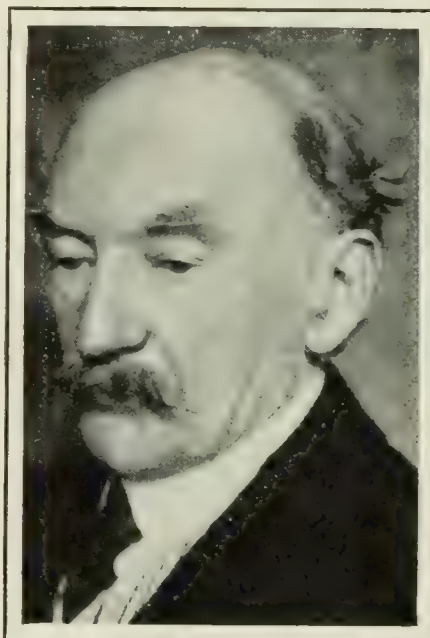


Dr. Weir Mitchell

endorse. Mr. Walter Pater's serious "Studies" were the reverse of popular. So too were Mr. Saintsbury's, and, later on, Mr. W. C. Brownell's literary criticisms. Yet

We were not badly off for fiction twenty-two years ago.

Above all there was the great American, Henry James, and there was the great Englishman, Thomas Hardy, masters for whom no public waited tiptoe in expectation, whose books were never "best sellers," nor "most called for" in public libraries; but who stand to lose nothing of their hard-won



Thomas Hardy

these scholars had their following. The essay, having revisited the world, had apparently come to stay.

In 1885 appeared Mr. Pater's "Marius the Epicurean," a book of ineffable distinction, grave, austere, tender, setting forth, though never by way of preachment, the beauty of good moments in a bad world. If it does not temerarily avow the maxim of Marcus Aurelius, "It is in thy power to think as thou wilt," it opens avenues of escape from the haunting imageries that sadden our conscious thoughts. "The hiddenness of perfect things," prompting an inextinguishable thirst for experience, the serene loveliness of temperance (which reformers so grossly belie) making our senses the guardians, no less than the servitors, of our pleasures, the whole urbane philosophy of enjoyment blooms in this gracious volume like an imperishable flower. And to the beauty of the spirit is added the beauty of form, of the wise word fitted wisely into place, of the cleanly built sentence expressing with delicate precision a scrupulous integrity of thought.

Whisht O' Night

By Martha Haskell Clark

SURE I'm achin' to be makin' through
the path across the moor,
With the upland curlews cryin', and the
wind blowin' keen and pure,
The mountains black behind me, and the
bog-trail dippin' down,
And the whisht o' night a-fallin' on a wee
thatched town.

There's a bit of gray lake-water that is
talkin' to the shore,

There's a tiny glow-worm glimmer through
each wide-flung cottage door,

There's the smell o' bog-peat burnin' where a twilight
kettle sings,

And the whisht
o' night a-drop-
pin' like a night
moth's wings.

Oh I'm wearin' to
be farin' down
a path across
the sea,

With the moun-
tains black be-
hind me, and
the brackened
moorland free;
The bog mist
hagin' ban-
shee-white
above the up-
land farms,

And the whisht
o' night a-fold-
in' like a moth-
er's arms.



Margaret Deland

Old Friends in Old Books

ALTHOUGH among the things "which should accompany old age" Macbeth includes "troops of friends," it is but too sadly true that every advancing year is marked, for the man who is nearing old age, by a melancholy thinning of the little group of those cherished friends whom no troops of well-wishing newcomers can replace. Happy are those, it has been said a thousand times, who have made friends of great books, for they remain ever true and never die.

My days among the dead are passed;
Around me I behold,
Where'er these casual eyes are cast,
The mighty minds of old;
My never-failing friends are they,
With whom I converse day by day.

Yet precious as is the kind of converse which Southey thus epitomizes, it is after all but a sombre sort of solace for the gray days of old age; nor is it, to be quite truthful, accessible in a high degree to any but comparatively exceptional minds. But if I may judge by my own case, we owe to the books we have loved another kind of ever-faithful friends, who renew our youth and who furnish refreshment and cheer far more nearly approaching that which made the companionship of our living friends so dear and precious. The experience, I am sure, has been common to many; but it seems to have found singularly little expression. I refer to the old friends *in* the old books to which, if we have once had the good fortune to love and treasure them, we turn again and again, and find the contact again and again as delightful as of yore.

Perhaps it is because I belong to a generation which was Victorian without knowing it that I have the privilege of this immeasurable pleasure and comfort. When Lowell, in his long last illness, was asked by a friend who visited him how he felt, and replied that he could not feel otherwise than happy for he was reading Walter Scott, it was not, we may be sure, of Scott's "mighty mind" that he was thinking. He was once more in the company of Quentin Durward and le Balafré, or the dear old Antiquary and his "womankind," or Claverhouse and Major Bellenden and Cuddy Headrigg and Jenny Dennison and old Mause, or of that adorable swaggerer Captain Dalgetty, and was living his youth over again in that delightful company. His illness and his seventy years fell away from him, not because he was getting new light on the intricacies of human nature, or was lost in admiration of the writer's philosophic penetration, but because he was for the time actually living with familiar human beings full of the very juice of life and informed with the spontaneous vitality of the big-souled author who had created them.

When I go back to my Scott or my Thackeray, it is not for the information they give me or ever did give me, about psychological difficulties which lesser minds are unable to penetrate. Pendennis and Warrington and the Fotheringay and old Costigan, Colonel Newcome and Ethel and Fred Bayham and Charles Honeyman and Martha Honeyman and the Earl of Kew and Madame de Florac, Dobbin and Osborne and old Osborne and Amelia and Becky Sharp and Rawdon Crawley and the Marquis of Steyne—here indeed are troops of friends, even though the word must be stretched somewhat to cover the wicked ones whom we are almost as glad to meet again as the others. I am not writing literary criticism, I am talking about personal experience that forms as genuine and intimate a part of my life as does the contact with living people—far more genuine and more intimate than the contact with any but a few. I almost shudder to think what an emptiness would have taken the place of all this fullness if those noble writers had not bestowed on me this priceless benefaction.

To be quite candid about Scott and Thackeray and Dickens, I must say that I get this kind of joy out of only certain ones of their works. In the case of Dickens, magnificent as is the product of his virile and prolific genius, the only one of his books that I can read again and again is "Pickwick." But what an incomparable treasure that is! How delightful the feeling when the time has come once more that I can take down my Pickwick and read it for the twentieth or the thirtieth or the fortieth time. It is as though Pickwick and Sam Weller and Tony Weller and Arabella and Winkle and the Sawboneses, and the whole delightful crowd, had been separated from me not by time but by space, and that I had wandered over to where they live and found them as charming to live with as ever. While I read, care and disappointment and the awful havoc of time are as if they were not; youth and joy reassert themselves, not as in a dream with its haunting sense of delusive glamor, but with all the richness and solidity of life itself. How many thousands must have experienced this same refreshment and delight! How beyond computation is the happiness that this one work of a beneficent genius has created!

Many things have been said about the modern novel. But of all the contrasts between it and the great tribe to which it is the successor, none is half so important as its failure to furnish this delight and refreshment and up-building. The modern novel, even when its object is not, as it so often is, to tackle some social problem, has for its prime purpose not the creation of characters, but their analysis, or at most their portrayal. Imagine Thackeray giving us a "study" of the Marquis of Steyne, or Rawdon Crawley, or Colonel Newcome, or Ethel, or Florac! In point of craftsmanship, "Henry Esmond" is the most perfect of Thackeray's works; but it is the other books, even those that are not masterpieces like "Vanity Fair" or "Pendennis," which command our smiles and tears, and to which we return with affectionate attachment.

There is little reason to doubt that Thackeray could, if he had chosen, have told us just why the Marquis of Steyne and Becky Sharp and Rawdon Crawley were exactly what they were and did exactly what they did, as accurately as any of the psychological novelists from Henry James down. But what a calamity if he had done so! His concern is not with the increase of your scientific knowledge of human nature, but with your intuitive perception of it; and in very truth you know the Marquis of Steyne and Becky Sharp and Rawdon Crawley a thousand times as well as if he had given you the most minute possible account of their psychology. He draws upon your own resources, your capacity to understand and sympathize with all sorts and conditions of men. He assumes the possession, both by his readers and his characters, of the great primal elements which make life what it is in all its richness; and your whole nature goes out to meet the wondrous gift that he presents to you. You go back to what he has given you, not like a student going once more through an intellectual exercise, however stimulating, but like a man throbbing once more to thoughts and feelings which take full possession of his soul. There are a thousand vehicles of instruction about human nature and about the problems of society; the great novel is the one means of bodying forth individual human beings whose lives and fortunes and passions become as native to our minds as are those of the persons we best know in the flesh. This is the gift with which the great novelists of the Nineteenth Century enriched our lives; this is the gift which all the resources of psychological literature are utterly incapable of providing.

The Battle of the Books

Testimony of Publishers on Older Generations

From Irving to Roosevelt

I MAGINE that the wisest of actuaries would give up as insoluble the problem of predicting the life of a book.

A large proportion of books that are brought into print do not succeed in securing any real existence. They die "a-bornin'," so to speak. Another group, constituting possibly the greatest proportion of the whole, pass through what may be called a transitory existence. They have life for a brief season, like a mayfly or a buttercup. Recalling the results of publications under these two headings, the publisher may reflect sadly that it would have been money in his pocket if they had never been born. A third group may be described as annuals, more or less hardy.

You ask me to specify a few of the Putnam publications of the nineteenth century which still have life and interest for the readers of the present generation.

I will place first in the list of these the "Tabular Views of Universal History," which was brought into print in 1832 by my father, the late G. P. Putnam. He continued the publication, with successive revisions, until his death in 1872. Since that date the work has been kept in print, with the necessary revision, by myself. It is, with the exception of Webster's Dictionary, the oldest work of reference in American literature which still carries the same name and the same ownership.

The Works of Washington Irving were first printed under the Putnam imprint in 1848. Some of the more important were, however, first brought into print much earlier—all the way from 1817 to 1858, the year before the author's death.

The Works of Fenimore Cooper have carried the Putnam imprint since 1854. These belong to what the book-sellers call standard literature and are being read steadily by successive generations of Americans, young and old. The most vital of the Cooper novels are "The Spy," the five volumes of "The Leatherstocking Tales," "The Pilot," and "Wing and Wing."

As far back as 1850 my father brought into print the first American editions of the Works of George Borrow, and these are still issued by the Putnam house, the most important in the series being "Lavengro."

The "Views Afoot" of Bayard Taylor, recording a tramp taken by the young American through Germany and Northern Italy, was published in 1848, and still finds a circle of readers. The Taylor volume which is in most assured continued demand is a collection of stories for the young people called "Boys of Other Countries," which was published in 1871.

The Putnam imprint has been connected for more than seventy years with the Writings of Edgar Allan Poe. The best of Poe's books may properly be classed with the world's literature.

In 1885 the Putnam concern published Geo. Haven Putnam's "Books and Their Makers in the Middle Ages," and this work shows continued vitality. In 1880 was first brought into print a volume by the same author which he had not considered as an important contribution to literature, "The Little Gingerbread Man." For this volume there is a continued demand from year to year, and it will apparently constitute his best title to literary fame.

In 1884 the Putnam House brought into print a monograph by Theodore Roosevelt giving the "History of the Naval War of 1812." This was rather an active year for

the young author. He entered the Putnam concern as a special partner, married his first wife, began his political career by entering the State Assembly, and published an historical work which is still accepted as the best authority on its subject. A year or two later he published the "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman." This was followed by "American Ideals," "The Winning of the West," and other books, all of which are finding in this later century steady circles of readers.

Among other Putnam publications that enjoy continued demand, but which, for want of space, must be passed over with a mere mention are Olmsted's memorable "Seaboard Slave States" and "Journey Through the Back Country," 1858; the clever and wholesome fiction of Myrtle Reed; the 100 volumes of "Stories of the Nations" and the 60 volumes of "Heroes of the Nations," both of which series represent historical literature of continued value.

GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

Macmillan's Experience

I N reply to your request for my comments on "Old Books," I am tempted to send you my thoughts on the tragic subject of "remainders." In this century, with the immense speeding-up of book production, the remainder has an acknowledged place in the bookmaker's life, whereas twenty-five years ago it was rather an unacknowledged family skeleton. As I look over the list of our old books, I see many titles by authors such as James Lane Allen, Marion Crawford, Jack London, Charles Major, Owen Wister, Winston Churchill, and others which have almost attained their quarter century.

Some titles which have dropped from public interest, but which are being reprinted this year because of definite renewed demand for them are: "The Combined Maze," by May Sinclair; "Bealby" and "The War in the Air," by H. G. Wells; the set of books about olden times by Alice M. Earle, including "Stage Coach and Tavern Days" (1900) and "Child Life in Colonial Days" (1899).

The first Macmillan book with whose publication I was directly concerned was F. Marion Crawford's first novel. His uncle, Sam Ward, a well-known Washington publicist, *raconteur*, and *bon vivant*, came to buy books from me when I was a retail salesman in Macmillan and Co.'s shop down on Bond Street. One day, in the course of conversation, he said that his nephew had written a book and I must hear it read. So I went with him one evening to listen to the story of "Mr. Isaacs." I was enthusiastic about the book and urged the London house to print it, being certain that we could dispose of a large edition. They took it, but very skeptically, and for the first few months the sale in America was very poor. Then in a single day, for no apparent reason, it began to go so fast that we could not keep it in stock, and quickly ran a sale of 100,000. The continued demand for his works led to the publication of a new uniform edition in 1919, called the Sorrento Edition.

Among the first English books sent over when the House was organized in 1869 by my father as an American agency for the books of Macmillan and Co. of London, was Viscount Bryce's "The Holy Roman Empire" (1862). In 1891 we published "The American Commonwealth," and in 1903 Bryce's sometimes forgotten "Studies in Contemporary Biography." Other English books that were a high mark in publishing a quarter-century ago, and still have a proud place on our lists, are: Frazer's "Golden Bough" (1890), Pater's "Greek Studies" (1894), Palgrave's "Golden Treas-

ury" (1864), Moulton's "Modern Reader's Bible" (1898), Gosse's "History of English Literature in the Eighteenth Century" (1898), Yonge's "Unknown to History" (1884), Zangwill's "Children of the Ghetto" (1894). For all of these great books there is still a demand. Some other titles that marked their epoch and still have great value are: Ostrogorsky's "Democracy and the Party System" (1902), Van Dyke's "Gospel for an Age of Doubt" (1896), and particularly Rhodes's "History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850" (1892-6).

I have mentioned but few of the hundreds of titles that might be listed in this connection. But I cannot close without referring to some children's books. It is the experience of the trade that a good juvenile, once established, lives longer than almost any other book. Major's "Bears of Blue River" (1902) and Dix's "Soldier Rigdale" (1899), historical stories by American writers, have gone into many editions and their appeal is timeless. In 1900 Mrs. Molesworth's "Carrots" was first made in this country, in 1891 Church's "Story of the Iliad," and in 1898 Carroll's "Alice in Wonderland." In 1870 the Rev. C. L. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) was contemplating a sequel to be called "Looking Glass World," and suggested as good publicity that he should appeal to all his young admirers for their photographs. Alexander Macmillan urged that the title should be "Behind the Looking Glass" and wrote on the other matter: "Certes! I should think so indeed. Cartloads of them. Open an office for relief at the North Pole and another at the Equator. Ask President Grant, the Emperor of China, the Governor General of India, that whatever do you call him of Melbourne, if they won't help you. But I am resigned. When I return from Scotland I shall be braced to encounter the awful idea."

GEORGE P. BRETT,
President, The Macmillan Co.

A Modern Library of Classics

A VISITING European author of international fame said to me a few months ago that he believed that more good books were being read by the young men and women of today than at any other time in the past three hundred years; that the twentieth-century mind has made the great discovery that it takes less time to read a good book than it does to read what others have said about it; that great works of fiction are being found more enthralling than the ephemeral dilutions produced by contemporary commercial writers; and that the best and most classic in art, poetry, drama, and human thought is gradually being appreciated not only by small groups of serious thinkers, but by the great mass of people who have had only a common-school education.

The success of my own Modern Library seems to offer a modest proof that our distinguished visitor was correct in his interpretation of the times. When this series of modern "classics" was started about five years ago with twelve titles, its quick failure was predicted by almost everyone. But the large number of intelligent book-buyers, a very much larger group than was popularly supposed, not only made possible the continuation of the series, but enabled me to add to it each six months until it now includes over one hundred titles, not one of which ever pretended to be a best-seller or a lure for the tired business man. It is my opinion that book, magazine, and newspaper publishers, and producers of plays and motion pictures, should begin to realize that the *average* woman and man of the twentieth century are eager to support what is truly fine instead of what merely purports to be fine.

HORACE B. LIVERIGHT,
President, Boni & Liveright.

Everyman's Library

BOOKS are very human; in truth they are part of man. They express the thoughts of the mind, the emotions of the heart. Only those who have thought and felt have been able to write living books. Old books are like old people; easily forgotten, readily pushed aside for the more vigorous life of youth and the throbbing, vital thought of the hour. If one should ask a thousand of the men and women of New York in the prime of life the question—Is the Bible read?—an overwhelming majority would answer that few of their acquaintances read the Bible. And yet these people would be wrong, as more copies of the Bible are now sold than at any time in the world's history. We are continually hearing from the old, that the youth of today are in revolt and engaged in throwing over the foundations of society; and, on the other hand, the young of today complain bitterly that the old is past, and they themselves have to face new conditions and a new life. This is quite as it should be; the more we have given to the young, the further they should be in advance of the old. There must ever be the conflict between the young and the old; but one thing should hold fast, true sympathy and understanding.

It is a fact that many of the old books have a larger sale, continuing year after year, than the most popular of the new books. A good popular-priced edition of Shakespeare will sell more copies in seven years than any new book you can mention and this in the face of the many old editions on the market. "Tom Jones" sells from year to year. "The Imitation of Christ," "Pilgrim's Progress," "The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi," Aristotle's "Ethics," Epictetus's "Moral Discourses," Plato's "Republic," "Meditations of Marcus Aurelius," Dante's "Divine Comedy," the "Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini," Franklin's "Autobiography," Boswell's "Life of Johnson," the Koran, Sakuntala, "Pride and Prejudice," "Adam Bede," "Jane Eyre," "Les Misérables," "The Last of the Mohicans," "Lorna Doone," "Leaves of Grass"—this list is selected at random from titles in Everyman's Library which have been printed year after year, and still they must be printed and reprinted time and time again; and in the aggregate they sell more largely than the new books of the hour which are creating a furore.

These positive facts as to the sale of these old books show clearly how truly this generation has its feet firmly planted in the soil of the past, drawing not only profit but present-day joy from the records of the years gone before, and thus truly proving the time-binding quality of man's mind. Probably Job wrote the first book we have; and all through that marvelous and wonderful book we find Job standing for his faith in God, while his friends are loading him with reproaches and showering upon him bitter criticism. Many of the great classics when first written brought down upon the authors the severest denunciation.

The writer of this article feels that more good books are being written today than ever before in the history of man; and that in the years before us some of the writers now stormed at and denounced as immoral, or incapable of writing true literature will be among the immortals of this generation. Often books, like men, are ahead of the time, and the author spends his time in writing for the joy of the generations to follow. Not many years ago Samuel Butler wrote "The Way of All Flesh." Not so many as 600 copies were sold at that time. Some few years ago we reprinted this wonderful book. Slowly the men of our generation sensed the value of that splendid novel; and now, year after year, the book sells, one edition follows another. We have had similar experience with W. H. Hudson's "The Purple Land."

JOHN MACRAE,
Vice-President, E. P. Dutton & Co.



EDITORIAL



Are We Ready for Industrial Slavery?

IT is one of the blessings of our Federal system that a single State may make a great departure from established practice, either for good or for evil, while the other States look on with interest and, in the course of time, determine their own policy in the light of the experience of their sister Commonwealth. Beneficent examples thus set have often been swiftly followed, to the great benefit of the nation. But it is equally important that injurious departures shall serve as effective warning; and this becomes imperative when the matter involved develops an issue not of mere practical expediency, but of fundamental principle.

Upon the merits of the Kansas law whose object is to prevent strikes in essential industries by means of a Court of Industrial Relations, we, for our part, are not prepared to pronounce a final opinion. But as to one phase of the way in which that law is operating we have no hesitation whatever in declaring our judgment in the most emphatic language we can command. If the law cannot be made to function without resort to such an invasion of the fundamental rights of free-men as has been attempted by the Attorney-General of Kansas, then the law must be branded as intolerable, and public opinion throughout the country should be aroused to express its condemnation.

In his endeavor to cope with the difficulty of getting the coal mines worked, Attorney-General Hopkins last month called upon every city in the district affected by the strike to pass an ordinance containing the following provision:

Any person . . . who, being without visible means of support, shall refuse to work when work at fair wages is to be procured in the community . . . shall be deemed a vagrant, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned in the city jail for a period of not less than ten days or more than 30 days for each offense, and shall be compelled to work at hard labor until sentence is fully complied with.

It is idle to blink the fact that such a requirement as this contains the essence of slavery. Nothing about the Soviet despotism in Russia has been more conclusive of its character than has its wholesale resort to compulsory labor. This plan of the Kansas attorney-general may be practically of very limited scope in comparison with the Leninite procedure; but in essence it is indistinguishable from it. This is clear enough in itself; but were there any doubt it would be removed by the statements of the attorney-general in reply to questions addressed to him by city officials at a meeting in which he presented to them the proposed ordinance. Replying to one of the mayors, who inquired whether men who owned their homes and whose credit was good at the grocer's could be convicted under the vagrancy ordinance, the attorney-general, as reported in a local paper, said:

A man may be a vagrant though his credit is good at the grocer's, if work is to be procured in the community and

he does not work. The law contemplates that every able-bodied man work if work is obtainable in his community.

We wish we could think that the case was made better by the fact that this is not an instance of "plutocratic" oppression, but apparently the manifestation of a spirit prevailing in a community of sturdy farmers, business men, and others forming so representative an American State as Kansas. On the contrary, that circumstance makes the case far more ominous. It will be remembered that during the war several of our States passed "anti-loafing" laws which were directed quite as much against the idle rich as against the idle poor. As war measures, much might be said in favor of these laws; and, at all events, as war measures they violated no fundamental principle. But in many of our best newspapers the laws were not only commended as a resort in the exigency of wartime, but were spoken of as a permanently desirable part of our public policy. The utter blindness which these comments displayed to the priceless value of the principle of liberty; the readiness which they indicated to sacrifice that principle for the sake of a minor and almost insignificant practical gain; the blank unconsciousness that any sacrifice was involved in the case—all this must fill the thoughtful observer with profound solicitude.

If anyone be inclined to dismiss this view as "academic," we have only to say that a nation which has lost its interest in the abstract question of liberty is well on the way to losing liberty itself. But there is an aspect of the matter which no one can regard as academic. Whatever may be thought by those whose liberty is not involved in the case, there can be no question of what will be thought about it by those whose liberty *is* involved. It is anything but academic to *them*. The strongest weapon that Mr. Gompers and other labor leaders have against any proposal, however sound, to limit the right to strike, is the contention that every such proposal means forced labor, means industrial slavery. The contention is wrong; nobody maintains that it is wrong more strenuously than do we ourselves. But as against such a proceeding as that attempted in Kansas, the contention is right, thoroughly and completely right. And if this proceeding is to go uncondemned by the conservative opinion of the country, is it not absurd to expect the laboring masses, or those in sympathy with them, to draw any distinction between it and other measures directed toward the same general end? They will merge them all into one mass, upon which they will vent the full force of their hatred and their indignation.

And, immensely important as this is, there is another consideration of even more far-reaching, though less immediate, importance. The one inexpugnable argument against Socialism—Socialism in whatever shape, from outright Communism to the mildest Collectivism—is that Socialism is incompatible with liberty. If we are going to sacrifice the principle of liberty for the sake of the better convenience of getting our coal when we want it, we shall have thrown away

the armor which is our chief defense against Socialistic assault. It is not the labor men, still less the Socialists, who need have any fear about the ultimate result of the policy which this Kansas incident typifies. That policy will never get very far in accomplishing the end at which it is aimed; but it may go very far indeed toward making the existing order—the order that rests upon private property and individual freedom—defenseless against the attacks of its enemies. For our own part, we should be uncompromisingly opposed to it without regard to these practical considerations; we should be opposed to it because we would not sell our birthright for a mess of pottage. But those to whom this sentiment does not appeal should take heed lest they sell the birthright without getting the pottage—nay, lest by selling the birthright they put at fatal risk the whole of their inheritance.

Taking Counsel with Europe

UNLESS we misread public opinion, there is a very general and a very strong public sentiment in America in favor of undertaking a proper share in the task of restoring normal economic life in Europe. There can be no question that our people would favor joining in a conference or a series of conferences or business meetings to work out satisfactory and effective plans. On the other hand, they are opposed to becoming entangled in the political perplexities of Europe, or to making a radical departure from the country's historic policy.

These were the considerations that divided opinion regarding acceptance of the invitation to participate in the proposed economic conference at Genoa. The first impulse, that which arose from the desire to coöperate, was in favor of participating, and many business men and more than one important chamber of commerce strongly urged it. Sober second thought, however, made it clear that the Genoa proposal did not meet the necessary conditions. Ostensibly economic, it was in reality primarily political, as the invitation to the Soviet indicated. Furthermore it was fairly obvious that the main purpose was to consummate a deal whereby Russia was to be handed over to Germany for exploitation as a special preserve. If we participated in it with the Soviet delegates we compromised ourselves with the Russian people; and, once in it, we should find it exceedingly difficult to withdraw and uncomfortable to appear to obstruct.

America is ready and eager to coöperate with the nations of Europe in the work of reconstruction. We have here three billions of gold lying idle that might be made the basis for enormous credits, and capital is accumulating that will soon press for investment opportunities not to be found at home. Stagnation of business among farmers and manufacturers is largely due to lack of markets, and the markets will only return when Europe again begins to produce. America, therefore, would welcome an opportunity to take counsel with the leading statesmen, financiers, industrialists, and economists of Europe to work out practical and effective plans to bring this about.

But there are certain conditions prerequisite to such a conference. Political settlements must be omitted from the agenda—preferably they should be arranged

before the conference meets. There should be a general stock-taking by the Governments concerned. They are somewhat in the position of a corporation in difficulties that seeks financing of a reorganization and must first present a financial statement and balance-sheet. Finally, certain principles and rules of conduct must be accepted in advance as governing the decisions of the conference, particularly those of the open door and equality of opportunity, in order to avoid the embarrassment that would be occasioned should a clash on such fundamental issues cause us to withdraw. The wise procedure for Mr. Lloyd George and M. Poincaré would be to consult quietly with our own Government as to the scope, character, and conditions of such a conference, and after reaching a mutual agreement on these points issue the formal invitations. This is far better calculated to result in a harmonious and fruitful meeting than is an invitation which presents a *fait accompli* and but thinly conceals a design inimical to our national interest and offensive to our sense of honor and fair play.

Now for the Crowning Act

IN an address whose straightforward and convincing appeal is manifest to everybody, President Harding has placed before the Senate the results of the great Conference. That the treaties which he submitted for its approval will be ratified, there is no reasonable doubt. The one thing about which there may be question is the promptness with which the ratification may be completed.

That question is not of minor importance. The result which the Conference has so happily achieved consists in part of the specific conclusions embodied in the treaties, but in even greater measure of the spirit which actuated the negotiators. The report of the American delegation, in its summary of the work of the Conference, rightly declares that an essential part of its task was to "deal with the state of mind" from which competitive armament springs. Referring, in particular, to the Four Power Treaty, the report says:

The negotiations which led to the four-power treaty were the process of attaining that new state of mind, and the four-power treaty itself was the expression of that new state of mind. It terminated the Anglo-Japanese alliance and substituted friendly conference in place of war as the first reaction from any controversies which might arise in the region of the Pacific; it would not have been possible except as part of a plan including a limitation and a reduction of naval armaments, but that limitation and reduction would not have been possible without the new relations established by the four-power treaty or something equivalent to it.

What could be more impressive, what could be more effective, from this point of view, than a prompt and hearty approval by the Senate of what the Conference has done? No novel experiment—either good or bad—in national relations is involved; to haggle over the treaties would be merely to thresh out futilities. Yet this haggling would do much to lessen that impression of unstinted national approval which would do so much for the world's state of mind. Let the Senate rise to the full height of the occasion. Let it represent the heart and mind of America. Let it crown the great work of humanity and progress which the Conference of the Nations has placed before it, by a prompt, ungrudging, enthusiastic ratification.

Slavs, Teutons, and the Rest of Us

THERE can be little doubt that the most serious immediate handicap standing in the way of restoring normal economic life in Europe is the unsatisfactory state of the problem of German reparations. More fundamental, of course, is the vicious circle of unbalanced budgets and unsecured printing-press money, but serious efforts to cut down government expenditure and limit the output of fiat money can hardly begin until some sound adjustment is made of the reparations problem on the basis of actualities, so that general business and finance may have a starting point on which to base their calculations. A belated realization of the conflict between economic law and certain features of the reparation clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, together with the stagnation of trade and the pressure of unemployment in England, has led that nimble opportunist, Mr. Lloyd George, to favor the expedient proposed by certain exponents of economic imperialism in Germany of turning over Russia to them as a private preserve in which to work out the reparation payments. Apparently he feels, in his perplexity, that the immediate relief assured, and the opportunities promised for the participation of English capital, outweigh the future dangers of a Germany restored to a predominant position in Europe by the resources of Russia and by making that country virtually a colony.

It is this situation, brought sharply into light by the Genoa conference proposal by which the arrangement was to have been consummated, that forces upon our attention the subject of German-Russian relations, the crucial point about which all European political and economic questions revolve today. Although far removed from the scene and scarcely aware of the vital issues involved, America is hardly less interested in the outcome than the countries of western Europe.

It goes without saying that Germany must play a most important part in Russian reconstruction, in the gigantic task of repairing the ruin wrought by the Bolshevik debauch. Germany is Russia's next-door neighbor; economic conditions there are complementary to her own; in the past she had a great fabric of commercial organization built up in Russia and she now has at her disposal many thousands of experts in Russian business. No one can stop the commercial and industrial developments that will naturally result from these advantages. The question at issue is whether the developments shall be those which flow naturally from reciprocal independence of the two countries and which shall give to Russia full and unhampered opportunity to order her own economic and political life as her people see fit, or whether they take place under conditions of special privilege and artificial restriction that will keep Russia in a state of economic, and consequently political, vassalage.

The sharp dividing line of departure between these two divergent courses is the principle set forth by America and the one that won out in the recent Washington Conference. In 1899 Secretary Hay announced the doctrine of the open door and equality of opportunity in the Far East. Its course was not an easy one. Tongue in cheek, the Powers gave assent to it

but made little effort to put into practice their words of approval. America herself was then in no position to insist and to exercise the power necessary to make it a reality. That day was to come later when America, following the war, had to be listened to and her wishes heeded. Today the countries of Europe freely admit that their problems of reconstruction cannot be solved without American capital. America can, therefore, insist on the conditions under which she will participate. The primary condition should be the extension of the Hay doctrine to Eastern Europe. Only in this way can be assured the development of Russia with her sovereignty and economic integrity unimpaired. A free and independent Russia means not only equal opportunity for our own capital and enterprise, but also a great friend in the cause of world peace, bound to us by strong ties.

Just at the present moment there is a special reason for letting the world know our insistence on this principle. Russia herself is in a state of flux. The forces of actual life, the assertion of individualism, are upsetting all the calculations of the Communists, and Lenin is being forced to yield to them. He calls it a strategic retreat of Communism—in reality it is the birth of a new Russia bursting the bonds of the Soviet tyranny. The world cannot afford to interfere with these processes and give a setback to the aspirations and struggles of the Russian people by an act that would tend to confirm and strengthen the tyrannical and reactionary forces of the Soviet régime, no matter what gestures or promises Lenin may make of doing away with the Cheka or granting some degree of liberty. Nothing could be more unfortunate than for America to abandon that wise policy of aloofness from the Soviet Government and friendship for the Russian people which has already wrung such concessions from Moscow and won for us the confidence and gratitude of the overwhelming mass of Russians.

Famine Relief—Real and Imitation

THE inspiring report on Russian famine relief which Mr. Hoover has just made to the President bears testimony once more to the remarkable combination of constructive idealism and executive ability that characterizes this most useful of men. This report does not mince matters in calling attention to the activities of certain organizations formed ostensibly for Russian relief, which incidentally have been investigated recently by the Department of Justice. We feel special interest in this because we ourselves were unwittingly guilty of publishing the announcements of two of these organizations in our advertising columns.

Were these "Committees" merely charitable organizations devoting a fair amount of the funds raised by them to the relief of the suffering we should not care much through what channels the relief went. Of its political effect we should think little compared with the immediate exigency of saving human life. We recognize that there are many people of radical views in this country who would prefer that their contributions should pass through hands more friendly to the Bolshevik usurpers than the strictly non-political and non-partisan Hoover organization, though we cannot over-

look the fact that these radicals are attacking the magnificent humanitarian work of the American Relief Administration in a most despicable manner.

But these organizations are open to other charges. The exposures show that only a small portion of the funds raised goes to actual relief—the major portion goes to the support of the promoters and to revolutionary propaganda. As to the good faith of these organizations, to which many good people have unwittingly lent their names, we only need point out that the leading spirits in practically all of them, as shown in Mr. Hoover's report, are Dr. J. W. Hartman and Dr. D. H. Dubrovsky, both intimately connected with Ludwig C. A. K. Martens and his Soviet "embassy." Dr. Dubrovsky is the man who a couple of years ago concocted the clever scheme in connection with the Soviet Government of transferring funds from ignorant Russian workers in America to their relatives and friends in Russia. For one dollar deposited with Dr. Dubrovsky here 250 rubles would be paid in Russia. As the course of exchange at that time was 25,000 to the dollar the profit was not inconsiderable, especially as the dollar remained here for propaganda purposes and little additional strain was placed on the Soviet printing presses. This pretty scheme was stopped by the Department of Justice; we trust that the new ones which are thinly camouflaged under the guise of famine relief will meet the same fate.

Do not let these exposures of unworthy and self-seeking enterprises dry up the well-spring of your human sympathy. Do not confuse Russia with Bolshevism. The one safe rule to follow is to send all contributions to the American Relief Administration, 42 Broadway, New York City, in full assurance that every cent will go directly to the relief of suffering where it is most needed and will be administered with absolute honesty and high efficiency.

Hands Off Goucher

GOUCHER COLLEGE was established by the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1885. Its first prospectus stated that it "was not planned and will not be managed in an exclusive or sectarian spirit."

Since then its entire history has been a continuous sloughing off of its denominational connection, until today it is as free of alien domination as Vassar or Bryn Mawr. There is now no denominational test for trustees, faculty or students, and its millions of endowment have been raised from all faiths on the guarantee that the college was to be non-sectarian.

Though the charter has been amended from time to time to meet the growing demands of the college, the last charter still contains some ambiguities which the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church now claims give them the right to nominate a majority of the trustees and thus control the institution.

The present Board of Trustees (eleven of the nineteen being Methodists) have accepted the challenge and have unanimously petitioned the General Assembly of Maryland to amend the charter so as to remove forever all possibility of the College passing under the control of the Church.

Whatever the technical rights of the Church may be, it would be a misfortune for Goucher to be put into

pantelettes and tied to the apron strings of a sect. It has maintained a high rank among our women's colleges and would inevitably decline from that rank if it were reduced to the position of a sectarian institution.

A Pretty Point of Logic

SELDOM does one come across a more interesting slip in logic than that which the *New York World* falls into in the following:

When Mr. Pepper says that the Republican Senators approached the Newberry case in a judicial manner and their votes were on the merits of the case, while the Democrats made it a partisan issue, he wholly misstates the facts. The vote in the Senate on January 12 stood forty-six Republicans for seating Newberry and nine Republicans and thirty-two Democrats against seating Newberry. The vote for Newberry was a solid partisan vote; the vote against Newberry was cast by Democrats and Republicans. The forty-six Republican Senators who rallied to Newberry's support could not have given a plainer demonstration of the partisan motives by which they were controlled.

The fact that "the vote for Newberry was a solid partisan vote" is not at all the "demonstration" that the *World* takes it to be. On the logic of the mere statistics of the vote, Senator Pepper is entirely right. The Democratic vote was cast solidly, the Republican vote was divided; the *vote for Newberry* was indeed a solid party vote; but this was precisely because *the vote of the Democratic Senators* was cast solidly against him, while that of the Republican Senators was *not* cast solidly for him. This is the point that Senator Pepper made, and the *World's* criticism, so far as that point is concerned, rests upon a logical error and nothing else. Of course, the figures of the vote are, in reality, not conclusive either way; the question which side was the more partisan and which side the more judicial must be judged quite otherwise.

Reviving Some Pleasant Memories

IN a period of the most facile talent it is significant that the public is interested in revivals. One thing is certain: the outpouring of novels, plays and poetry has left the public quite bewildered. Of the promise of power the new authors have given evidence; that they grasp the meaning of present-day life is most doubtful. In spite of the excitement created by some recent works, there is no proof that any of them have brought abiding satisfaction to readers.

In these circumstances to renew the memory of books published before the beginning of the present century may help to indicate whither our new outburst of talent is tending. One thing becomes clear from a reading of the experience of "Senex," which is found in other columns. The creation of memorable characters is for the time being a lost art. American writers have seldom shown temperance in yielding to new tendencies, and when the literature of ideas, as opposed to that of creative imagination, made itself felt, the possibility of solving the big problems of the universe by sermons in art seemed to them hopeful. But they would gain much by serving an apprenticeship in the workshops of those sturdy writers of the "despised" generation who instinctively made characters first of all human, and afterwards significant of tendencies.

Prompted by these reflections, we decided to give up much of this issue to considerations of the works of other days.

The Story of the Week

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

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The Domestic Budget

The Coöperative Marketing Bill

ON the 8th the Senate by 58 to 1 passed the Coöperative Marketing bill. This bill, according to the *New York Times*,

authorizes farmers, ranchers, dairymen, planters, and nut and fruit growers, to act together in associations, corporate or otherwise, in collectively processing, preparing for market, handling and marketing in interstate and foreign commerce, the products of their farms, dairies, groves and ranches. Whether or not such an association becomes a monopoly or unduly enhances prices in violation of law is a matter left to the decision of the Secretary of Agriculture instead of the Federal agencies created for that purpose.

The bill was passed by the House last May. All efforts to amend it in the Senate failed.

Raising the Wind

Secretary Mellon calculates that the proposed bonus would cost the people a minimum of \$425,000,000 per year during the next two years. He told the House Ways and Means Committee how \$300,000,000 of this yearly amount might be raised; not that he at all approves of such additional imposts, but, if additional burdens are to be imposed (and they must be if the bonus bill is passed), they might be imposed as follows:

A one-cent increase in first-class postage, to bring in \$70,000,000; increase of second-class postage, to raise \$30,000,000; a tax increase of 50 cents per thousand on cigarettes—\$25,000,000; increase on documentary stamps—\$40,000,000; a tax of two cents on each bank check—\$30,000,000; a license tax of 50 cents per horsepower on automobiles—\$100,000,000; a tax of three cents per gallon on gasoline—\$130,000,000.

The sales tax idea is the best, thinks the Secretary; a retail sales tax on carefully selected items, not a general sales tax, for the cost and difficulty of collection of the latter would be prohibitive. Suggested taxes of the following kinds he emphatically condemns: increase of inheritance taxes; increase of the corporation taxes; increase of normal taxes on incomes; a tax on stock exchange transactions.

He reaffirmed his disapproval of the proposal to use payments on the Allied war-loans for bonus payments, and again stated that there is no financial magic by which the cost of a bonus can be shifted from the shoulders of the American people.

He was asked the question: "If the ban on light wines and beer were removed, and they were taxed sufficiently to raise the money for the bonus, would that disturb the economic equilibrium of the country?" His reply was: "No."

It is understood that President Harding's flat disapproval of the proposal to connect in any way the bonus bill and Allied war-debt payments has insured the dropping of that idea by those who have the bonus bill in charge.

The Minimum Price Bill

The Ladd Minimum Price Bill is under consideration by the Senate Committee on Agriculture. It proposes mini-

mum prices of \$1.50 a bushel for wheat, 85 cents a bushel for corn, 18 cents a pound for cotton, and 55 cents a pound for wool. It would have the Government guarantee these prices. The pressure upon Congress for price legislation comes from every section of the country and from every class, but not from all the people all the time.

Disabled Soldiers

Director Forbes of the Veterans' Bureau urges immediate appropriation of \$16,000,000 for additional hospitals for war veterans. Especially is it true, he says, that present facilities for treatment of the insane are inadequate.

A Proposed Labor Alliance

Mr. John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, has made overtures with a view to uniting the various organizations of mining and railroad employees "in resistance to the proposed attacks on wage scales." If a complete alliance should be effected, it would bring together about 500,000 miners and over 1,500,000 railroad men. The project suggests the British Triple Alliance, which has not precisely achieved its objects.



Keystone

Gainsborough's masterpiece, the "Blue Boy," which has arrived in New York



International

Skating on the mirror basin in front of the Lincoln Memorial, Washington

The War-Loans

Justice John H. Clarke of the United States Supreme Court, in a remarkable address before the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, had this to say in urging cancellation of our war-loans to the Allies:

When the war ended and victory came, we proudly proclaimed that we would not accept a dollar of indemnity from the enemy. What, in the judgment of "a candid world," will be thought of us if we now insist upon collecting tribute from our friends which will impose taxation on them so crushing as to be equivalent to enslavement for a generation? It would be to proclaim to the world that it is better to have America for an enemy than for a friend.

In 1870 Germany laid the then unprecedented war indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs upon France defeated, but if we collect these loans, the hand which we, her friend, will lay on France victorious will be threefold heavier than was the iron hand of Bismarck the conqueror. I do not like to see my country become a party to such an enterprise.

Anti-French Propaganda

The Standing Committee of the Society of the Cincinnati has adopted and published a resolution declaring its disapproval of insidious propaganda in the public press of this country against France. Other and vigorous protests are multiplying.

Walking the Rialto

The thousands of unemployed American actors and actresses in New York City resent the employment in the city of a very considerable number of foreign actors and actresses, mostly English paid (it is alleged) at English rates. Relief has been suggested through amendment of the immigration laws and pressure on theatrical managers and producers.

Evolution in Kentucky and in New York

The Kentucky Senate Committee on Statutes voted to report unfavorably the bill concerning evolution, but is to consider another bill which would prohibit teaching in any university or school "of anything that would undermine or destroy the faith of pupils."

Dr. John R. Straton, the well-known Baptist minister, proposes to start a crusade in this State, similar to the Kentucky one, against "the teaching of evolution in the public schools as established fact." It is pleasantly suggested that New York City Commissioner of Accounts Hirshfield might apply his trained critical mind to the question and settle it properly.

An Important Qualification

Dr. William H. Park's statement declaring the pneumonia vaccine effective was quoted last week. He has since qualified that statement as follows: "The vaccine does protect many persons, though not all. It takes three in-

jections, accompanied by reaction of some severity, to confer immunity, and the effect will only last through the winter."

Influenza and Pneumonia in New York City

The influenza and pneumonia epidemics in New York City are still growing (February 9). Outside New York City there does not seem to have been anywhere an important increase of influenza cases.

The Knickerbocker Theatre Disaster

A report by five army and navy engineers on the causes of the collapse of the Knickerbocker Theatre in Washington, shows twenty-one evidences of weakness in the construction. An engineer in the District of Columbia Building Inspector's office testified at the coroner's inquest that the iron construction used for the support of the roof was below the requirements of the plans submitted to his office, and that "the insufficiency of the construction should have been discovered by proper inspection." From which it appears that builders and contractors can be scoundrels in Washington, where, in a district under Federal administration, the country expects model building laws and model inspection under them, not to be looked for, perhaps, in other municipalities.

Automobiles at Princeton

At the instance of the Senior (undergraduate) Council, President Hibben of Princeton has asked the parents of undergraduates not to allow their sons private automobiles for use while at college. The Princeton undergraduate might and doubtless does say: Now what do you know about that?

Unemployment in New York City

The Industrial Aid Bureau of New York City reports 200,000 unemployed in the city.

The Washington Conference

The End

THE Conference practically ended with the plenary session on Saturday the 4th. On Monday the Five-Power Naval Treaty, two Nine-Power Chinese treaties, the Five-Power Submarine and Poison-gas Treaty, and a supplement to the Four-Power Treaty, were signed at a plenary session, and President Harding made a speech, formally closing the Conference. At the plenary session of February 2 certain resolutions, not to be embodied in treaties but presumably equally binding with treaties, were adopted: the resolution providing for a commission to revise the rules of war in relation to "the new agencies of warfare"; the Board of Reference resolution, providing a board to which ques-

tions arising in connection with the principles of the Open Door and Equality of Opportunity in China may be referred; and two resolutions relating to the Chinese Eastern Railway, which declare that the operation of that railroad leaves much to be desired and chide China for neglect and inefficiency. Two Chinese declarations were spread upon the record: one undertaking not to alienate or lease any portion of Chinese territory or littoral to any Power, and another declaring that China has no intention to effect any change which might disturb the present (foreign) administration of the Chinese maritime customs.

One of the Nine-Power treaties relating to China is called the "Treaty on Chinese Integrity"; the other the "Treaty on the Chinese Tariff." These treaties embody various resolutions previously adopted by the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Affairs and later by the Conference in plenary session. All the important details of these treaties have been sufficiently noticed in previous numbers of this journal and should be familiar.

The Treaty on the Chinese Tariff embodies resolutions which contemplate approximate doubling of Chinese customs revenue.

The Treaty on Chinese Integrity is of a general nature. It embodies the four famous Root resolutions and other resolutions which somewhat develop the Root "points," but in general terms. Various specific resolutions adopted by the Conference from time to time, which contemplate complete or partial relief of China from conditions which traverse Chinese sovereignty, independence, and integrity, are not embodied in treaty form; such resolutions as: that providing for withdrawal of foreign post offices by January 1, 1923; that concerning foreign wireless stations; that providing for a commission to examine into the question of the exercise of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China; and that providing for a commission to examine into the question of withdrawal of foreign troops and police from China.

The supplement to the Four-Power Treaty interprets the much-debated expression in that treaty, "insular possessions and insular dominions," in its relation to Japan, to include only the southern part of Sakhalin, Formosa, the Pescadores, and the islands under Japanese mandate; thus rendering the treaty much less vulnerable to opposition in the United States Senate.

The Twenty-one Demands

The Question of the Twenty-one Demands (so-called, but really the Manchurian Question) was laid to rest with brief and simple ceremonies. Baron Shidehara made a terse speech, of which the following was the most important part:

The Japanese delegation cannot bring itself to the conclusion that any useful purpose will be served by research and reëxamination at this conference of old grievances which any of the nations represented here may have against an-

other. It will be more in line with the high aim of the conference to look forward to the future with hope and with confidence.

The hint was taken, and the Conference did not indulge in "research" or "reëxamination" of the Twenty-one Demands. Dr. Wang, however, was permitted to reply for China.

He had in previous addresses and memoranda ably presented China's case on the Demands and the treaties pursuant thereto; he now resumed these arguments. His style mirrored the dejection of his spirit. Secretary Hughes followed with perfunctory remarks. The speeches of Shidehara and Wang were ordered spread on the record, and thus ended the brief and melancholy chapter of the Twenty-one Demands.

The Conference in plenary session approved the spreading on the record of the speeches on the Twenty-one Demands, as it had done in the case of the equally effective speeches on the Siberian Question.

Odds and Ends

The plenary session on the 4th ended with speeches by heads of delegation (except that Baron Shidehara spoke in place of Baron Kato). Mr. Balfour's was the happiest. He alone of the conferees has lightened noble sentiments with flashes of humor.

Senator Schanzer of Italy made some excellent remarks on land armaments, including the following:

We must not continue to turn in this vicious circle, namely, that it is impossible to reduce armaments because certain economic questions are not settled, or, on the other hand, that the economic questions in Europe cannot be settled because it is impossible to reduce armaments.

It is necessary to break this vicious circle, and this cannot be accomplished without the co-operation and the goodwill of all nations.

Perhaps it is not true to say that Mr. Balfour alone indulged in humor. Perhaps there is a certain grim humor in the following of Baron Shidehara:

No one denies to China her sacred right to govern herself. No one stands in the way of China's working out her own great national destiny. No one has come to the conference with any plan of seeking anything at the expense of China. On the contrary, every participating nation has shown readiness at all times to help China out of her present difficulties.

Japan believes that she has made to China every possible concession compatible with a sense of reason, fairness and honor. She does not regret it. She rejoices in the thought that the sacrifice which she has made and that what she has offered will not be in vain in the greater cause of international friendship and good-will.

* * *

The Shantung Treaty was signed on the 4th.

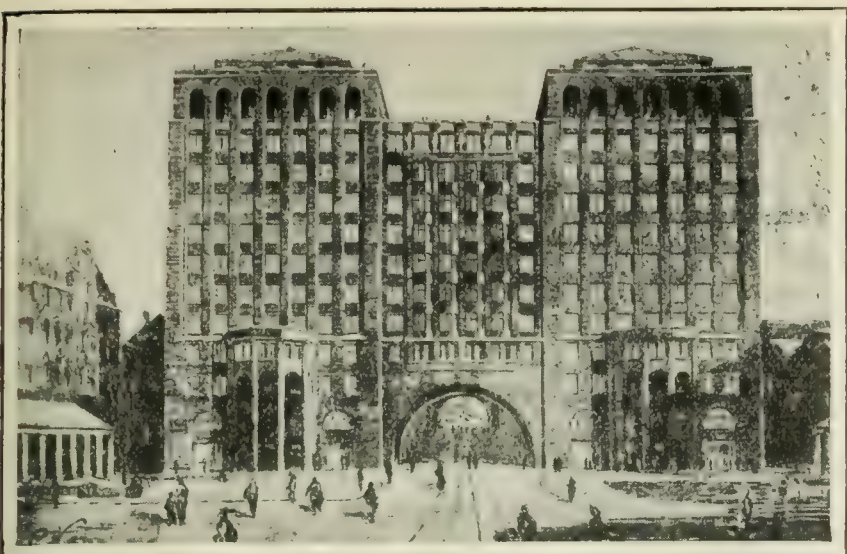
* * *

The Japanese have been greatly admired for their exceptional faculty of assimilation. Baron Shidehara showed in his speech at the plenary session of February 4 that he



International

The new Pope, Pius XI, formerly Cardinal Ratti



Kadel & Herbert

Cologne, first German city to erect a skyscraper on American plan

had assimilated Lord Curzon and Mr. William Jennings Bryan.

Mr. J. B. Powell, Secretary of the American Chamber of Commerce of China and Editor of the *Weekly Review of the Far East*, has rather neatly remarked that "the United States has reënnunciated the policy of the Open Door in China in a manner clearly superior to the original declaration of 1900." That at least is something.

According to Mr. Elmer Davis, who performed the function of Greek Chorus to the play at Washington, the two great accomplishments of the Washington Conference were "moral trusteeship" and "acceptance in principle."

The Chinese Eastern Railway question was ingeniously settled by leaving it untouched—another victory for old *Status Quo*.

The World Congress of the Irish Race

A WORLD CONGRESS of the Irish Race, in which men of Irish blood from fourteen countries participated, met at Paris on January 21 and for a week held lively debate. Ireland itself seems to have been represented chiefly by irreconcilables such as Mr. de Valera, Miss MacSwiney, and Countess Markievicz. The invitations called the Congress an *aonach*, Gaelic name for those ancient Irish gatherings which were a combination of assizes, fair, athletic and artistic meet. Politics and religion were to be avoided at this modern *aonach*; but quite inevitably, of course, it devoted itself pretty exclusively to politics. Mr. de Valera was elected presiding officer. An International Irish League was organized, of which the object is expressed in the following resolution: "The object of the international organization is to assist the people of Ireland in their efforts to obtain to the full their national ideals, political, cultural, and economical, and secure for Ireland her rightful place among the free nations of the earth." This is charmingly vague, and press accounts differ widely as to the general temper of the conferees. By some accounts the majority were for backing to the full Mr. de Valera's intransigent programme, by other accounts the majority enthusiastically endorsed the experiment of the Irish Free State. The reason for such wide variation in reports is that the press was mostly guessing, explosive subjects being debated in secret. Certainly among the proposals debated was one of boycott of British goods by the Irish race throughout the world until absolute Irish independence shall have been achieved.

It is possible that the political debates amounted to little more than blowing-off of steam by the "die-hards." It is pleasant to turn to the non-political deliberations of the Congress. It was proposed to hold an "Irish Olympiad" in Dublin the coming August; to publish an international

Irish "Who's Who"; to publish an international journal with Gaelic and English texts in parallel columns; to further exchanges of Irish professors with those of other countries; and more of the like. Which of these decisions were adopted and what arrangements were made to carry into effect those adopted, we cannot say. There's no limit to Ireland's opportunity except that set by the spirit of faction.

A Christmas Message

THE following Christmas message to the people of India, informed by a disinterested love of liberty and the principle of Self-Determination, was signed by prominent American citizens (including two Federal Senators and one Federal Representative); yet various Englishmen have protested against it.

The United States of America has never failed to extend sympathy and support to all peoples who were struggling for freedom.

A short time ago our army returned from overseas after having brought victory to the allied cause. Our entrance into this great struggle was predicated upon the principle that the just powers of Government are derived from the consent of the governed; and our aid was accepted by the Allies upon the theory that at the close of the war peoples everywhere should be permitted to determine for themselves the character of government under which they shall live. Our right not only to sympathize with the people of India and Ireland and Egypt who are struggling for the right of self-determination, but to give them active support, is conceded by the promises of our associates in the great war and sealed by the blood of our soldiers.

Accordingly we send our sympathy to the people of India, and our assurance that we will do all we may to promote the success of their struggle.

The message was broadcasted in India and the zeal of the signers has been duly sealed in the blood of sundry Indians, incited thereby to acts of violence.

The Embarrassments of Chancellor Wirth

THE statement which the German Government was required to submit to the Reparations Commission on or before January 29 was to include a schedule of reparation payments (in gold marks and in kind) for the year 1922, and a plan of fiscal and financial reforms.

The statement was duly rendered. It was a document of great importance, of which more may be said in a future issue. It was only through a compromise agreement at the last moment with the People's Party (the party of the great industrialists) that Chancellor Wirth was able to promise his reforms; the industrial leaders engaging themselves to support in the Reichstag the program of legislation needed to give effect to his plan.

The members of the Reparations Commission were regarding the statement with cold and dubitating gaze, when certain things happened in Germany to make dubiety more dubious. Dr. Wirth appointed to the post of Foreign Minister Dr. Rathenau, who is anathema to the People's Party. Thereupon, it is reported, the leaders of the latter repudiated the agreement aforementioned. So Wirth must win them over again or find other support or throw up the sponge. He might ally himself with the Independent Liberals, and squeeze Capital. That would be a way; a very disastrous one.

Not only is Wirth embarrassed by Stinnes and Company, but Radical Labor is again raising its head. Preposterous wage increases being demanded and refused, a national railroad strike went into effect at midnight February 2-3. On the 5th the municipal employees of Berlin struck and cut off service of water, gas, and electricity in the city. The railroad strike was called off "provisionally" on the 7th, apparently with restoration of the *status quo*, and the "technical emergency help" organization has partially restored



Pacific and Atlantic

Princess Mary of England, about to be married to Viscount Lascelles

the essential services of water, gas, and electric current, but the prospect for future relations between the Government and Labor is of the gloomiest.

Wirth's chief hope of salvation is through a great international loan. The developments here briefly glanced at have greatly prejudiced his chance of getting that loan.

The New Pope

CARDINAL
ACHILLE
RATTI, Archbishop of

Milan, was elected Pope on February 6. He assumed the name of Pius XI. He will continue the late Pope Benedict's policy of discreet friendliness toward the Quirinal. The fact that he gave his benediction to the people from the balcony of St. Peter's Church instead of inside the church is a token of this. Crowds are the same everywhere and always—brutal, selfish, and silly; whether gathered to see a bull-fight or the nomination of a President, or to receive the papal benediction. In the wild rush of the crowd to enter St. Peter's Church many were injured and many women fainted.

The choice of Ratti was very popular in Rome. He is sixty-four, of middle class origin, an authority on history and art, and a mountain climber (indeed, several of the Alpine summits are named after him, as he was the first to scale them). In the summer of 1920 Cardinal Ratti was Papal Nuncio at Warsaw. When the Bolshevik forces threatened Warsaw, he alone, it is said, of the envoys, remained at his post, urging the Poles to resist. He chose the name Pius XI, it is reported, "because he wanted a Pius to end the Roman question, which began under a Pius."

According to an official statement, the main object which Pope Pius proposes to himself is "universal pacification." Cardinal Gasparri, a Liberal, remains Papal Secretary of State.

Eastern Siberia

THE reader is advised, unless he be of a curious turn and unless he have a general notion of the strange happenings in Eastern Siberia since 1918, to pass by this section. The curious and avid reader may enjoy the following brief notice of not the least strange of developments in Eastern Siberia since the collapse of the Russian Empire:

Russian "White" troops, said to number 3,000, representing the anti-Bolshevist Government at Vladivostok, on December 22 took possession of the important town of Khabarovsk, at the junction of the Ussuri and Amur rivers, the garrison of the Far Eastern Republic (Chita Government) evacuating the place. The significance (political and military) of the fact is not clear. It will be recalled how last spring upward of 10,000 men under Baron Ungern-Sternberg invaded the Transbaikalian province of the Far Eastern Republic and were obliterated by Muscovite troops sent to the aid of the Republic; and how about the same time another White force entering the Amur province at Blagovestchensk met a similar fate. With these fresh examples, it would seem incredibly rash and stupid for a small force of 3,000 to undertake a similar ad-

venture unless they are strongly supported and unless their communications with Vladivostok (400 miles distant) are secured, or unless there has been a sudden complete collapse of the Far Eastern Republic. The Vladivostok Government in its early days fought hard for territory, but was not able to extend its authority beyond a small area at the toe of the Maritime Province. Perhaps it was saved by the action of the Japanese Government in marking off a neutral zone north of that area. But now the Vladivostok Government declares itself the Government of the "Pri-Amur Republic," vaguely defined as including the coastline from Vladivostok to the North Pole; and it might seem that it is starting to make good its claims. The Chita people, on the other hand, say that the Khabarovsk affair is of little military importance; that the small garrison had to evacuate, but the "People's Revolutionary Army" is moving on Khabarovsk and will soon eat up the invaders; that the Japanese armed and organized the expeditionary force behind the neutral zone and sent them out to keep things stirred up in the Far Eastern territory, to discredit that Republic and to justify the claim of the Japanese that they cannot safely evacuate Siberia at present. The Japanese say that is pure fiction; that they did not arm or organize or abet the Khabarovsk expedition; that in reference to this business they followed their fixed policy of abstaining from interference in the internal affairs of Siberia. It is a curious and complicated matter. There is doubtless much to be said for the basic claims of each of the three principal parties to the Siberian controversy: the Chita Government, the Vladivostok Government, and the Tokyo Government. It is a pity that the delegation of the Chita Government now at Washington has seriously discredited its Government and clouded the real issues by publishing and vouching the authenticity of documents which purport to show the Japanese in a very bad light—documents obviously forged. The delegates from Vladivostok at Washington declare that the Japanese are acting in good faith, but express the hope that they will find it possible to evacuate Siberian territory at an early date; on condition, however, that they turn over to the Vladivostok Government the arms which in 1920 they took from the struggling Vladivostok factions; which arms the Vladivostok Government would place in the hands of 20,000 old soldiers (former followers of Semenov, Kappel, Kalmykov, other White heroes) and thus accomplish its benevolent designs.

This was the situation several weeks ago. No dispatches have since been received which throw any light on the Khabarovsk affair or subsequent events, except that Khabarovsk is still held by troops of the Vladivostok Government. Censorship, doubtless. But who is the censor, and why so strict? Now that the Washington Conference is over, perhaps the censorship will be relaxed.



Keystone

The House of the Seven Gables—scene of Hawthorne's great story

Lem Hooper on Censorships

By Ellis Parker Butler

JUSTICE OF THE PEACE LEM HOOPER put down his newspaper and, having wiped his spectacles, beamed benevolently upon Court-officer Durfey.

"Well, Durfey," he said, "I see the free-born American's inalienable right of Free Speech is being alienated once more down there in New York."

"Have they been, puttin' some more soap-box orators in jail for treason to the Constitution?" asked Durfey.

"Not this time," said Judge Hooper. "So far as I know, Durfey, the street orator may again mount the soap-box when the spirit moves him. For all I've heard he may put a tomato-box on top of the soap-box and shout until he's hoarse for all any one cares. This is more serious, Durfey. The State of New York has passed a law that all movies must be censored, and it is thinking of passing another to censor all the theatres."

"I suppose somebody has been gettin' up some Bolshevik movies and shows," suggested Durfey.

"Well, I've seen nothing to that effect in the papers," said Judge Hooper. "It seems, Durfey, that they have a lot of fanatics down there in New York, and by some hook or crook they've got ahold of the notion that a play is none the better

because an actor on the stage says things that a man would be arrested for saying in the audience. They hold that when the drama begins to smell like a dead rat under the floor it is not a case of Free Speech but Loose Smell. They may be right.

"The danger, Durfey, is that every law that gives a board of censors the right to say Thumbs down! to spoiled meat may give it power to say, some day, the same thing to ideas that need to be spoken. There is always a minority, Durfey, and it should have its right to squeak when it is stepped on. For that reason, Durfey, those who are forcing these censorships upon us have the full condemnation of this court.

"You mean the fanatics?" asked Durfey.

"I do not!" said Judge Hooper emphatically. "I've been a fanatic myself, once and again, in a way. I have taken a whack at Free Speech myself. I own that big lot alongside of my house, Durfey, and it was a fine treat to sit on my porch on a Saturday afternoon and see the kids play their baseball there, slugging out home runs and joining together

to chase the umpire off the lot. I loved it, Durfey, but the wife kicked. They made too much racket for her. And then those lads from down the creek began to mingle in the game, and the language they used was hideous, Durfey. If there was any vile word they had it, and they shouted it and screamed it in the heat of battle, and when really in earnest they invented a few more that were worse. And it was my lot, you understand, Durfey. I went out and argued with them, but it was no use. They had learned to be foul before they learned to play ball. So I put a tight fence around the lot. There was too much Free Speech for me, Durfey.

"And that's the trouble down there in New York, Durfey, and in other regions as well.

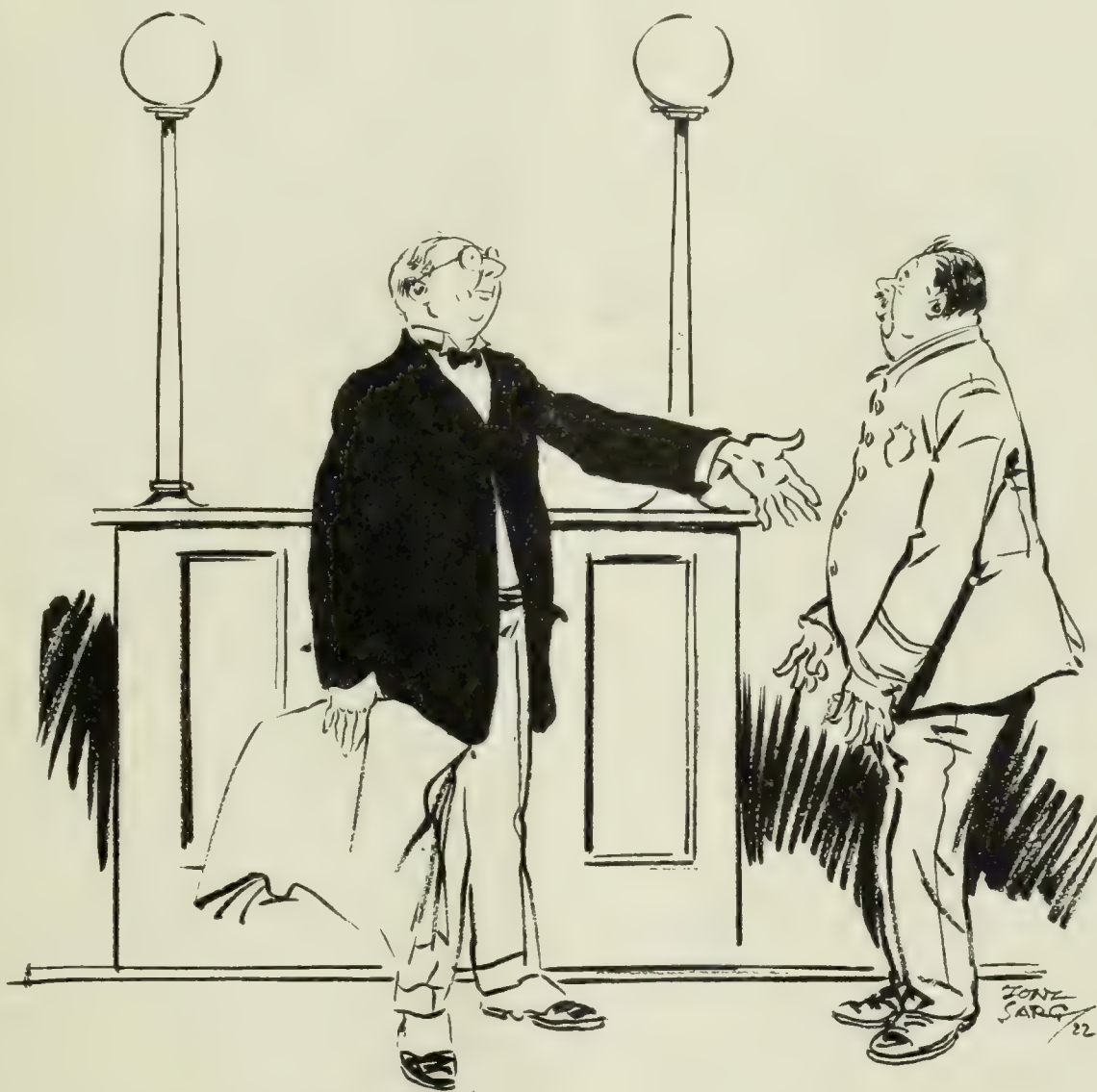
"If a wave of censorships sweeps the country, Durfey—which it need not—there will be no need to blame the fanatics. You can blame the lads from down the creek. Nobody wants to kill Free Speech. But when one man that wants to make some easy money goes to an author that wants to make some of the same kind, and they whisper together and tell each other that the low-browed lizard that was in the slime yesterday has the ready-money to-day, you can bet there's going to be a nasty play produced. They'll stage anything.

"I see by to-day's paper that the output of movies is but one-third of what is normal. The audiences have melted away. Whenever a screen vamp upheld Free Speech by leaving off another garment somebody stayed home from the next show. What hit the movies was not too much Free Speech but too much Free Screech. The most wonderful method of broadcasting thought, excepting printing alone, has fallen on evil days shamefully soon because some one made a bad guess. We wanted to be amused, but he thought we wanted to be vamped, Durfey. He did not know us.

"And even so, Durfey, censorships are not needed. The courts can stop any bad play or bad motion picture.

"Yes, your honor," said Durfey, "but didn't you yourself only yesterday tell Jack Steinbrek to go ahead and show that film, 'Should Wives Bite Their Husband's Lady Friends?' when you told me it was the worst you ever saw?"

"Now, Durfey!" Judge Hooper cautioned. "None of that, Durfey! We've got to be reasonable. Jack has put a lot of money into that new picture palace of his—and he always votes right, Durfey, he always votes right!"



Music

"Salome," The Philharmonic's First Concert, The Boston Symphony

By W. J. Henderson

THE Chicago Opera Company brought forward on Saturday evening, February 4, for the benefit of the American organization aiding devastated France nothing less than the long silent "Salome" of Richard Strauss. When it was produced by Mr. Conried at the Metropolitan in 1907 it was driven from the stage after one performance as unfit to be seen or heard. When Oscar Hammerstein revived it with Mary Garden as Salome in 1909 no one made a whimper. Miss Garden and Mr. Dufrenne as well as the Hammerstein scenery were observed in the recent benefit revival and at the conclusion of the opera an audience which had paid \$22,000 for the privilege of being present departed after an expression of modified rapture. The truth was that "Salome" had faded with years and before the triumphant march of liberty. The stage glories now in revelations far more thrilling than the decorous dance of the seven veils or the orgiastic love-making of the frenzied young daughter of Herodias. And what is equally disheartening, it was revealed by this latest performance that "Salome" is after all rather poor stuff and would seem distinctly dull if it had not the benefit of Mary Garden's interesting personality and her captivating movements and pungent song.

Miss Garden fairly carried the burden of the representation on her capable shoulders. She delivered herself of most of the music in a frenetic manner altogether suitable to the subject matter and to Strauss's musical interpretation of it. She had altered her costume and make-up somewhat since the days of Hammerstein, not for the better. But her action was distinctly improved. This does not refer to the famous dance. Miss Garden ignored the historical significance of the seven veils. She did not wear them; neither did she take off more than two. Nor can it be said that there was anything in the dance to "bring the blush of shame to the cheek of modesty." The most suggestive actions were those which followed the fondling of the severed head. Some of the audience while going out spoke of cats and catnip.

But a paling operatic score cannot be restored to ruddy appearance by pink pills of this sort. The best music in "Salome" is that of the heroine's final solo, her passionate address to the head. It is dishonest music, for the scene is disgusting. But it is nearly all of "Salome" that still has life. Nothing of large importance has taken place in the operatic world outside the production of Dr. Strauss's lyric drama. Miss Garden introduced a new singer of florid music in Rossini's "Barber of Seville" at the Manhattan Opera House on Jan. 28. Maria Ivogun, already well known in Teutonic cities, proved to be a soprano with a beautiful voice of moderate power and large compass. She sang Rosina very well indeed, showing not only a sensitive appreciation of melodic line and a well marked rhythm, but both delicate fancy and quiet humor. She was the foremost figure in a vivacious and pleasing presentation of the old opera buffa which fares much better in a small theatre like the Manhattan than in the devouring spaces of the Metropolitan.

Wilhelm Mengelberg resumed his duties as one of the Philharmonic Society's company of conductors in the first concert of the Tuesday night series given at the Metropolitan Opera House on January 31. At the concert of Friday, February 3, he introduced to New Yorkers a fifteen-year-old Hungarian girl, Erna Rubinstein, violin virtuoso. She was heard in the Mendelssohn concerto. Her playing

disclosed an exceptional talent and a perfectly normal immaturity of conception. She played with most beautiful tone and a technic of the highest order and with genuine musical instincts clearly revealed. If she is not spoiled by glorification in her youth, she may develop into a great artist.

On January 2 the Boston Symphony Orchestra performed for the first time here the second symphony of Karol Szymanowski, a Polish composer now in this country. The composition had a certain dignity and serious aspiration to commend it; but, like so much of the music devoted to the publication of melodic distortions and harmonic complications, it seemed never to arrive anywhere. These "long-tailed birds of paradise that float through heaven and cannot light" are excessively wearisome. One burns with the desire that they will sit down somewhere, and possibly keep quiet. There is ugliness enough in the world without making more and gravely calling it art.

The Society of the Friends of Music gives much of its time and money to the production of music by Gustave Mahler. On November 6 it introduced his song cycle "Des Knaben Wunderhorn" with Elena Gerhardt as the singer and Arthur Bodanzky, high priest of the Mahler cult, as the conductor. On February 1 it presented the same composer's "Das Lied von der Erde" which its creator calls a symphony with contralto and tenor solos, but which is none the less an elaborate song cycle with orchestral accompaniment. The texts of the six songs are by four Chinese poets of the classic era, the eighth century. They are beautiful poems, having something of the philosophic flavor of Omar Khayyam, who laid much stress on the futility of life and the importance of drowning thought in the flowing bowl.

In certain passages of his setting Mahler has risen to imaginative heights and eloquent expression, though he has not attained the spontaneity of utterance found in the other song cycle already mentioned. His composition for the most part impresses one as the work of a man of high resolve and unflagging industry. One feels that his imagination is continually under the lash of a passionate desire to accomplish something. One result of the musician's incessant struggle is an overelaboration of details. His orchestral background is crowded with instrumental illustrations. The broad simplicity of line which characterizes the masterpieces of all the arts is obscured, and where the subject seems to clamor for something like Greek architectural nobility we find rather the voluptuous arabesques of the baroque.

But it is an important composition and the Friends of Music deserve thanks for its production. They brought Mme. Charles Cahier all the way from Vienna to sing the contralto solos and she sang them admirably. But her presence caused some to wonder whether there were no singers at home equal to what appeared to be a not insurmountable task.

The Society of the Friends of Music produced on Sunday afternoon in Town Hall "Four Sacred Songs" by Lazar Saminsky for orchestra and mixed chorus and "Der Abend" by Samuel Thewman for soprano and contralto solos, choir of women, and chamber music accompaniment. These Friends of Music seem to be particularly friendly to Arthur Bodanzky and others attached to the Metropolitan Opera, from which on this occasion were drawn the solo singers, the orchestra and Mr. Thewman.

Old Books vs. New

Books of the Decade

INTERPRETATIONS OF LITERATURE, by Lafcadio Hearn. Two volumes. Dodd, Mead.

There is no work of literary criticism so simple and so devoid of affectation as this.

GREEN DAYS AND BLUE DAYS, by Patrick R. Chalmers. Norman, Remington Co.

Exquisitely finished verse for those who still like rhyme and rhythm.

THE LOST WORLD, by A. Conan Doyle. Doran.

A novel of adventure—if there's been a better one these ten years, won't you tell me its name?

MARK TWAIN, A BIOGRAPHY, by Albert Bigelow Paine. Three volumes. Harper.

The life of our great humorous philosopher, and at the same time a book of travel, of Western life, and a commentary on literature, politics, business, and invention in America.

SEVENTEEN, by Booth Tarkington. Doubleday.

Many authors, the writer of this among them, have written good stories about children; many more have written about adults; this is the one supremely good tale about the silly age.

ZULEIKA DOBSON, by Max Beer-bohm. Lane.

A burlesque. More than that, a book of peculiar atmosphere and humor; it has hardly its parallel.

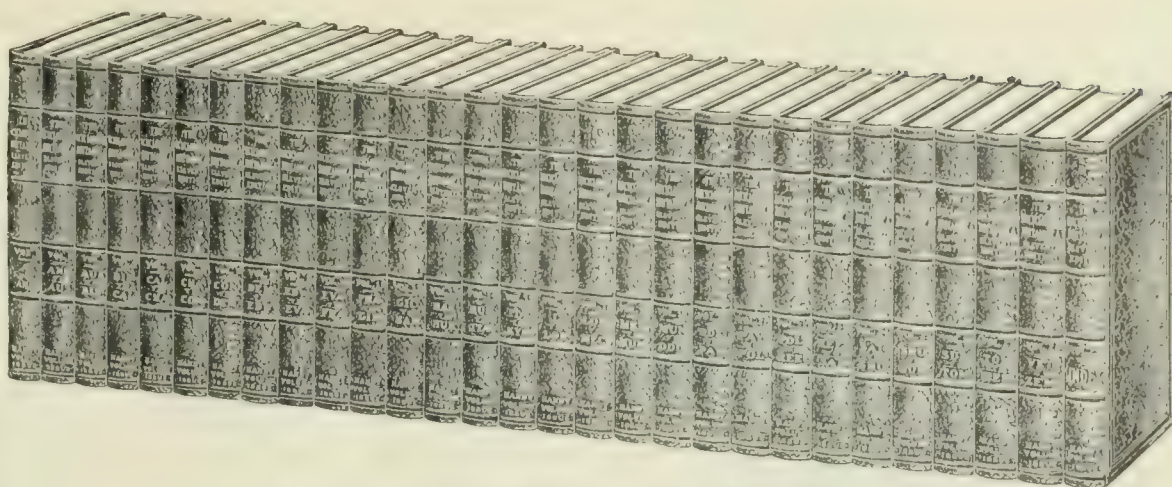
SPOON RIVER ANTHOLOGY, by Edgar Lee Masters. Macmillan.

A rare bird in American letters; a book written with a pen dipped in vitriol.

A MAN met a reviewer of books upon the street. "Tell me something to read," he said. "I want a good yarn—you know my kind. I don't like problem stories, nor any of this sex stuff, nor anything morbid. What's been written lately? Something new, you know. I've read three or four you told me about two years ago, and liked them. What would you suggest now?"

The other hesitated. "Well, everybody's reading—oh, no, you wouldn't like that. You might try—no, that would never do. Or there's—let me see, you said not a problem story (meaning the eternal triangle, I suppose), and no sex stuff, and nothing morbid—well, how about—oh, heavens, no! The one I'm thinking of is all three of those things at once. There is—no, that is nothing but problem; and there's—no, that's all sex; and there's—no, that's hardly the thing, it's all about insanity and tuberculosis and degeneracy."

He paused a moment and then added, inelegantly, "There ain't anything at all!"



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A day or two later he found that he had been too hasty. A book-dealer told him that there were two novels which men who like a good story are simply "eating up." One of them has the rather difficult title of "Andivius Hedulio" and the other is called "Scaramouche." But as I am pledged to refrain from comment this week upon books so recent as these, I will pass on.

I forget who it was who said: "When a new book comes out, I read an old one." (To be honest, I never knew—so how could I forget?) But this rather priggish saying, like so many of the sayings about books, has always struck me as offensive. The affectation of being behind the times is no more admirable than a strained endeavor to be ahead of them. The honesty of Max Beerbohm, in the note preceding "A Christmas Garland," is refreshing. He writes that "all our higher-toned newspapers" keep Stevenson's remark about "playing the sedulous ape" to the great writers of the past "set up in type always, so constantly does it come tripping off the pens of all higher-toned reviewers." Mr. Beerbohm adds: "I, in my own very inferior boyhood, found it hard to revel in so much as a single page of any writer earlier than Thackeray. This disability I did not shake off, alas, after I left school. There seemed to be so many live authors worth reading. I gave precedence to them, and, not being much of a reader, never had time to grapple with the old masters."

This is an unusual confession to find in print; it may be unique. The poor reviewer is almost the only man who has to read new books. The book dealer is happily exempt from reading anything. As for all the others, the literary critics, wherever they are, the authors, professors of literature, and librarians—they speak as persons who carry "a well-thumbed Horace" in the pocket always. I have heard groups of them talk in a manner which made me think that a personal search would reveal two or three incunabula apiece.

The trouble is with the definition of a new book. It has come to mean one published not earlier than yesterday afternoon. An author who has not written a book for a year, it has been said, has something gravely the matter with him, and probably he's dead. The gloomy reviewer of books quoted at the beginning of this page was thinking of books of the present season. It is a great comfort to set your limit at some convenient date, say, 1593, and declare to yourself that you will worry about nothing earlier than that.

A colleague of mine has even a simpler solution; he declares in all sincerity that nothing of any importance whatever has been written since 443 B. C., the year of the death of Pindar, and he lives up to this belief. Mr. Dooley had another good plan. The Bible and Shakespeare were the only books in his library, and he sat serene behind their bulwarks. "Do you read them all the time?" somebody asked him. "I niver read thim," he said. "I use thim f'r

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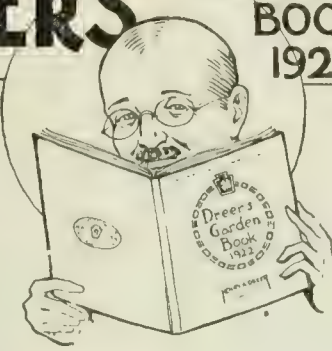
purposes of difinse. They sthand be-
tween me an' all modhren litrachoor. I've
built thim up into a kind iv breakwather,
I says, an' I set behind it ca'm an' cont-
int while Hall Caine rages without."

Perhaps there is something to be said
for the old fellow and his "When a new
book appears I read an old one." An
earlier one—with that amendment, I ac-
cept the statement, in principle. It has
already been recorded on this page that
the best thing about "If Winter Comes"
is that it has set many people reading
Mr. Hutchinson's better work, the comedy,
"Once Aboard the Lugger." My
enthusiasm for Mr. Joseph Herge-
sheimer, in the light of his new book, is
muffled. But that does not spoil my lik-
ing for "Java Head," and, indeed, it
has started me reading the three stories
in his book, "Gold and Iron." The first
of these seems to be published by itself
as "Wild Oranges"—I quote from it as
an example of its style:

"Night had fallen on the shore, but the
water still held a pale light; in the East
the sky was filled with an increasing, cold
radiance. It was the moon, rising swiftly
above the flat land. The moonlight grew
in intensity, casting inky shadows of the
spars and cordage across the deck, making
the light in the cabin a reddish blur by
contrast. The icy flood swept over the
land, bringing out with a new emphasis
the close, glossy foliage and broken facade
—it appeared unreal, portentous. The
odors of the flowers, of the orange blos-
soms, uncoiled in heavy, palpable waves
across the water, accompanied by the owl's
fluctuating cry. . . ."

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ing moving picture? If Booth Tarking-
ton seems to have fallen, temporarily,
into the valley of gloom, you may go
back to the stories of Penrod, the one
boy in American literature who follows
not unworthily in Tom Sawyer's foot-
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genial manner of the lover of all man-
kind, in a little war against France.
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field have never been surpassed. Conan
Doyle's spiritualistic researches make
many readers long for the days of the
great detective of Baker Street—and
these days are beginning again. In the
meantime some of us will reach for the
shelf which holds "Round the Fire
Stories," "Sir Nigel," and "The Refu-
gees." Max Beerbohm has never writ-
ten more characteristically witty pages
than in the opening of his "The Happy
Hypocrite," now handsomely repub-
lished. Edgar Lee Masters has not re-
peated, lately, the fine simplicity of the
"Spoon River Anthology." The epitaph
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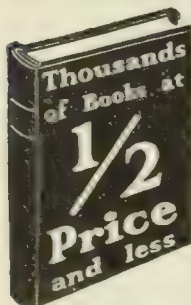
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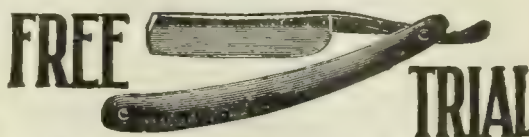
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Book Reviews

The Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF CARLYLE AND RUSKIN. By Frederick William Roe. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

THIS is a clear and able account of social observations and speculations passing from master to disciple and covering jointly over fifty years, from 1834 to 1884. Both men saw vividly the brutalizing of the workman under the new factory system, both attacked the system indignantly, and both had remedies. Equally they ridiculed a political economy which rendered its accounts only in commodities and cash, and pleaded for a national economy that should take into account such vital values as the contentment and intelligence of the workman, the kindness, moderation, and wisdom of the employer, the social value of the thing produced in the factory, the effect not merely of earning but of spending. Together they felt that labor must be unshackled and ennobled.

And here master and pupil somewhat parted company. Carlyle assumed that under wise and inspiring leadership the workman would regard his task as a high and sacred duty. Ruskin sought rather to make the task creative, as in the happier Middle Ages it had been, hence a joy. But if the motives for ennobling the task differed, the method of reform was identical. Neither expected or wanted the workman to be anything but a workman. They merely longed to make his lot more self-respecting and joyous. Both assumed that the trouble came of defective leadership, was the fault of negligent, prosperous people. The remedy was simply wise and kindly leadership, benefits conferred from above. Ruskin's own St. George's Guild was the miniature model of that industrial feudalism which he and his master thought necessary.

Strangely, neither dreamt that the workman might refuse good leadership, might wish not a better human condition but simply more material goods, might indulge equalitarian visions and class hatreds. Rather nobly they declined to face in the workman a capacity for error equal to that of his employer. Thus the practical programme of both our prophets has proved largely unavailable.

Professor Roe has no difficulty in showing that the passion for industrial reform is as much due to these men of letters as to the professional agitators. His account is written with force and dignity and with a discriminating sympathy. As to the deficient realism of Carlyle's and Ruskin's outlook upon labor and modern democracy, the case is not so clearly settled against them as our author seems to think. Without committing the folly of predicting the direction of industrial reorganization,

we are probably safe in assuming, with these two Victorian seers, that there can be no real or permanent settlement which is based on an arbitrary equalitarianism, and on the leadership of inferior intelligences. Our present experiments in harmonizing employer and workman are not so successful that we can afford to regard Ruskin and Carlyle as obsolete even on the practical side. Certainly labor has learned from them more slowly than capital that the social question is as much a moral as an economic question.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

The Book of Job

THE BOOK OF JOB. By Morris Jastrow. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

THE late Professor Jastrow's opinion as to the inconsistency to be expected from a Job in the discussion of the eternal problem of the justification of the ways of God to man is worth as much or as little as another's. To the student of literature it is entirely conceivable that Job may have passed through many moods, shading from rebellion and self-justification to resignation, and that the reflection of these moods in a literary masterpiece gives rise to the appearance of contradictions which some Hebraists pronounce incompatible with unity of authorship. What the layman wishes to know is the precise cogency of the linguistic evidence for differing chronological strata in the book of Job. Experts are pretty generally agreed that the speech of Elihu is a later addition. But experts used to tell us that the earlier and later portions of the Iliad and Odyssey could be detected by linguistic analysis, and we now know that that is not so. But however it may be with the speech of Elihu, there seems to be little definite evidence from the language to support the many other ingenious excisions and transpositions with which Professor Jastrow works out his complicated theory of the history and structure of the book and of the process by which it was converted from a drama of agnostic scepticism to a pious and orthodox theodicy. His reliance in this volume is almost wholly on general philosophical and literary considerations which any intelligent reader can test for himself.

This is not the place for a critical examination of the new translation of the book of Job that forms the second half of Professor Jastrow's volume. There can of course be no question of his scholarship. But experts seem to be of the opinion that in this case it has been sometimes deflected in the interests of his theories. It need hardly be added that any book from Professor Jastrow is worth reading, and that whatever may be the ultimate judgment on his speculations, his discussion of the entire history and problem of the book of Job is a stimulating and instructive introduction to the study of a question that is of perennial interest.

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The Bankers Say —

PERSISTENT inequalities in the recession of various classes of prices toward prewar levels are particularly noted by the nation's banks in their current reviews of business. The resistance of certain classes of labor to wage reductions commensurate with the curtailment of income suffered by the majority of workers is also subject to extensive comment. As to prices the main irregularity is found to be due to the failure of retail prices to fall as greatly as wholesale prices, so that the buying power of agricultural and other wholesale producers is still greatly impaired. In respect to wages, building, mining and transportation labor is deemed as clinging to unjustifiably high scales. The two latter impede reduction of railway rates and fuel costs in manufacture and therefore render more difficult the return of normal business activity for which general industrial, commercial and financial improvements have prepared the way.

The National City Bank of New York says on these points: "The processes of readjustment are working slowly, but undoubtedly progress is being made in restoring the industrial balance which is necessary to full industrial activity. Cotton mills in eastern Connecticut and in Rhode Island recently have put into effect a 20 per cent. wage reduction. The reduction is needed to lower the price of cotton goods, and the same may be said of woolen goods. All kinds of clothing cost too much, and are out of line with the prices of raw materials. The coal miners have set up a claim to an advance of 20 per cent. at the expiration of their contract April 1st. Undoubtedly the miners had a hard year in 1921, on account of the reduced consumption of coal, but the remedy is not by raising the price of coal still higher. Coal shares with railroad charges a greater responsibility for the industrial depression than is borne by anything else. The situation will not be righted until transportation and fuel are both cheaper. The remedy for the distress of the coal miners is not in higher wages and dearer coal but in cheaper coal and steadier employment. Nothing but disappointment will come from blind disregard of economic law."

The same fundamental truths are emphasized by the Braddock National Bank, Braddock, Pa.,—"The urgent need is to bring the country once more to a safe price and wage basis. This must be done as soon as possible, since the prevalent uncertainty about further revisions of merchandise prices, wage schedules, and freight rates is a pressing deterrent in many lines of industrial effort. These readjustments so far have been very uneven and, in the judgment of business experts, it is felt that the farmers' purchasing power this year will be increased largely through a reduction in the things they have to buy, rather than the things they have to sell. This bank speaks of the importance of building construction "because of exorbitant rentals which still

prevail at various centers due largely to the abnormal wages and working conditions which have been the compelling factor retarding recovery in this essential industry. Shortage of dwelling space in some cities is really appalling and contributes probably as much as any other single factor to elevate the cost of living."

In the South the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, Ga., points out that "the continuance of unemployment, even though improvement is noted, makes it impossible for many workers to buy anything but absolute necessities, and the belief generally prevailing that retail prices have not declined in the same proportion with prices at wholesale encourages the hope that further reductions will be made. Some reports state that the failure of the retailers to follow the downward trend of wholesale prices is tending to curtail buying by the ultimate consumer."

Brief excerpts from other banks, East and West, bring out their varied, but consistent, viewpoints on this choppy price and wage situation. The Mechanics and Metals National Bank, New York: "Help for present conditions, with respect to the farmer and every other worker, lies in a speedy alignment of the wages and prices which are now out of line with the general level, in a reduction of taxation, and in a restoration of sound conditions of finance." The American National Bank, Nashville, Tenn.: "The farm value of thirty-three principal grain, vegetable and fruit crops of 1921 has been estimated at 5,676 million dollars, compared with 9,075 in 1920 and 13,690 in 1919. The farmer's income has been cut 40 per cent. during the past year and more than 60 per cent. in two years as evidenced by the amount he has realized from his grain, fruit and vegetable crops. His income from livestock has suffered even more." Not only the farm proprietor but also the farm laborer has suffered an acute income shrinkage, the Chicago Federal Reserve Bank showing that agricultural wages in that district fell from about \$56 in 1920 to about \$36 in 1921. The First National Bank, Boston: "There seems to be another wave of disinclination to buy on the part of the consumer. This reluctance is simply a direct reflection of reduced purchasing power. The farmer, with his business and income thoroughly deflated, cannot exchange his products for the normal amounts of manufactured goods, transportation and coal, in which lines there has been only partial deflation. This unbalanced condition makes for inactive business. A powerful and natural corrective is now at work in the shape of very keen competition."

An identity of general viewpoint with that of these American banks comes from Canada, the Canadian Bank of Commerce of Toronto saying: "Traders and manufacturers have apparently realized that trade is only possible when people are willing to buy, and

that to bring this about prices will have to be lowered. Important reductions in price have already been made, and others may be expected as a result of the adjustment in wages now taking place. Railway employees have formally withdrawn their protest against the reduction made in 1921. The necessity for lowering the cost of production is now frankly acknowledged, while to bring this about both employers and employed are now coöperating more effectively. As yet, however, buying continues to be of a day-to-day character, and few will venture to place orders for the summer or fall trade until the prices of agricultural produce become steadier and the goods required by the farmer reach a price level more in accordance with the value of what he has to sell."

The Royal Bank of Canada, in Montreal, sees the international significance of price irregularity and resistance to wage adjustments. It says of England's world trade position in this regard: "England depends on foreign trade for prosperity to a far greater extent than does the United States, and she is suffering at the present time from her inability to dispose of a normal quantity of goods in Europe and elsewhere. Improvement depends on an increase in the purchasing power of Europe, an increase which may be brought about in two different ways: (1) by the production of a larger volume of goods which these European countries could send abroad in exchange for imports; (2) by the reduction of English prices to a point at which poorer countries would be able and willing to buy. Before the war, the low cost of living in England made it possible for labor to accept low wages, and for industries to produce high class goods at a price which rendered English manufactured products almost supreme in many markets. Since 1914, English labor has succeeded in obtaining higher real wages, and now is fighting reductions. Unless the higher wages are fully compensated for by increased efficiency, reductions are inevitable. In one way or another England must attain a minimum cost of production, for only in that way can she sell the necessary volume of goods. No producer can, with profit, hold his goods for prices which his customers cannot afford to pay; wheat, cotton, sugar, and many other commodities, have had to be disposed of at greatly reduced rates, from which England, for one, has benefitted conspicuously." The bank points out that "the sharp decline in prices in the United States, especially in the prices of agricultural products, has resulted in Europe obtaining its requirements of foodstuffs, and of cotton and other raw materials, at bargain prices." It holds that a material downward movement "must take place in the goods which England manufactures. The possibility of obtaining imports at moderate prices will be of material assistance to the European countries that are struggling to rehabilitate their industries."

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THE Independent and the Weekly Review invites inquiries from its readers pertaining to travel for pleasure, health or business; the best hotels, large and small; the best routes to reach them, and the cost; trips by land and sea, European tours, etc. This department is under the supervision of an expert who has personally made many of the trips she recommends, and is able to speak from intimate knowledge of transportation lines, hotels, resorts, etc. Reservations will be made for you and tickets purchased if you desire.

A Good Book Is Never Old!

Here are a few titles of last year and the year before whose brightness time can never dull.

Back to Methuselah

By Bernard Shaw

This marvelous drama of creative evolution is of even more than usual interest just now because it is to be produced in New York this month by the Theatre Guild. A full list of Shaw titles will be sent on request.

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By Mr. and Mrs. Haldeman-Julius

An epic of the Kansas prairie which has taken permanent high place among the best novels of the Middle West. \$1.75

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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. Old Friends in Old Books.

1. What characters, found in the books that you have read at any time in your life, do you think of as "old friends"? Tell why any one of these characters interests you especially?
2. Make a numbered list of the famous book characters named in the article. Are you acquainted with any of these persons? If you are, tell something about at least one, telling it in such a way that you will interest others, and lead to the reading of a good book.
3. In what famous books do the characters appear? The "Century Dictionary of Names" will help you to answer the question.
4. What great difference is there between modern novels and the great novels of the past?
5. What books have you read more than once? What qualities in those books led you to re-read them?
6. Explain the quotation from Southey. In what ways are good books "faithful friends"?
7. Under what circumstances did Macbeth regret that he did not have "troops of friends"? Explain why the reference to Macbeth is appropriate in an essay on books.
8. Write a short essay on "Some of the Good Friends I Have Met in Books."

II. Twenty-Two Years Ago.

1. Make a list of the books named in the article. How many of these books are in your school or community library? Ask your librarian to tell you which books would interest you most. Tell about any of the books that you have read.
2. Tell something about the literary work of every one of the ten writers whose pictures appear in connection with the article.

III. Whis't O' Night.

1. By what feeling is the writer of the poem moved?
2. How is the reader affected by the swing of the verse, and by the internal rhymes?
3. Show how the writer gains power by repetition.
4. Is the poem more appropriate for reading aloud, or for singing? Give a reason for your answer.

IV. Lem Hooper on Censorship.

1. Imagine that Justice of the Peace Lem Hooper is a real person. Write him a letter in which you tell him why you hold the same beliefs on censorship that he holds, or else why you disagree with his beliefs.
2. Write a somewhat similar dialogue-essay in which you imagine the janitor of your school talking to one of his friends about the pupils in your school. Make his criticism of the pupils both humorous and well-founded.

V. New Books and Old.

1. What classes of books appear in the list of "Books of the Decade"? Explain the characteristics of every class.
2. What makes any one of these books a book well worth remembering?

VI. The Battle of the Books.

1. Underline, in every article by a publisher, the one sentence in that article that you think conveys the most important thought. Explain every such sentence.
2. Tell orally any one of the anecdotes about the publication of well-known books.
3. What reasons do the publishers give for the life of certain books, or of certain types of books?
4. What do the publishers say concerning the demand for old books? How do they account for the demand, or the lack of demand?
5. Make a list of ten important books named in the articles. Tell something about at least two of these books.

VII. Are We Ready for Industrial Slavery?

1. Consider the article an example of argumentation. What is the proposition that the writer wishes to establish? What are his principal arguments in support of that proposition?
2. Give a talk in which you explain in full your own reasons for agreeing, or for disagreeing, with the writer of the article.
3. Give a grammatical analysis of the first sentence of the article.

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. Slavs, Teutons, and the Rest of Us, Taking Counsel with Europe, The Embarrassments of Chancellor Wirth.

1. If you are beginning a new term and are unfamiliar with matters mentioned here, look up the files of *The Independent* for explanation of the situation in German reparations, "the expedient proposed by certain exponents of economic imperialism in Germany," the proposals involved in the Genoa Conference, and the American policy toward Soviet Russia.
2. Looking up particularly the "great fabric of commercial organization built up in Russia" by Germany, show fully why "Germany must play a most important part in Russian reconstruction." What effect did the withdrawal of Germans from Russian economic positions at the outbreak of the World War have on Russian economic life?
3. Explain "the real question at issue" in German activity in Russia.
4. Write an account of the American policy of the open door in Asia. What is the proof that this policy "won out in the recent Washington Conference"? Why is it difficult for European statesmen to accept this policy for Europe? What are the advantages to us of applying the policy to Russia?
5. Explain the questions involved in our participation in the Genoa Conference.
6. How do you account for our having "three billions of gold lying idle"?
7. Describe the internal difficulties of Germany.

II. The Washington Conference.

1. Review the chief provisions of the treaties and resolutions of the Conference, of the Shantung settlement between China and Japan, and Japan's statements on Siberia and the Twenty-one Demands. In view of "The End" make an estimate of the significance of each.

III. Are We Ready for Industrial Slavery?

1. State briefly the argument of the editor against the local vagrancy ordinances urged by the Attorney-General of Kansas.
2. Compare these vagrancy ordinances with the vagrancy laws in the South after the Civil War.
3. What are the merits or demerits of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations?
4. Explain what you believe to be the proper attitude on the limitation of the right to strike.
5. If the laborer's right to strike is restricted what should be the corresponding restriction upon employers?
6. What are the essentials of any system of settling industrial disputes that supersedes settlement by strike?

IV. The Domestic Budget.

1. Explain the Coöperative Marketing Bill. Why did the farmers desire the bill? What experience in coöperative marketing is there to guide them in making use of the bill?
2. Which of the means of raising money for the soldiers' bonus, mentioned by Secretary Mellon as feasible, have been adopted by the House Ways and Means Committee? Why did he "emphatically condemn" certain taxes? What are the characteristics of a good tax?

V. The British Empire.

1. Reviewing former numbers summarize the present situations in Ireland, Egypt, India, and Europe which must engage the attention of Lloyd George.
2. Explain the policy in England whereby the Government is spending such a large sum for the unemployed.
3. Give the history "of the 'reform' of the House of Lords."

VI. Last Bulwark of Feudal Japan.

1. Describe the form taken by feudalism in Japan.
2. Write an account of the downfall of feudalism in Japan. Did America play any part in that process?
3. Explain the main features of the present Government of Japan.

VII. Russia.

1. Describe the Russian campaign in which the burning of Moscow was an incident. Explain its results outside Russia.
2. Show the relation of the situation in Eastern Siberia to Japan's statement of policy at the Washington Conference.

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February 25, 1922



Newsless France

How French Love of Theory Submerges the News Instinct

By Hamilton Fish Armstrong

FACTS are often far less important than theories. France's favorite indictment of America, that we crowd out theory in order to pile up a cumbersome stock of news, is not undeserved. But if the French have reason to think that we tremendously overvalue mere facts, they must not mind our retaliating with the criticism that too often they are quite oblivious of actualities. This will be the feeling of most persons who since the war have had the chance of observing at first hand the habits of French politicians, the French press, and the French race in general.

At a moment when France is the pivot around which revolve all the creaking wheels of European politics, it will not seem discourteous to examine some of the results of this French failing—for it is indeed a failing, even greater than our American predisposition to the contrary. And since the French press succeeds in providing the public with exactly what it wants, the French press will be made to serve as the horrible example of the present article.

Newspapers vs. Journaux

It is characteristic of a temperament quite different from ours that in France there should exist no word with just the same meaning as the word "newspaper." A journal may be anything; and the French choose that their "journaux" shall not pay too much attention to news. One or two of the more formal and less-read Parisian journals make a pretense at accumulating daily a page of international news, but it usually takes the form of barren four-line or five-line paragraphs, totally unrelated to one another and devoid of the background that might make them intelligible. On two of the other three pages making up the average French paper there appear condensed reports of the Bourse, paragraphs about the theatre, usually interspersed with paid advertising on the same subject, a "feuilleton," often excellent, and either a bit of Paris "city news" or (in the larger provincial centres) items from surrounding districts after the manner of our own country papers.

Make-up of a French Journal

The front page is usually devoted to the expression of opinion, pure and simple. It is here that the interest of everyone connected with the paper obviously centres. Two- or three-column articles are the rule: sometimes explanations of what is going on in the world which the following pages are supposed to mirror, but oftener dissertations on remote

subjects, such as republican versus royalist forms of government, the reaction of art to modern industrial life, what form the celebration of literary anniversaries should take, and so on and so on. These have actually been the subjects of front-page articles in leading French journals during one of the most momentous weeks of modern French history, the week which saw the culmination of the Washington Conference, the failure at Cannes, and the overthrow of the Briand Cabinet.

Surely, it will be thought, justice is not being done the actual news abilities of the French press. There are, indeed, certain papers, like the *Petit Parisien* and the *Dépêche de Toulouse*, which, in one particular or another, vary from type. But the general picture is true to life. From innumerable examples of the strange prejudice that rules French news columns I will choose one furnished on the very morning on which these words are being written.

A Typical Example

I read in to-day's Continental Edition of the *New York Herald* (of which one usually can only say that it suffers from close association with too many weak sisters) a short cabled item to the effect that Senator McCormick had introduced a bill calling on Secretary Hughes to furnish the Senate with complete information regarding the maintenance costs of all European armies. As was proper in a fourteen-line dispatch intended for publication in France, three of the lines referred to the Senator's observation that France had startled and disillusioned America in the past few days, and room was found to give verbatim his pertinent remark that "Americans should be informed regarding the causes of the chronic deficits of European governments."

Now, Senator McCormick's ideas about France are not of overwhelming international importance. But, on the other hand, he is an influential member of the body which must deal with the question of the refunding of foreign debts, and for this reason his statement might well cause France some concern. Evidently the *Journal des Débats* realized this, for it gave eleven lines to the subject. But either its correspondent or its news editor could not bear to put before the public the particular, if unpalatable, statement of Senator McCormick's which would have been most illuminating to French readers. The name of France did not find room in those eleven lines published in the recognized oracle of the French capital.

The handling of this particular bit of news may seem insignificant enough, and so it would be were it not typical of newspaper habits in France. The French papers seem unable to bring themselves to print unpleasant information which might give their readers a true idea of what foreign nations really think about their national policy and day-by-day actions. They also have the unconvincing habit of referring to criticism as either propaganda or the result of propaganda. They have a naïve belief in the correctness and inevitability of whatever steps France takes in the international field, and when the foreign press finds fault it is always set down as being part of a campaign of slander ordered by Lloyd George or Hugo Stinnes or Lenin or some other pet *bête noire*. In the last month I have twice seen Hearst quoted with approbation in respectable French papers as expressing true American opinion about European affairs, though the French must know very well that if Hearst really is the mouthpiece of America their hope of ever securing American coöperation in the rehabilitation of Europe is indeed illusory. Again, if a paper like the *London Times* is quoted, the bit chosen is too often one of those polite introductory sentences with which English writers so well know how to preface their most scathing attacks.

Reporting the Washington Conference

The Washington Conference, particularly in the stages after the departure of M. Briand and most of the leading French journalists, furnished striking examples of these unfortunate and disconcerting habits. There were endless explanatory articles saying just why all that the French delegates did was right and inevitable; there even were a few articles describing why what they did was quite wrong; but, with a few noteworthy exceptions, no serious attempt was made to supply the French public with as specific and detailed and unvarnished facts regarding precisely what Secretary Hughes and Mr. Balfour said as the occasion obviously demanded.

Isolation of French Opinion

As a result, the French public is to-day in complete and

terrifying ignorance of the actualities of their country's situation. They do not know, and because they do not know they do not care, what other people think of what they have done and of what they are preparing to do. They cling to illusions completely divergent from the truth. Among such illusions may be mentioned the belief that France is in a position to stand apart from a German economic collapse and later step in and by herself take and hold all that she deserves in the way of reparations; that England is in more dire need of an alliance with France to stave off dissolution than France is of an alliance with England; that military and political solutions can be forced upon Europe without consideration of the economic factors involved; that only a campaign of malevolent and partisan editors prevents America from writing off the debt owed her by France—and many, many other like fantasies.

It is by such lights as these that France is attempting to build up her international policy, not seeing or caring that beneath the surface sand of sentiment and theory there exists no rock of fact. If this article comes to the eye of any French publicist he will be convinced that the writer is either hopelessly jaundiced or a paid anti-French propagandist, and he will retaliate with an attack on the shallowness of the yellow American press, crammed as it is with sensational and unimportant news, noisy and verbose and arrogant.

The faults of the American press are many and they have often been pointed out; but on the score of comprehensiveness our newspapers seem to me to sin on the right side, for an intelligent reader can at least sort the stock over and find the basis for some sort of sensible opinion. In asserting that the same cannot be said of the press of France the writer is not giving vent to an anti-French prejudice, being fully conscious of the unsatisfactory position in which our late ally finds herself to-day, the morrow of her gallant sacrifices and her long-awaited victory. This article simply describes a social and political fact which, since it is a fact, must be recognized as such and duly reckoned with.

Paris, France



German Luxuries

By George M. Priest

A CHANGE in Germany which is quickly noted by foreign observers has to do with the expenditures in cafés and theatres. The foreigner is amazed by such extravagance, and he is more and more amazed the longer he stays. In many instances this waste of money means without doubt great prosperity. Many Germans, especially farmers and day laborers, have at present incomes far greater than they ever hoped for. The German cafés and theatres are filled with people obviously of this sort. The old-time substantial Germans shrink from going to cafés and restaurants because they do not want to see these spendthrifts. In any case—and this is the point here—Germans are spending on momentary pleasures enormous sums of money which they ought to save—and which in past years they did save. The Germans are losing their sense of thrift. Possession and property have no longer the meaning and the attraction which they once had. Some Germans say, "It is property that the Government taxes first and most heavily, why acquire it?" Others point to Austria and say, "What's the use of struggling?" The

Germans in general are becoming more and more indifferent and apathetic toward the possible disasters of tomorrow. This is the most ominous change in the Germans.

Even if no measures are taken either at home or abroad to check the present drift of life in Germany, it may still be some time before apathy becomes despair and Germany falls into the chaos of Austria or opens her arms to Communism. The Germans were always a more homogeneous, a more deliberate, and a better organized people than the Austrians, and the Germans are still protected from Communism by their industry and their love of order, no less than by the example of Russia and their own common-sense. But increasing disorders and increasing apathy threaten to release the Germans' hold on themselves. That is the danger; that is the fear of those who wish to see Germany preserved and restored. When Germany's hold on herself is gone, she will sink into the chaos of no government at all or she will surrender to some form of Communism.

Berlin, Germany

Is There a Law of Human Progress?

Speculations on the Acceleration of Scientific Knowledge

By Edwin E. Slosson

HENRY ADAMS, the man whose education was never completed, tried in his later years to apply mathematical laws to that unruly organism, the human race. In his last and unfinished book, "The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma," he gets hold of some big ideas that he is not quite strong enough to swing. He attempts to apply to history what physicists cumbrously call "The Second Law of Thermodynamics." The thing is not so hard as it sounds, for it means essentially that everything tends, like water, to run down hill and that when it all comes to a common level no further progress is possible.

Many years later—and the date, 1908, should be borne in mind—he tried to make a similar application of the Phase Rule of Willard Gibbs, whom he rightfully regards as "the highest in scientific fame of all Americans since Benjamin Franklin."

Henry Adams assumes that the acceleration of human progress follows the law of squares; that is, the duration of each succeeding period in the world's history is equal to the square root of the preceding. He calculates that the Religious Phase of philosophic thought, that is, the animistic interpretation of physical action, lasted 90,000 years till 1600 A. D., when Galileo, Bacon, and Descartes inaugurated the Mechanical Phase. This phase, during which the machine became a symbol of thought, lasted, according to Adams, 300 years, the square root of 90,000, that is, from 1600 to 1900, when the Electric Phase of human thought came in with the discovery of the electron. The square root of 300 gives him seventeen and a half years and brings him to 1917, when, he says, thought will pass into the realm of pure mathematics or hyper-mathematics, which he calls the Ethereal Phase. This, according to Adams's Law of Diminishing Squares, would last only four years and "would bring Thought to the limit of its possibilities in the year 1921." This, he thinks, "may well be"!!! Adams admits that his figures are uncertain and he is willing to extend the period of the possibility of novel speculation to 2025.

I suppose his mathematical law of the progress of human thought is merely imaginary, but it is interesting to note that the date he set for the transition to the hyper-mathematical or metaphysical mode of thinking is less than a year from the date (1916) of publication of Einstein's Generalized Theory of Relativity, which has undeniably initiated a new mode of formulating physical action in very much the way that Adams anticipated.

Substantially the same idea has recently been brought forward again by Count Korzybski in his stimulating but curiously unequal book, "The Manhood of Humanity." Korzybski, being an engineer, is able to manage the mathematics better than Adams, but, unfortunately, is not so much a master of English. He inverts the equation and so has progress increase in geometrical proportion to the lapse of time, instead of having the periods of development diminish in length as the square root of the time. This keeps him from running into an *impasse*, as Adams did when he reached the conclusion that in 1921 intellectual progress must come to an end. According to Korzybski's formula progress could—and should—increase indefinitely at a rate that itself increases with the time. This formula, expressed mathematically by the rate of progress raised to the power of time, he calls "the forward-leaping function of time" and "the acceleration of

the human time-binding energy," picturesque phrases but hard to interpret in concrete terms.

According to Korzybski's theory, if each generation doubled the progress of the preceding one, the tenth generation would be making progress 1,024 times as fast as the first generation. Now ten generations, counting backwards, would bring us somewhere in the seventeenth century. It would be safe to say—though it would be impossible to prove—that in certain scientific fields a thousand times more is being accomplished now than then. The number of facts added to our knowledge in astronomy and physics is doubtless a thousand times greater, but it may be doubted whether any of them weigh a thousand times as much as Newton's law of gravitation. We publish a thousand times as many books nowadays, but it would take a lot of them to outweigh Bacon's *Novum Organum*. On the other hand, our rate of progress in the automobile and motion picture industries is infinitely greater, since that of the seventeenth century was zero.

Human progress is quite too jerky to be so formulated. At times it overleaps the limits of Korzybski's logarithmic law, though for the most part it lags sadly behind its possibilities.

But behind all these vain attempts at applying the laws of acceleration to human progress there lies a real principle. This is, that ideas interact if they get together. As Count Korzybski puts it in words: "Invention breeds invention, science begets science, the children of knowledge produce their kind in larger and larger families."

A new fact discovered is only one fact more. But two new facts if put together may have the power of four, and three new facts combined may be the equal of nine single facts, and the fourth and fifth facts may perchance lead to a law that will give us a thousand undiscovered facts at once without the trouble of hunting them up singly. That is what science consists of—putting two and two together in such a way that they make more than four.

Theoretically, then, civilization should advance with rapidly increasing strides. It should grow like a snowball, not lengthen like a track. In reality it sometimes advances by leaps and bounds, and sometimes stands still or goes backwards. Oswald Spengler, in a book worthy to rank with Schopenhauer or Hegel in scope of scholarship and eloquence of style, "Der Untergang des Abendlandes" (The Downfall of the Western World), finds that there is no continuous progress, but that history moves in cycles: that each race or nation passes through a fixed succession of forms of thought and institutions, as an individual passes through youth, maturity, decay, and death. This idea of periodical development is not a new one, and is better supported by history than the idea of Adams and Korzybski that civilization progresses continuously in geometric ratio.

Why, then, does civilization so lag behind its theoretical possibilities? Why does not our knowledge multiply by squares and cubes? Why does not the Malthusian law apply to ideas as well as to population?

Essentially, it seems to me, because ideas do not get together enough. They remain isolated and therefore sterile. To take just one instance from the history of science! It had been known for many years that the sun contained a peculiar gas. It had been known for many years that the mineral cleveite contained a peculiar gas. But it was not till 1895 that Professor Ramsay showed that these two gases were the same, helium, and from this

union of the two facts comes our present knowledge of the decay of the radio-active metals, the transmutation of the elements, and the constitution of the atom.

Two things, then, are necessary for intellectual progress, the discovery of new facts and the bringing of them together; investigation and intercommunication. If money is to multiply, it must be massed in central banks and ex-

changes. A clearing house is next in importance to a mint. If ideas are to multiply, they too must be put in active circulation. And this after all is what Bacon told us when he described Solomon's House in "The New Atlantis." But the idea is only four hundred years old, and therefore has not yet got into common circulation or been fully carried out.

Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor

Defective Planning in Old New York. Reminiscences of William M. Evarts, Bayard Taylor and Francis Hopkinson Smith

By Henry Holt

REFERRING to my next preceding paper, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that an age foolish enough to trail its skirts on the sidewalk and have sixteen-course dinners with seven wines, should have



Henry Holt

been foolish enough to lay out New York so that the fewest streets should be in the direction of most travel, so that the vast majority of the dwellings can get the sun in but half their rooms, should have placed their entrances a story above the street, with steps that must be gone up and, much worse, down when slippery under winter's snow and ice; and with pinched up entrance halls and narrowed drawing-rooms. Yet I express this condemnation with a little misgiving—not as regards the houses: for experience has demonstrated their absurdity

to the point where they are being remade at heavy expense; but the location of streets and avenues, though past remedy, may not be as bad as first appears. For if they had done just the reverse of what they did, running the residence streets North and South at intervals of two hundred feet, would the residences have stayed there, or been driven off by business, as they have already been on what North and South avenues we have? And if the residences were driven off, where could they have gone but to the East and West streets where they are now? After all, the question seems as interminable as the situation seems irremediable and my only justification for saying so much about it is the possibility of mitigating for somebody else the impotent rage that the situation has more than once aroused in me. Rage is not good for folks, especially where there is no possible remedy for the rage to stimulate.

Now let us turn to pleasanter topics. To me this one is very decidedly depressing.

William M. Evarts was a great lawyer of my early days in New York. He became Senator, and Secretary of State under Johnson and Hayes. He was a strikingly handsome man, tall and slight, with a high vertical forehead and a markedly aquiline nose and handsome mouth, clean-shaven, which was more unusual then than now.

He was an enthusiastic Yale man. I think I saw him at every Commencement I went to during his active years. For many years he was president of the Yale Alumni Association in New York. In those days the partiality of Yale for high-sounding names was noticeable. Harvard was content with a "club." Similarly she was content with a "yard," while Yale had a "campus"; and Harvard had a "boat club," while Yale had a "navy." The Yale Alumni As-

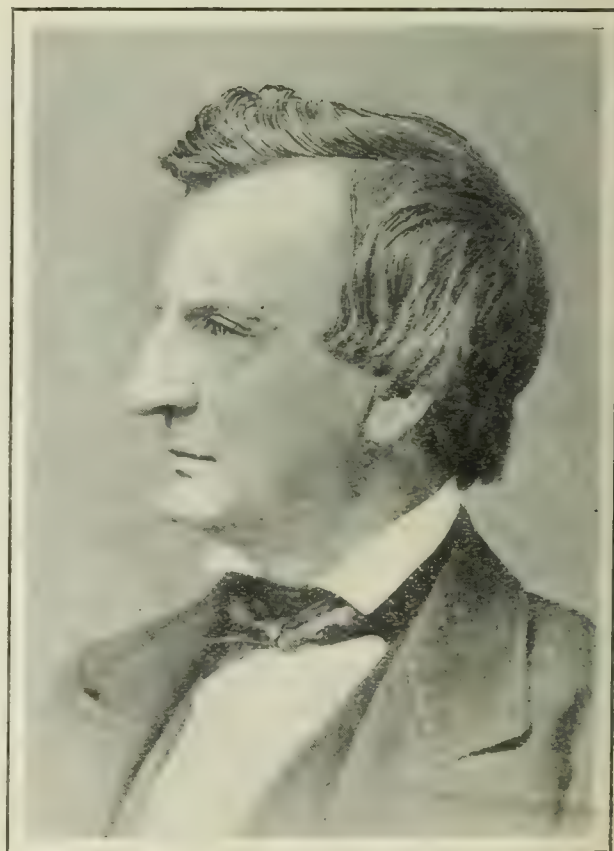
sociation was founded in the sixties, and used to meet monthly during the season at Delmonico's. Its first president was the Rev. William Adams, whose church stood at the northeast corner of Madison Avenue and Twenty-fourth Street. In his term I tried to get the name simplified to "Club," but was regarded as a profane person. By the way, it may not be generally known that the Century Club was chartered as an "Association"; and legally is so entitled still. The legislation of that day did not favor "Clubs" any more than the legislation of today favors the wine when it is red, though I believe that legislation never would have taken place but for the whiskey and rum when they are of less sanguinary colors.

Evarts succeeded Adams as shepherd of the Yale flock in New York, and a good shepherd he was. One night he talked to us of what a young man beginning in New York ought to know. I remember two things he said—substantially: You can't expect much help from friends; but you can expect that any good things you do will usually be recognized.

Once I had to go to Albany with my lawyer to put a case before the Attorney-General. Evarts was on the train and we had a little talk. While my man and I were putting our case to the official at his desk, Evarts came in. He knew me but slightly, but when he saw what I was up to, he came over and interrupted. After greeting the Attorney-General, he put his arm around my neck and said to him: "I want your honor to know my friend, Mr. Holt. I don't know anything about the case he's putting before you, but

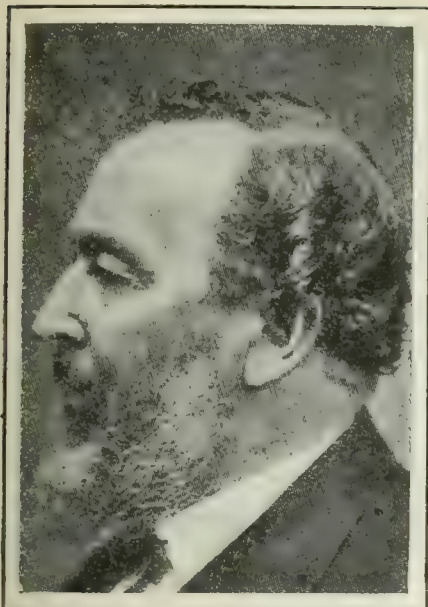
you can put absolute reliance upon whatever he tells you about it."

The decision was exactly what we wanted. I had before regarded Evarts, with perhaps the most markedly intellectual face I have seen, and the most severely intellectually appearing house, as a creature of pure intellect; I have since thought of him as a



International

William M. Evarts



Wide World

Bayard Taylor

man with a big heart. He had a big place at Windsor, Vermont, where he and his descendants were distributed in three or four houses. It was there that he got off his well-known *mot*—so well known that I hesitate to repeat it—when he offered his guests a choice between milk and champagne, and told them not to hesitate because of the expense: for they cost him the same.

When he reached eighty he went to bed, and stayed there four years until he died. I don't understand

that there was anything the matter with him but his conviction, repeated to me by his daughter, that bed is the only proper place for a man after he is eighty.

And here I am at eighty-two, garruling away to you after midnight, having been all over town today, and lunched at the Century, enjoying an argument over *Psychical Research* with Morton Prince, who captivated the whole table. I hope I haven't made you agree with Evarts—except perhaps, that I ought to be in bed for tonight.

Another friend whose interest for you I'm wondering about, was Bayard Taylor. I don't hear him mentioned now, and yet after the great New England group passed, he was for a time perhaps our leading man of letters. He began with books of travel and poems. By the late sixties (not his: I doubt if he reached sixty) the travel-fever had worn off, and he had settled down in rural Pennsylvania with a very agreeable German wife. There he wrote two or three novels, and translated *Faust* into the original meters. They, of course, cramped him, and that is probably one reason why it is long since I heard his translation mentioned.

He was a fine looking man, probably over six feet when that longitude was much scarcer than it is now, and broad a little more than in proportion. His eyes and hair were dark, and he had the thinnest aquiline nose I ever saw, or it was made to appear so by his face being fuller than any other with an aquiline nose that I remember. Evarts' face was almost gaunt.

He was that rather rare bird, an author amply endowed with the practical virtues. I got him to write an introduction to the *Kalevala* or *Frithiof's Saga*, I forget which, and was particularly struck at the time by the beauty of his copy.

Largely on account of his *Faust* translation, I suppose, he was made minister to Germany (I believe that was before we had ambassadors—even as little ones as—but I won't tell his name). The appointment was peculiarly satisfactory on both sides—so popular that, in those glutinous days, he was nearly killed with dinners (I remember how handsome he looked at the big one at Delmonico's) before he started, and quite killed before he had been in Germany long.

My happy memories of Francis Hopkinson Smith are generally accompanied by the impression that he was the most variously endowed man that I have known. He was a good novelist, a good painter, a good lighthouse builder, a more than good story-teller and after-dinner speaker, and an unapproachably good fellow and all-round companion.

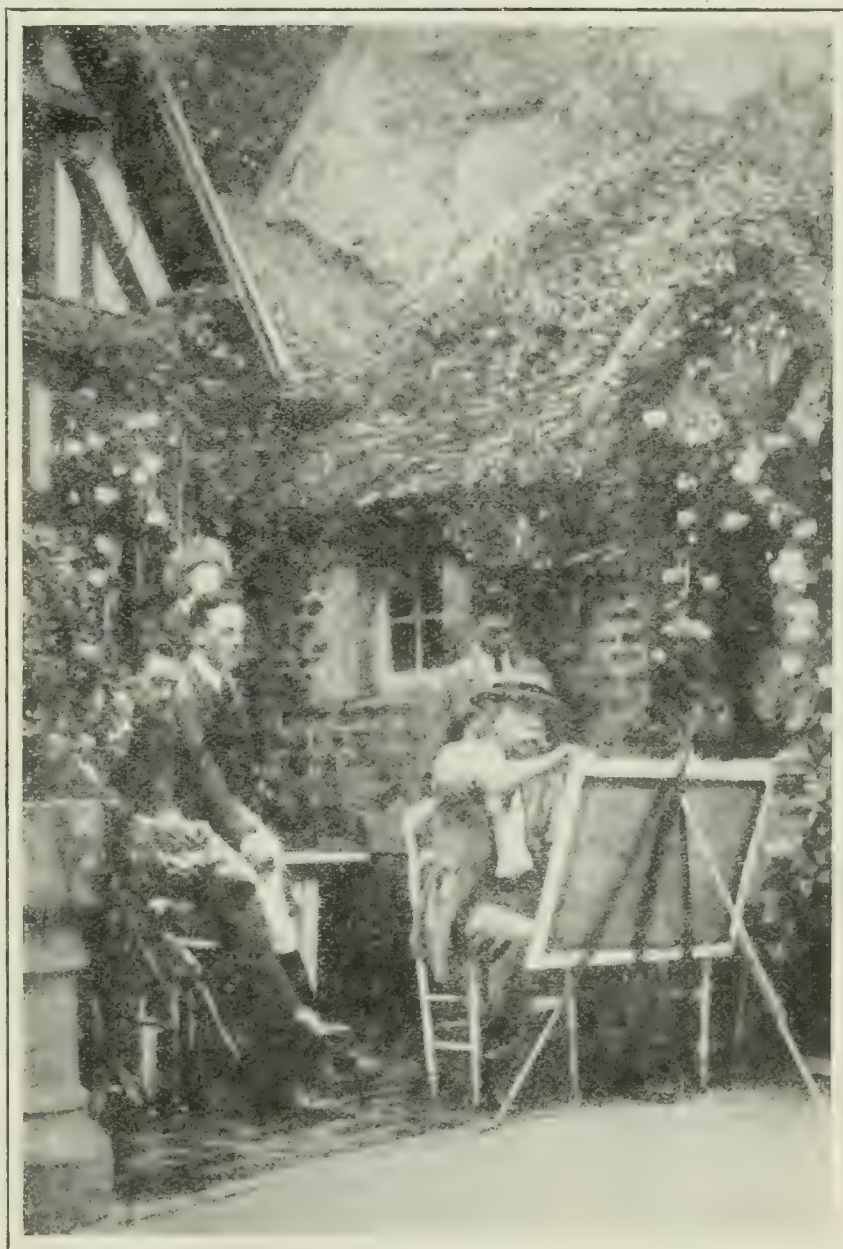
If I did not always think, perhaps incorrectly, of Leonardo and Michelangelo as austere and remote in their greatness, I should hesitate less in saying that Hop was

much our nearest approach to that type of man. But he was the reverse of my idea of them—a burst of sunshine into every group he entered. He contributed to it an extremely attractive personality. He was of fair height, well-built, medium coloring before he turned gray, with a big mustache which might have looked a little vulgar on almost any face but his, and he was always a bit better and more freshly dressed than most of the company; this, too, after he had reached the time of life when most men lack the energy for blooming.

Each *Century Twelfth Night*, he would make up as some well-known contemporary, and get off an appropriate and mighty good speech. I remember him as Hall Caine, and as Svengali, and as the last of the Hohenzollerns, though we didn't then know he was the last—three as different characters as can be imagined, and his rendition of each was distinct, admirable, and very funny.

As an after-dinner speaker, he has my lasting gratitude for making a brilliant success of the dinner we gave Carnegie at the Authors' Club, when I, who had to run it, was in dread that it was going through only at the average rate.

For many years he went abroad every summer, and



Copied from a Kodak taken by Robert de Forest

Francis Hopkinson Smith

brought home a lot of charming watercolor sketches made out of doors. I have a photograph of him at work in the court-yard of the *Hostelrie de Guillaume le Conquérant*, at Dives in Normandy. At his back is a group of young American students of architecture whom he had encountered there and taken to his heart, and was teaching. Perhaps he did it partly because one of them was a boy of mine, but mainly, I suspect, because it was his nature so to do.

Modes of Travel in Many Lands



International
A primitive ferry at Doverdale, Derbyshire, England



International
Venice



International
Traveling de luxe in Africa



International
Rapid Transit at Capo Island, Florida



International
Taxi service in China
The one-man-power-car



International
A comfortable cab in Assam



International
An Irish jaunting car



International
Traveling in Bengal, India

Diverse indeed are the means of transportation which man has devised to overcome the limitations of space. Those here pictured are little concerned with the limitations of time



International
Transportation in Madeira is mostly
by sledge-cars



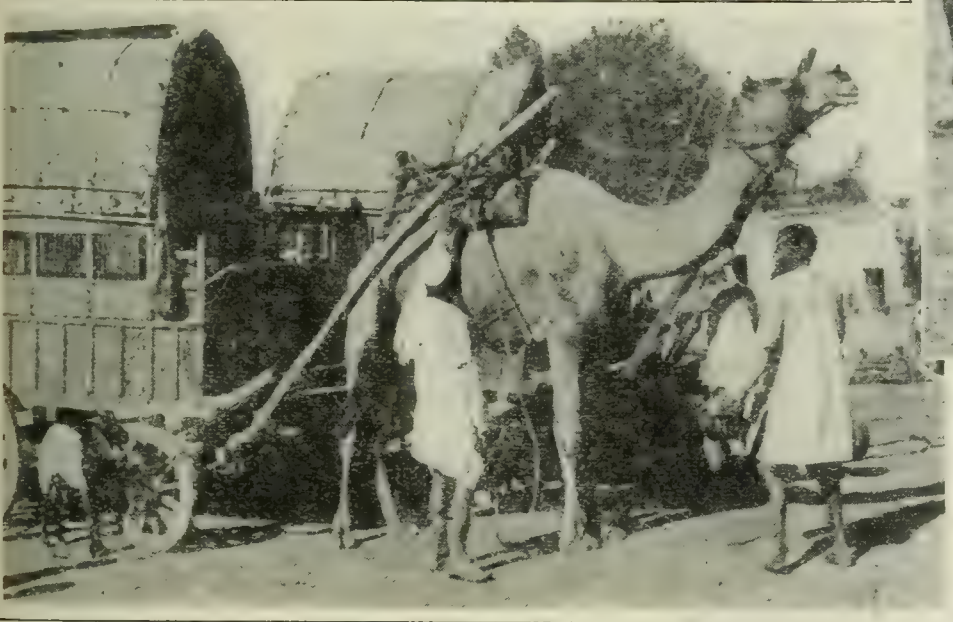
International
Japan. A pleasant pastime on sunny afternoons



International
For the weary traveler in Armenia. A wayside resting place



International
Belgian milk cart



International
A "prairie schooner" in Far Eastern Arabia



International
A railway quadricycle in Borneo



International
Winter transport in Russia



EDITORIAL



The Bonus--A Question of Principle, not of Finance

THE soldiers' bonus is a moral issue. To place it on any other basis is to juggle with the national conscience. Either the payment of a bonus is right in principle or it is wrong in principle; either it is the fulfilment of a moral obligation or it is a concession which involves political degradation. If it is right and just, ways and means must be found to pay it—one may not plead poverty, high taxes, or the pressure of other demands. If it is wrong, no abundance in the Treasury can excuse or palliate it.

In calling attention to this clear-cut issue we do not refer in any way to provisions for the care of the maimed and disabled in the war and of those dependent on them. The whole country is a unit in its desire to see generous provision made for those who have suffered, and in its readiness to pay the price. But the bonus proposal is something very different. It would in fact seriously jeopardize the interests of the very men—the injured and disabled—who have the first claim to recognition.

The case for the bonus baldly stated is that when the youth of the country were drafted for war and were paid a small per diem wage in addition to their keep and allowances to dependents, those who remained behind and in many cases took their places profited thereby to obtain excessively high wages. The latter enjoyed safety and comfort, while the former endured hardship and underwent danger. Consequently it is only fair that the Government which commandeered their services make up to them some portion of the difference in wages. They call it, euphemistically, "adjusted compensation." As if to reinforce this argument, they point out that various large groups of men took advantage of the war and their organized power to increase their wages and better their position; and that war profiteers enriched themselves enormously at the public expense. Why, then, should not they, who better deserve it, organize to get their share?

But two wrongs, or any number of wrongs, do not make a right. It is precisely these young men who risked their lives for their country who ought to be most concerned in righting these wrongs, not in perpetuating them. If, on the contrary, they are willing to join in a general scramble to raid the Treasury, to resort to political combination and exert political pressure—in other words, to sell their collective vote—to "get theirs," the outlook for democracy in America is dark indeed. We feel sure that the issue has been misrepresented to them, that they are being played upon by those who would use them for their own political ends. They served their country in the hour of need; and the nation honors them for it. But they did only what was their duty and what every right-minded citizen should be ready to do. They endured hardships, to be sure, and in many cases pecuniary loss, but they

returned from France hardier in body, the better for military training, and with their outlook broadened by travel and experience. Surely these are not the men wittingly to besmirch the quality of their citizenship and lower the esteem in which they are held by joining the "pork-bar'l" crowd.

The granting of a soldiers' bonus would be the entering wedge for untold political corruption. Possibly a free gift to the needy immediately after leaving the service might have been of considerable value in aiding them to adjust themselves to difficult conditions. But nearly four years have passed, and the bonus in most cases would mean merely some easy spending money. We have only to look back at the degrading and demoralizing influence of the Civil War pension legislation to see the result of building up a great organization the price of whose votes was ever-increasing doles from the public funds. In 1913, nearly half a century after the close of the Civil War, the Government paid out \$174,000,000 in pensions. Picture the situation in the coming half century if Congress yields to the present bonus demand and cowers before the soldier vote organized into a great machine for systematically milking the Treasury.

Congress is face to face with an exceedingly uncomfortable dilemma. For the most part the members are not concerned with the moral issue, though there are a few stalwart figures in each house who have taken this honorable stand. Most of the Senators and Representatives have their eyes fixed upon their political fences, thinking of the next election, and they are torn between the desire to win the soldier vote (averaging something like 3500 in each Congressional district) and the danger of losing the votes of the taxpayers upon whom will fall the heavy burden of the bonus. Secretary Mellon has laid the situation before them in a way that makes them squirm—no Allied debt payments, no bond issue, no Treasury note subterfuge, only increased taxes of a peculiarly obnoxious sort. On the other hand is the American Legion wielding a fearsome club. By reason of their large majority, the Republicans must assume the responsibility, while the Democrats sit back and enjoy the show. In their perplexity they have sought to place the unwelcome responsibility on the shoulders of the President.

President Harding has in turn passed the responsibility back to the men upon whom it properly rests, though in a manner that does not command our approval or admiration. In doing so he likewise has avoided the moral issue and called attention only to the practical financial difficulties that stand in the way of paying a bonus at this time. His suggestion of a sales tax is in reality an evasion. He missed a great opportunity, an opportunity to make for himself a lasting place in the nation's history. He has shown in more than one instance that he is not lacking in courage and firmness to do his duty as he sees it. This was an occasion demanding both. The only way really to meet it was to place the bonus question squarely before Con-

gress as a moral issue. Had the President faced unflinchingly the importunities of timorous politicians, he would have done his party as well as his country a great and lasting service. Public opinion is rapidly rising against the bonus raid on the Treasury, and he could be certain of increasing support. The cause, however, is not lost. At all events the President has not only brought home to Congress its rightful responsibility but has also effected a delay. This means more discussion and more enlightenment. We have not given up the hope that the President will come to realize fully the dangers to our country involved in the scheme, and set his face resolutely against it.

Fanciful Fears

STRAINING at a gnat is a fixed habit with the "irreconcilables" in the Senate. Mr. Borah and Mr. Brandegee are undoubtedly perfectly honest in the fears they express as to possible commitment of the country to war through the provisions of the Four Power Treaty. But those fears are nevertheless entirely fantastic. It is not true that a pledge to confer about what steps should be taken in a given situation involves the country in any moral obligation to go to war unless the situation proves to be such that Congress thinks we ought to go to war. By no stretch of construction can the promise to confer—and that is all that the treaty does promise—be interpreted as pledging any action, either warlike or pacific, except such as commends itself to the country's judgment when the situation presents itself.

It is greatly to the credit of Senator John Sharp Williams—who has shown himself equally outspoken on other notable occasions—that he, a leading Democrat, should have promptly stated his dissent from the view of the Republican irreconcilables on this head. He did this in the opening discussion of the treaty in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It is to be hoped that his sensible and straightforward conduct will be matched by that of the great bulk of the Democratic Senators when the treaty comes before the Senate as a whole.

It is, of course, quite possible that a situation may arise in the Pacific when the actual outcome of a conference between our country and the other three Powers concerned may be that we should declare war, or take a position which would commit us to war, when without the conference we might not do so. But that is only to say that a situation may arise which we shall understand more promptly, and shall act upon more effectively, than we should do if we did not confer upon it with those Powers which, like ourselves, are most of all concerned to preserve peace in the Pacific. The arrangement to confer is intended to keep us out of war; and it is a hundred times more probable that it will do that than that it will get us into war. But in the improbable event of its actually getting us into war, this will be not because the treaty binds us—morally or otherwise—to do so, but because the situation on its merits calls for it. And if the situation on its merits *does* call for it, is it not the part of wisdom that we should get into touch with that situation as promptly as possible? And is not a conference with the other Powers concerned in the case the best of all possible means for getting into touch with it promptly?

The Peace Palace Revisited

WITH pomp and circumstance the permanent Court of International Justice was inaugurated at The Hague on February 8, in the grandiose Peace Palace which has been somewhat quiet during the past seven or eight years. The opening of this august tribunal marks a step forward in the evolution of a better world order and the elimination of armed conflict. Whether it will justify the expectations somewhat extravagantly expressed by those who assisted at its birth remains to be seen. Its prestige and efficacy will depend not upon any physical or coercive sanction to enforce its decisions, but upon the quality of the justice it dispenses. Its position in the world is yet to be made and it needs a Marshall to establish for it a real authority.

It is of good augury that The Hague has been selected as its seat. Here met the two conventions that turned the eyes of the world toward the possibilities of international coöperation; here in 1899 Senator Root put forward the proposal that a tribunal be established to settle international differences *on the basis of justice*. This innovation, far more than any other development, was responsible for the inception of the new institution. The possibilities of the World Court have been enormously increased by the recent Conference at Washington and the principles which it has brought into play.

What is to be America's relation to the new Court? The fact that America is not a member of the League of Nations does not *ipso facto* place us beyond its jurisdiction, if we choose to avail ourselves of it. While the League provides the machinery for selecting judges, the Court stands entirely aloof from and independent of the Council and the Assembly. One of the judges is a distinguished American jurist and the whole personnel is such as to command confidence. As a nation we are deeply interested in the success of the Court as an international institution much needed and of great promise. Reference of cases to it has no bearing on our relationship to the League and in no way binds us to it, but such employment of it is precisely the way in which we can lend it the greatest support in its formative period.

The Ferment in Russia

DEVELOPMENTS in Russia are proceeding too rapidly to permit easy generalization. One phenomenon, however, stands out in plain view and gives the cue to much that is taking place in the Soviet paradise—the actualities of social and economic life are too strong for communist theory. A keen and sagacious observer has recently remarked that present-day Russia is like an egg. At a distance and to the casual looker-on it may present the appearance of a cobblestone, hard and unbreakable. The shell is the Soviet Government. Inside is developing the chicken, which presently will burst from its confines and make its way in the world according to its nature.

There are some who believe that Lenin, in announcing his new economic programme of concessions to capitalism a year ago, admitted the failure of communism and recanted his theories. This is to do an injustice to

the sincerity of his fanaticism. The truth is that the facts of real life were too strong for him and he retreated step by step as he was forced to in order to maintain his political control. Though heavily fettered by the corrupt and tyrannical Soviet bureaucracy, economic life is fermenting in Russia and communism is already giving way to a capitalism of the roughest sort. A return to anything in the nature of Socialism is impossible.

All this bears a very close relation to European politics. The new Russia cries for capital and management. Germany proposes to furnish both, backed by an international consortium. England is inclined to back Germany in this as a means of restoring her own economic situation. France is invited to join in as a means of obtaining otherwise impossible reparations from Germany. All is to be put through at Genoa, where recognition of the Soviets is to legalize their sale of Russia's patrimony. But all does not go smoothly in Russia. The Soviet authorities are weakening on the proposal in the face of sentiment at home, now more effective, against a plan which reduces Russia to economic vassalage. Radek, accordingly, launches a canard in the press to the effect that Russia and France are negotiating a separate agreement. The story is a pure invention, but it has its effect. Genoa is not to be a walk-over.

These sordid schemes show the wisdom of the American policy toward Russia. America has the warm sympathy of the Russian people and her business men will have a hearty welcome in participating in their enterprises. Already their eyes are upon Russian opportunities, following with sympathetic attention the way in which the Russian people are working out their own salvation. They are chiefly concerned that no scheme or plan be adopted in Europe that shall tend to harden the egg-shell and delay the birth of the Russian chicken.

Medical Service for Rural Communities

THE substitution of a hospital centre, supported by and ministering to the needs of a rural community, for the unorganized activity of individual country doctors, is the suggestion of President Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, in his annual report. This suggestion is brought forth in consequence of the general recognition that conditions in rural medical practice have undergone far-reaching changes since the last generation; and that these conditions are, at the present day, not as happy as they might be. The recent graduates of medical schools do not thrill at the prospect of a practice extending to the far-flung edges of a county; entailing nerve-racking individual responsibility and fighting against the odds of insufficient equipment and assistance; and, finally, bringing as remuneration a scanty and uncertain income. The result is, President Pritchett says, that "those who come to country practice are likely to be among the less alert and less scientific minority."

A hospital staff of three or four able physicians and surgeons, surrounded by up-to-date equipment and with facilities for taking care of cases within a radius of ten miles or so, is the remedy for the present situation suggested by President Pritchett. In this way a high

type of young doctor would be attracted to the little country town, and the little country town would receive prompter and more scientific treatment for its ills—if not more devotion—than in the days when everybody knew who was sick when "Old Doc's" buggy stood before the door.

State Control of Strikes

IN a natural reaction from the temporary supremacy obtained by organized labor during the war, the advocates of legislation to control strikes seem to us to be heading into perils much more serious than those they seek to avoid. In some instances these industrial revisers have earned the adjective "reactionary" in quotation marks by advocating legislation which would be utterly fruitless of the intended results unless it succeeded in imposing forced labor on American working people. But this is not a time nor a country for the enacting of a medieval "Statute of Labourers." The public has clear rights, we believe, against certain strike burdens. But individual liberty, and the right of concerted action within the general principles of law, are of supreme importance for the general welfare and for the possibilities of social progress; and it is only upon the clearest possible warrant of necessity that that liberty and that right should be placed under restriction.

A fair, and, on the whole, a just statement of the case for and against the strike as a device to secure ultimate advantage through immediate injury and coercion has been made by Walter Gordon Merritt:

"The spirit of protest as expressed in a strike is, on the whole, wholesome and desirable. It has been an instrument of great social service, and has directed much-needed attention and consideration toward the problems and wants of the workers in all industries and communities The State cannot perform these functions of the strike through any court. It does not have the vision Would society have progressed as it has progressed in its relation to the Labor problem had it not been for the nuisance value of the strike? Yet, "Minorities holding a strategic economic position should not be allowed to visit privation or disaster upon society."

Two bills now before the New York Legislature illustrate the errors of the view that the State can justly regulate strikes as a whole. The essence of the more drastic of these bills (that sponsored by the State Chamber of Commerce) is the punishment by heavy fine or imprisonment of any two or more industrial employees who strike or agree to strike, *except after a minimum delay of at least six months* from the time their dispute with their employer arises. And even then, a strike vote must be taken under the supervision of the State Industrial Commission, and in a form prescribed by the Commission. It is difficult to understand how wide-awake business men come to consider such a scheme workable in this third decade of the Twentieth Century. The bill applies to all industries, and as it is drawn, is plainly in the sole interest of employers *as employers*. In our judgment a State attempting to enforce such a law would speedily find itself reaping the whirlwind. We find objective support for our conjecture in the famous tornado State of Kansas.

Less violent, but almost as unwise in its own degree, it seems to us, is the second New York bill, which in general prescribes prolonged delay of strikes, with ultimate settlement on an "economic-legal" basis to be

laid down by an Industrial Term of the Supreme Court. This bill attempts to safeguard "fair wages," and professes to apply only to industries "affected with a public interest." The scope of this category rests ultimately with the Industrial Term justices; but the bill includes such items as clothing and all materials entering into clothing; as also every species of transportation for any of the materials specified. This second bill is essentially a provision for limited compulsory arbitration after delay of recourse to strikes. If we lacked any other sources of judgment on this plan than the current experience of Kansas, we should find it in Australia, of whose famous system Premier Hughes is quoted as saying: "This perfect piece of legislation has turned out to be—despite the kind of ministry in office—the most inefficient and hopelessly futile effort to solve the industrial problem that ever came out of the laboratory of any industrial workshop."

We should consider ourselves blind to the clear signs of the times if we were to trust in compulsory labor or compulsory arbitration, as shadowed out in the bills we have referred to. Experience has already shown the second to be unworkable. Any adequate knowledge of human nature shows the former to be dangerous—"full of dynamite." Yet we believe the public is entitled to a measure of protection. Further, we believe the public can be duly protected without the use of compulsory arbitration, or of forced labor.

It is important, we believe, that interference by the State should be limited to the narrowest measure that will adequately protect the public safety; but some zones are not fairly disputable. A national strike paralysis of transportation, or of coal, or food supply is clearly an indefensible attack on the public safety: that is the evident judgment of the whole country. In principle, the stoppage of local public utilities falls in the same forbidden category; yet it is a fact of experience in this country that few serious troubles have come from the tying up of waterworks and power plants. Suspension of local transportation is a heavy local burden, but it has rarely proved serious except when the police authorities have failed to maintain order. Nearly the same thing can be said of the wholly indefensible New York milk strike of last autumn.

The practical remedy for those evils which may fairly be considered attacks upon the public safety, seems to us not in any attempt to compel the labor of men who want to strike. We shall do better to look at the working facts of the strike. Every large strike requires organization and centralized direction. We think it reasonably open to the State power to lay down a rule that any strike endangering the public safety by checking the supply of its vital supplies shall be considered an unlawful conspiracy against the public. That done, it is a quick and effective process to arrest (without forcing them to labor) the directors of the strike, and to tie up by court order the funds on which the leaders depend for their success. The strikes to which such a law would apply should be very closely limited. National transportation and food and fuel supply are already protected by an equity system on the lines just sketched. Within a single State there might well be some additions to the list—certainly milk supply in large cities, and in some cases ice supply. With local transit, the question is debatable. Clothing is certainly not a proper matter for inclusion in such a list; it is of course a necessity,

but the public always has on hand at least a year's supply for the demands of health and decency.

The real remedy for industrial conflict is mutual willingness to deal fairly, "accelerated," it may be, by such pressure as public opinion can bring to bear on the subject-matter. Outside of certain national strike perils, with a small additional category within each State, we believe that State authority should have little to do with strikes except to protect both labor and property against intimidation and violence.

Is It an Antidote?

THE age of wireless for the people is upon us, and the philosophies thereof—somewhat intricate, but traceable—may well draw every person of analytic fancy. The power of the movies rests upon their appeal to simple instincts summed up in the adage "Seeing is believing." Every animal—even the modern human specimen—tends to act upon the impulses stirred by what he sees—and what he really "sees" is what his brain interprets to him as the meaning of the picture in his eyes. This mental version of the picture on the retina is dominating in the individual in proportion to the uncritical and undisciplined quality of the mind that interprets—and is made more potent by the fact that the picture flashed upon the brain through the eye is the most lasting of all sense impressions.

The wireless voice has to pass a much more acute mental censor in each individual. We have no universal proverb about hearing—the nearest is the saying that "You mustn't believe everything you hear." But even this is good testimony to the fact that we are critical of what we hear. It may be that wireless jazz will prove as "intoxicating" as jazz heard direct, in a company of dancers. Yet on the whole we may safely believe that the wireless voice—in opposition to the movie picture—will stir first the skeptical, criticising faculties of the listening mind. Messages to the ear are essentially appeals to the intellect rather than to the instincts, and this encourages one to hope that there may be a preponderance of good in the broadcasting of wireless messages of all sorts.

Our Historic Archives

THE recent fire in the Treasury building, which came within a narrow margin of destroying the records of the Department, has brought a keener realization of the danger from fire and other causes in which many of the precious documents of the country now stand, and of the need of a new and better place for their safe-keeping. At present, the Government records are scattered about Washington in various and sundry unsuitable places. Both Senate and House admit that there should be an Archives Building, but have failed to agree as to ways and means. The Senate has three times attempted to provide for the erection of such a building, but the House did not approve the appropriation bills. There has also been difference of opinion as to the site and general character of the structure and the proposal to put up a plain substantial, fire-proof building in some part of Washington where it will not interfere with the layout and architectural scheme of the city has not met with universal approval.

The Story of the Week

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

The Domestic Budget

A Disruptive Predicament

LET us follow progressively the discussion at Washington of how to raise the money for the bonus.

The following is reported to be the tentative programme of the House Ways and Means Committee (quoted from the *New York Times*):

A 1 cent per gallon tax on gasoline, estimated to raise \$70,000,000.

A 25-cent per horsepower tax on automobiles, \$50,000,000.

An additional 50-cent tax per 1,000 on cigarettes, \$25,000,000.

A 2 cents per pound tax on chewing and smoking tobacco, \$5,000,000.

A new theatre admission tax doubling the present rate of 10 per cent., \$60,000,000.

A parcel post tax of 1 cent on each 25 cents value and fraction thereof, \$20,000,000.

A 2½ per cent. tax on undivided corporation profits, \$22,000,000.

A tax of one-tenth of 1 per cent. on stock and bond transactions and a tax on real estate transactions of \$5 per \$1,000 involved, \$64,000,000.

Representatives of the National Grange and the American Farm Bureau Federation make strong representations against these suggestions. Senator Smoot is set against the proposed taxes on corporation profits and stock and bond transactions. In fact, protests are coming in from all over the country against one or another contemplated tax. The Republican leaders are in a state of grievous perturbation. They are committed to the bonus; but how, oh, how, to raise the money without losing the support of this or that interest? The Democrats, while equally committed to the bonus, are said not to be unhappy at the Republican predicament.

The farmers' spokesmen propose that the money be raised by reenactment and extension of the excess profits tax. They say that, whereas the farming class constitutes less than one-third of the population, more than half the burden of the taxes proposed by the House Committee would fall on the farmers. The automobile people say that "10,000,000 substantial Americans" would be outraged by the proposed taxes on automobiles and on gasoline.

Panic-stricken by the flood of protests against this programme, the Ways and Means Committee have made a run for it to safer ground. A bond issue is now the favored proposition. But is it safer ground? Not if Neptune Borah

can muster fresh waves to do their angry duty. Secretary Mellon tells the people that a bond issue would not merely be a futile evasion; it would wreck his refunding programme. It may perhaps be significant that the managers of the bonus legislation hope to have the first bonus

payments about October 1; that is, just before the important Congressional elections.

The President is understood to oppose a bond issue. That ground isn't safe. Whither then for refuge?

There is a rumor that President Harding will declare that the bonus, if bonus there is to be, must come out of revenues already provided for; *i. e.*, from savings through army and navy reductions, reductions in the civil list, etc. That, however (if feasible, which it probably isn't), would mean a delay of the first bonus payments until long after the coming elections; a thing intolerable.—The rumor proves to be incorrect.

On the 16th the President wrote the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, stating his disapproval of the special taxation plan and of the proposals to issue short-term Treasury notes or long-term bonds for raising the bonus money. If Congress should insist on voting the cash bonus at once, he would recommend a general sales tax. He, however, is opposed to piecemeal cash payments, and advises postponement of cash payments until such time as lump payments can be made without distress to the commonweal. "We have no serious problem," he says, "in beginning the allotments of public lands and the immediate issue of paid-up insurance."

So much for the means to raise the wind. But is there no opposition to the bonus in itself, to the idea of it? On the 13th Senator Borah began the attack on that. He calculates that within ten years the annual expenditure for soldiers and sailors disabled mentally or physically will approximate \$1,500,000,000, and that the total ultimate cost of caring for the disabled will not be less than \$75,000,000,000. Such expenditure he will not oppose; he does oppose a bonus for the healthy. But only ten other Senators are certainly known to go along with Senator Borah.

For such significance as it may have, note that the only woman representative in Congress, Miss Alice Robertson, is strong against the bonus.

The Agricultural Outlook Improving

The *New York Times* quotes Mr. Eugene Myer, Jr., Managing Director of the War Finance Corporation, as follows:

The optimistic view of the improving conditions in our basic agricultural industries, expressed by President Harding in his letter to the Minnesota farmers and stockmen, is amply borne out by reports received from the agencies of the War Finance Corporation throughout the country.

Corn is now selling at country elevators in Nebraska and Iowa at 40 cents a bushel, as against 20 cents four months ago. Hogs command a good market, and reports indicate that the farmers are getting the equivalent of 80 to 90 cents for corn that is marketed on the hoof. The market for sheep is stabilized. They are selling in large quantities and at prices considered satisfactory to growers and feeders. The cattle market is no longer demoralized; the breeding herds are being held; the young stock is no longer being sacrificed, and the feeding and fattening business is proceeding in good volume and with fairly satisfactory returns. There is a broad market for wool and hides at good prices. The grain markets are showing a good consumptive demand. The movement of cotton has been much larger this season than last year, and the prices are much fairer to the producers. The large cotton co-operative marketing organizations have demonstrated their ability to conduct their business on a sound basis and have proved to be a stabilizing factor.



Knott, Dallas News



Wide World

An Oxford crew out for the first spin of the season

All this means that the farmer is being put in position to liquidate his debts gradually and that his normal purchasing power—so vital to the commercial, transportation and industrial interests—is being restored.

The Yap Treaty and the Cable Treaty

On the 11th Secretary Hughes and Ambassador Shidehara signed the Yap treaty. Japan concedes to the United States the privilege of unhampered cable and radio stations on the island, but the United States is not to establish a radio station so long as the Japanese radio service gives satisfaction. The United States, on its part, recognizes the Japanese mandate over the formerly German-owned islands in the Pacific north of the Equator (including Yap), subject to Japanese acknowledgment of non-prejudice of the rights of the United States as an Associated Power (a complicated matter). The President has sent the treaty to the Senate.

It was expected that the Six-Power Cable Treaty (not a Conference treaty) would be ready for signature at the same time as the Washington Conference treaties. But some further negotiation is necessary, to be carried on through the ancient diplomatic channels.

Naval Reduction

Secretary Denby is willing that the enlisted strength of the navy should be reduced from 100,000 to 90,000, but he opposes any reduction in the number of officers. After the scrapping under the Five-Power Treaty, there will remain in the navy: 18 battleships, 136 destroyers, 33 cruisers, 147 submarines, 196 auxiliaries, and 152 small craft. The Secretary recommends that all members of the present first class at Annapolis be graduated and given commissions. He proposes that hereafter members of Congress have the privilege of three instead of five appointments to the Naval Academy.

To Bridge the Hudson Again: At Anthony's Nose

A bill has been submitted to the New York State Legislature granting a charter to a company for construction of a bridge across the Hudson from Bear Mountain Park to Anthony's Nose, a little above Peekskill. The bridge would have a single span of 1,650 feet, a roadway 22 feet wide,

and two sidewalks. Its cost is estimated at \$5,000,000. It would be completed within two years. The State would have the option of purchasing the bridge five years after its completion for \$4,500,000 and would acquire it without compensation at the end of thirty years. The toll charges would be fixed in the charter. The advantages of such a bridge and of the proposed vehicular tunnel under the Hudson (to be completed by the end of five years) to New England and to the Middle Atlantic States are sufficiently obvious.

The Roosevelt-Sequoia National Park

If the Barbour bill becomes law, the Sequoia National Park (renamed the Roosevelt-Sequoia Park) will be increased in size from 252 to 1,100 square miles. Many of the Redwoods were standing when "'Omer smote 'is bloom-in' lyre."

Aid to Runaway Girls

The work of the Travelers' Aid Society of New York City, in all its aspects beneficent, is particularly so in respect of the aid given to runaway girls. Some 2,000 such girls have been aided by the society during the past year; many saved from disaster. The important statement is made that the average age of the runaways is about fifteen. What may be the chief reason for the recent great drop in the average age, one cannot certainly say; but one shrewdly suspects it's the movies. The immemorial lures—false promises of marriage, etc.—are as strong as ever. Correspondence arising out of that elegant institution, the marriage advertisement, is the undoing of many.

A Catholic Cardinal Defends Vivisection

There has been no more clean-cut and cogent defense of vivisection than Cardinal Dougherty has made in a letter to the Society for the Protection of Scientific Research. Here are samples of it:

As actually conducted for the advancement of medical research, vivisection seems to me not only unobjectionable, but even praiseworthy. Since the invention of anesthetics, and with the use of antiseptic methods, it has become practically painless. Animals used for experimental purposes are well fed and sheltered and in many respects are better off than those in a state of nature or in subjection to work.



Pacific and Atlantic

A Winter view of the Capitol dome

They escape the rapacity of fiercer and larger animals, the ill-usage of sport, the drudgery of toil, exposure to the heat and cold of the seasons, and the cruelties of keepers, drivers and exploiters.

Animals themselves owe to vivisection a great debt. Epizootic diseases, like anthrax, swine fever, chicken cholera, silk-worm disease, cattle tuberculosis, which, in the past, caused untold suffering to animals and every year killed them by millions, have been brought under control by the experiments of vivisection.

But man is the chief beneficiary. For it has been mainly owing to these experiments that great discoveries have taken place regarding the nervous system, bone growth, the blood, digestion, infections, serums, antitoxins and vaccinations; and without vivisection little or no progress would have been made in physiology, pathology, bacteriology and therapeutics.

To forbid vivisection would be to hamper science, do a mischief to the human race and foster misplaced sympathy.

What the Lord Has Done to Straton

"The Lord hath delivered him into my hands," said Huxley to Sir Benjamin Brodie, when the Bishop of Oxford attempted to make a sensational speech against evolution and got in over his head. The Rev. John Roach Straton preached against evolution the other day, and exposed the ignorance of H. G. Wells for adopting the exploded theory that the heat of the sun is generated by contraction, whereas recent investigation attributes the heat to electrical processes. This sounded serious until Dr. Frank Schlesinger, director of the Yale Observatory, commenting, remarked that the heat of the sun is now believed to be an electrical effect of radio-activity, but added: "However, the old theory assumes the sun and the earth to be fifty million years old and the new theory puts their age at five billion years!"

Brief Items

The Commercial Cable Company announces that it will lay a new cable from New York to France via the Azores. It proposes to lay another from our Pacific coast to Japan.

* * *

The "Lord's Day Alliance" of New York State is active again. Now it would close the movies on Sunday.

* * *

The orange crop of southern California has suffered from 40 to 50 per cent. damage from a cold snap.

* * *

In the year 1921, 51,300 persons were arraigned in the municipal courts of Chicago for drunkenness, as compared with 32,305 in 1920.

Ireland

A Republican Demonstration

A HUGE open-air demonstration in favor of the Irish Republic and against the Irish Free State was held in Dublin on Sunday, the 12th. De Valera made a fiery speech in front of the statue of Parnell. Resolutions were adopted declaring: that the Irish nation is one and indivisible; that all State authority in Ireland is derived solely from the Irish people; that the British Crown is an alien Crown and that Ireland is no part of the British Empire; that the articles of the London agreement fail to represent the true desires of the Irish people; that the treaty was obtained under duress, that the Dail Eireann is not competent to give it legal sanction, that it is therefore null and void.

De Valera appealed to the Irish people "to defeat at the elections, for the third time, an attempt to misrepresent the people's views." There were no dissentient voices, but it should be remembered that the demonstration was a carefully staged Republican affair. Its significance can only appear in the sequel. The Republicans have been demonstrating a good deal. Presumably the Provisional Government leaders are husbanding their powder and fire-works against the proper time.

More Outrages on the Ulster Border

More outrages have been committed by Irish Republican bands on the border between Ulster and the Irish Free State. Southern Irishmen say that the blame for the situation is chargeable to the Ulster authorities; chiefly in that they refuse to reprieve certain members of the Irish Republican army under sentence of death. It may be that considerations of abstract justice might well be waived in the interest of conciliation and common-sense; that a reprieve would really be "the ticket." It may be that in several matters the Ulstermen have acted provocatively and with foolish obstinacy. Be that as it may, the other day a small detachment of Ulster police, only partially armed, was surprised and shot down by a Republican band many times its number.

Birkenhead and Collins on the Situation

Lord Birkenhead, addressing the Lords on the present situation in Ireland, declared that "within the next few weeks we are going through the most grave and critical period probably in living memory." He said that, though a large majority of the Republican army had adhered to the Provisional Government, there were important areas in which the Republican detachments refused to obey the Provisional Government, which lacked the means to enforce its authority. The extremists were working to seduce the army majority away from its allegiance to the Provisional Government, and Collins was evidently apprehensive that they might succeed. The extremists were trying to create a general scene of violence and disorder, favorable to their plans.

Michael Collins charges, and charges rightly, that de Valera's supporters are trying by unfair means to subvert the Provisional Government. He cites the affair in Cork, where de Valera's henchmen seized the arms of departing British police. The object, he says, of this and other Republican exploits, was to prevent or delay evacuation of British forces.

The object seems to have been achieved. Evacuation orders for part, if not all, of the British troops remaining in southern Ireland have been cancelled. It requires no imagination to see how disastrously for the cause of peace this action of the British Government may be colored by the Republicans.

A Little Rift in the Clouds

Following the order suspending evacuation of British troops from Ireland, Michael Collins crossed to London to

confer with the Imperial Government. It would be interesting to know what may be his attitude on the subject of evacuation. As to his good faith there cannot be the slightest doubt.

As a result of conversations in London between Collins, Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, and of telegraphic exchanges between Churchill and Sir James Craig, Premier of Ulster, it has been agreed to have a northern and a southern liaison commission, to investigate the facts of the border conflicts, and to keep moving along their respective sides of the border, coöperating to avert trouble. Michael Collins has procured the release of a considerable number of the Ulstermen kidnapped by the southern Republicans, and is making every effort to locate and procure the release of the remainder. So the storm clouds are not so threatening (February 15) as they appeared a day or two ago.

The Egyptian Question

THE British Foreign Office has issued the following statement with reference to Egypt:

The High Commissioner in Egypt has been summoned to England to give full information and advice to His Majesty's Government as to the present situation in Egypt and as to the communications that have been passing between him and the former Egyptian Ministers with regard to the future government of the country.

There appears to be an impression in some quarters that Great Britain has abandoned or is about to abandon her liberal attitude toward Egyptian aspirations, and desires to make use of her special position in Egypt to maintain a political and administrative system there incompatible with the freedom which she has declared her willingness to recognize.

This is not the case. The policy of His Majesty's Government, both during and since the Adly mission to England, has been founded upon the following principles:

While unwilling to cede to disorder or violence what they were prepared to grant on its own merits, His Majesty's Government have explicitly stated their readiness to invite Parliament to terminate the protectorate which was declared in 1914, to recognize the existence of Egypt as a sovereign State and to agree to the constitution of an Egyptian Parliament and the reestablishment of an Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs as soon as they were satisfied as to the following conditions, which they regard as vital to the interests both of Egypt and the Empire:

They must have full and effective guarantees: First, that the imperial communications, to which Egypt is essential, are assured; second, that Great Britain retain both the right and the power to afford that protection to the foreign communities in Egypt which the Governments of these peoples in the existing conditions look to her to supply; and, third, that Egypt is safeguarded against all foreign interference or aggression, direct or indirect.

As soon as an agreement satisfying these conditions has been drawn up between the Egyptian Government and the British Government there will be no hesitation on the part of the latter in inviting Parliamentary sanction to such an accord.

The Crisis in India

THE Imperial Government proposes to use stern measures to suppress Gandhi's campaign of civil disobedience. Gandhi in a recent manifesto made impudent demands. He declared that the British Government had embarked on a policy of lawless repression. The Imperial Government denies this charge; likewise the claim of the non-coöperationists that they were forced to resort to their present tactics in order to secure the elementary rights of free association, free speech, and free press.

For whatever reason, the non-coöperationists now seem to be drawing in their horns. The Working Committee of the National Congress has passed a resolution declaring that "the country's atmosphere is insufficiently non-violent for mass civil disobedience." This resolution is what? Evidence of almost ineffable loftiness of aim, or an acknowledgment of defeat?

As against such an encouraging report, comes a dispatch which states that all the European men of Madras have been enrolled as special constables by the Government.

Germany

The Important Recent Developments

NOW that the Washington Conference is over, the important developments in Germany will probably receive some of the attention they demand.

The cables are still silent as to the "reaction" of the Reparations Commission to the German Government's statement which was to present a schedule of proposed reparation payments during the year 1922 and a plan of proposed fiscal and financial reforms. Instead of submitting a schedule of payments in gold marks and in kind, the German Government requests that it be let off from further cash payments this year, substituting therefor (if the Commission insists) payments in kind. Upon the head of reforms the statement is cordial but vague. The Reichstag will be asked to increase taxes, measures will be taken against export of gold, food subsidies will be reduced more than 50 per cent, a system of unemployment insurance (at the expense of employers and employed) will be substituted for doles, internal loans will be raised, the domestic budget will be balanced; and so on.

But what mainly interests the German Government is the prospect of an international loan through the International Consortium which was approved by the Supreme Council at Cannes. The Allies, the Germans think, should concern themselves less about present reparation payments than about the restoration of German internal and external credit which is necessary to future reparation payments.

It is said that at Cannes, just before Briand's resignation as Premier broke up the meeting, the Supreme Council had tentatively agreed to payment by Germany during 1922 of 720,000,000 gold marks and the value of 1,450,000 gold marks in kind. Belgium, to whom the treaty of Versailles gives



International

The Hu-tuk-tu of Mongolia signing an agreement between the new Soviet Republic of Mongolia and the Moscow Government

priority in cash payments, is unwilling to commute cash for deliveries in kind or to postpone payment of her due. France backs Belgium, though she would be glad if Belgium might see her way to acceptance of commutation in kind. The British would like the figure of 720,000,000 gold marks reduced, but don't wish to take goods in lieu of gold. Whether they are willing to postpone payment of their share does not appear; probably they are. What cash minimum the French would accept is not disclosed. The Italians, as usual, go with the British. The situation is as muddled as ever it was.

It is understood that Poincaré is for leaving the decision entirely to the Reparations Commission; but it is said that,

should the majority of that body vote a compromise in face of the cold finding of the commission as to what Germany can pay, the minority would resign. Lloyd George, of course, is for a meeting of the Supreme Council or at least a meeting of Finance Ministers, to decide on the answer to the Germans. A pretty contest seems to be going on between the two Premiers on this head. It seems most likely that the German Government will be called on for another more definite statement before the Allied schedule of reparation payments for 1922 (whether fixed by the Reparations Commission or by the Supreme Council) is published. The reader will observe that, though Poincaré is doubtless incensed, and justly, at the new instance of German delaying tactics, he has made no public statement suggesting application of the sanctions or using them as a threat.

The report was noticed last week that the People's Party leaders (the great industrialists) had repudiated their agreement with Wirth on the strength of which he made to the Reparations Commission his proposal of reforms. The report was probably exaggerated; they probably only threatened to do so. They would hardly, one must think, throw Wirth into the arms of the Independent Socialists. Should Wirth admit the Independent Socialists to his Coalition, he must make a far swing to the Left, consenting to put the screws on Capital. The tax programme to which Stinnes and his associates consented is a compromise affair, suspected to be illusory. There is nothing illusory or compromising about the programme of the Independent Socialists, who would confiscate capital as required for reparation payments.

Since the foregoing was written, the situation has developed further. An account of these developments must be postponed, except to state that Wirth retains the precarious support of the People's Party, that the Independent Socialists forbear to try "conclusions" with him, that his official head probably will not be seriously imperiled before the end of the Genoa Conference.

Beauties of the Domestic Budget

Close examination of the German domestic budget reveals singular beauties. For example: Under the Minister of the Treasury is a division called the "Division of Woods and Forests." The "woods and forests" are said to consist of a score or less of trees planted on former drill-grounds of the army. For the due care of these imaginary woodlands, says a wireless to the *New York Times* from Berlin, the Treasury pays 2 master foresters, 2 chief foresters, 9 district foresters, 14 foresters, 18 forest overseers, and 21 woods watchmen.

Help for Austria

SENATOR LODGE has introduced in the Senate a resolution intended to "save Austria from collapse" by authorizing postponement for twenty-five years of payment

of Austria's debt to the United States Grain Corporation; on condition, however, that the other nations to which Austria is indebted show similar generosity. Most of Austria's creditors long ago agreed to such postponement, provided the United States,

would join them; besides the United States, Italy and Yugoslavia still, we believe, hold back. Is belated American generosity made conditional on Italian or Yugoslavian behavior? Negotiation of an international loan to Austria has long been understood to depend upon the action proposed by Senator Lodge. Britain and France are making meagre advances to Austria to avert a collapse; but to set Austria on her legs a considerable international loan, secured by the greater part of her national assets, is required. It is proposed that the United States and the other creditors of Austria release their liens on these assets.

Russia

The Blessing of the Moscow River

IN a recent issue of the *New York Times* Walter Duranty gave a pleasant description of the ceremony of blessing the waters of the Moscow River on January 19 just past, the anniversary of the burning of Moscow by its own people, whereby Napoleon was baffled and Russia freed. In the Tsarist days, on this anniversary processions from all the churches moved to the Kremlin, where they were joined and whence, after a salute of twenty-one guns, they marched, headed by the patriarch of Moscow and by members of Royalty, down to the river. But this time there was no Tsar, no music, no salute of guns; there was only one little procession of priests and nuns, with ikons and banners, headed by the Patriarch in his robes of cloth of silver. In the centre of the river a Russian Cross had been cut through the ice, and men with long poles were stirring the water to preserve the cross. Arrived at the scene of ceremony, the Patriarch three times sprinkled drops from a gold pitcher of holy water on the watery cross. Then he bent down and dipped a little jeweled cross into the cross of water and made the gesture of benediction. Then he filled his golden pitcher with the blessed river water and the little procession wound its way back to the great gold-domed cathedral built to commemorate Moscow's self-sacrifice for Russia. Some of the multitude pressed close to kiss the jeweled cross, but most crowded about the river cross, drinking of the water, filling pitchers and other receptacles with it. The vast crowd was entirely reverent, even Red soldiers crossing themselves.

The philosopher will find the revival of the ceremony more significant than Lenin's proclamations restoring capitalist methods. The Russian people have turned back to the old ways; Holy Russia is herself again.

A Soviet Bill of Damages

The Soviet Government is said to be preparing a bill of damages against the Allies (for aid given to the several White movements—Denikin, Kolchak, Yudenich, Semenov, etc.; for direct intervention in Siberia and the Archangel and Murmansk regions; and on sundry other counts) which will make France's old bill of \$4,000,000,000 look pale and sick.

Doubtful American Agencies for Russian Relief

It is known that the corn-tax collections in Russia have not realized enough to feed the Red army and other Government institutions. This fact gives ground for the apprehension that some of the shipments of food from this country to Russia through agencies known to be in sympathy with the Soviet Government (food purchased from funds raised in America) will be diverted to use of the Soviet Government, if that has not already happened. Mr. Hoover is investigating the matter. There is no doubt that some of these agencies have by fraudulent means induced many prominent Americans to become their patrons and to allow their names to be used to advertise their activities.



Thomas, Detroit News

Lem Hooper on Evolution

By Ellis Parker Butler

ON his way home from court yesterday Justice of the Peace Lem Hooper stopped in at the Riverbank Hotel for three of his favorite cigars, and Joe Higgins, of the noisy group in front of the cigar case, immediately button-holed him.

"Just in time to settle this for us, Judge!" Joe cried. "How about it? Has the Kentucky Legislature a right to prohibit men from being descended from monkeys?"

"Only Kentuckians, Joe; only Kentuckians!" Judge Hooper said. "As long as you remain a citizen of Iowa, Joe, you're safe. The jurisdiction of the Kentucky Legislature don't extend beyond the boundaries of Kentucky, Joe. Don't you worry. Why, even if that bill is passed, Joe, any Kentuckian that wants to be evolved instead of created need only swim across the Ohio River into Indiana, Illinois, or Ohio, or step across the border into Tennessee, and it will be

day of Galileo right down to 1922. Science pulls herself up the hill by the posts fool lawmakers have planted to keep her down. When the State Legislature of Kentucky passes a law prohibiting the teaching of evolution in schools supported by State funds she turns a few thousand brains that never cared much one way or the other into redhot friends of evolution and the others say, 'Oh, well! you know what Legislatures are, anyway!'

"But I don't see the sense of it," said Joe Higgins. "What made Kentucky, of all States, get such a crush on Adam?"

"Well, right there you crowd me off into the realm of pure speculation, Joe," Judge Hooper said. "Of course, there was William Jennings Bryan; he stumped the State for Adam and Eve and had a big influence. I don't know why he was so eager; maybe it was revenge—back in the free-silver days he tried to make monkeys of the Democratic voters and could not quite do it; maybe he's trying to get even by blaming it all on Adam and Eve. But, between you and me, Joe, I think the revival of interest in Adam and Eve is due more to the horse and the mint julep.

"I don't say Prohibition has struck Kentucky any harder



There was William Jennings Bryan. He tried to make monkeys of the Democratic voters.

perfectly legal for him to have a prehensile tail emblazoned on his coat of arms if he wants to.

"I don't see that it's much to worry about, anyway, Joe. About all the damage will be a new map of the United States one of these days, all colored up with splotches of pink and blue, with the blue splotches marked 'Area Inhabited by Descendants of Pithecanthropus Erectus' and with the pink splotches marked 'Area Inhabited by Kentuckians and Other Descendants of Adam by Order of the Kentucky State Legislature.' And maybe a few gray blotches here and there, Joe, marked 'Area Inhabited by Citizens Whose Ancestry Remains Undecided Until Next Meeting of State Legislatures.'

"There's just one thing certain in this queer world, Joe. Whenever a Legislature, or a Congress, or a Diet, or a Consistory, or a Government Office opens its lip and utters a yawp intended to settle any question that is within the province of Science it invariably decides wrong, makes a fool of itself and sets up a record at which people are sooner or later going to guffaw. That has been the fact from the

than it has struck the rest of the country, Joe, but it has struck some of the fine old Kentuckians mighty hard. There was a day when Colonel Henry, sitting in a cane chair with a frosty julep on his knee, watching a likely colt do a test mile, was one of America's finest. A colt, sah, with a pedigree! A julep, sah, such as Hebe would have been proud to serve! A gentleman, sah, with a genealogy running away back! And then what, Joe? Prohibition! Prohibition and evolution, both of 'em slam-banging into Kentucky! Prohibition grabbing a man's liquor and Evolution saying the horse—the Kentucky thoroughbred, sah!—was no more than an evolved offspring of a sort of hairless runt of the Lower Eocene Period, a thing called the Eohippus, as big as a fox, maybe! The Eohippus, sah, with four and a half toes on each fore foot and three toes on each hind foot! And they say that is the great-great-grandfather of the Kentucky horse! By the eternal, sah, if that's what Evolution says about the horse we'll have the law on it!

"And a fine, chivalrous, horse-loving attitude to take, too, Joe! Akin to that of the Indian brave who wanted his faith-

ful dog buried with him. Kentucky wants no Eohippus, developing from a lizard and progressing into a horse. No, sir! A flash of glory and Adam and the horse, noble and complete! That's the stuff. None of this evolution business.

"And there's a lot to be said for Adam, too, Joe, by a man who has had his mint julep forbidden by law. There's not much appeal in the idea of the *Pithecanthropus Erectus* of 530,000 years ago, obeying the stern and immutable laws of nature until he becomes the *Homo Heidelbergensis* of 250,000 years ago, or in the *Homo Heidelbergensis* obeying the stern and immutable laws until he becomes the Neanderthal Man of 50,000 years ago, and so on down. There's too much stern and immutable law there, Joe, for a man in these prohibition days. Adam is better. Adam was a comfortable sort of fellow. There was just one thing prohibited in his day and he did not let any stern and immutable law bother him

much. He set a good example—he got his share while there were still some left on the tree, law or no law. He is an ancestor worth having—in a land where the mint julep material is getting quite considerable scarce. Adam was the sort of ancestor a man can understand."

"But, Judge," said Joe Higgins, "you're joking. You don't really mean that Kentucky is prohibiting evolution because Adam was a good sport, do you?"

"Well, no!" said Judge Hooper. "Perhaps not! Not entirely, Joe. We've got to remember that the Kentuckian is a mighty chivalrous gentleman. I dare say, Joe, that while he was listening to William Jennings Bryan orate about Adam he gave a couple of thoughts to Eve, too. Somehow, even to me, Joe, Eve does seem a little more chummy than her evolutionist rival, Mrs. *Pithecanthropus Erectus*. She does so!"

A Contrast to the Washington Conference

How the Negotiators of the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) Comported Themselves

HALF way between Delft and The Hague is a village named Ryswick; and near it then stood, in a rectangular garden, which was bounded by straight canals, and divided into formal woods, flower beds and melon beds, a seat of the Princes of Orange. The house seemed to have been built expressly for the accommodation of such a set of diplomatists as were to meet there. In the centre was a large hall painted by Honthorst. On the right hand and on the left were wings exactly corresponding to each other. Each wing was accessible by its own bridge, its own gate, and its own avenue. One wing was assigned to the Allies, the other to the French, the hall in the centre to the mediator [representing the King of Sweden].

Some preliminary questions of etiquette were, not without difficulty, adjusted; and at length, on the ninth of May, many coaches and six, attended by harbingers, footmen, and pages, approached the mansion by different roads. The Swedish Minister alighted at the grand entrance. The procession from The Hague came up the side alley on the right. The procession from Delft came up the side alley on the left. At the first meeting the full powers of the representatives of the belligerent Governments were delivered to the mediator. At the second meeting, forty-eight hours later, the mediator performed the ceremony of exchanging these full powers. Then several meetings were spent in settling how many carriages, how many horses, how many lacqueys, how many pages, each Minister should be entitled to bring to Ryswick; whether the serving men should carry canes; whether they should wear swords; whether they should have pistols in their holsters; who should take the upper hand in the public walks, and whose carriage should break the way in the streets. It soon appeared that the mediator would have to mediate, not only between the coalition and the French, but also between the different members of the coalition. The Imperial Ambassadors claimed a right to sit at the head of the table. The Spanish Ambassador would not admit this pretension, and tried to thrust himself in between two of them. The Imperial Ambassadors refused to call the Ambassadors of Electors and Commonwealths by the title of Excellency. "If I am not called Excellency," said the Minister of the Elector of Brandenburg, "my master will withdraw his troops from Hungary." . . .

It may easily be supposed that allies who were so punctilious in their dealings with each other were not likely to be very easy in their intercourse with the common enemy. The chief business of Harlay and Kaunitz was to watch each other's legs. Neither of them thought it consistent with

the dignity of the Crown which he served to advance towards the other faster than the other advanced towards him. If, therefore, one of them perceived that he had inadvertently stepped forward too quick, he went back to the door, and the stately minuet began again. The Ministers of Lewis drew up a paper in their own language. The German statesmen protested against this innovation, this insult to the dignity of the Holy Roman Empire, this encroachment on the rights of independent nations, and would not know anything about the paper till it had been translated from good French into bad Latin.

In the middle of April it was known to everybody at The Hague that Charles the Eleventh, King of Sweden, was dead, and had been succeeded by his son: but it was contrary to etiquette that any of the assembled envoys should appear to be acquainted with this fact till Lilienroth had made a formal announcement: it was not less contrary to etiquette that Lilienroth should make such an announcement till his equipages and his household had been put into mourning; and some weeks elapsed before his coachmakers and tailors had completed their task. At length, on the twelfth of June, he came to Ryswick in a carriage lined with black and attended by servants in black liveries, and there, in full congress, proclaimed that it had pleased God to take to Himself the most puissant King Charles the Eleventh. All the Ambassadors then condoled with their brother on the sad and unexpected news, and went home to put off their embroidery and to dress themselves in the garb of sorrow. In such solemn trifling week after week passed away. No real progress was made. Lilienroth had no wish to accelerate matters. While the congress lasted, his position was one of great dignity. He would willingly have gone on meditating forever. . . .

In June the hope of peace began to grow faint. Men remembered that the last war had continued to rage, year after year, while a congress was sitting at Nimeguen. The mediators had made their entrance into that town in February, 1676. The treaty had not been signed till February, 1679. Yet the negotiation of Nimeguen had not proceeded more slowly than the negotiation of Ryswick. It seemed but too probable that the eighteenth century would find great armies still confronting each other on the Meuse and the Rhine, industrious populations still ground down by taxation, fertile provinces still lying waste, the ocean still made impassable by corsairs, and the plenipotentiaries still exchanging notes, drawing up protocols, and quarrelling about the place where this Minister should sit, and the title by which that Minister should be called.—Macaulay's *History of England*, Chapter XXII.

New Books and Old

Books of the Week

MEMOIRS OF A MIDGET, by Walter de la Mare. Knopf.

A romance in prose by a poet.

POEMS AND PORTRAITS, by Don Marquis. Doubleday.

Serious poems, and "savage" portraits.

LENIN, by M. A. Landau-Aldanov. Dutton.

A study of the personality of the Russian leader by a Russian Socialist.

TAHITI, by George Calderon. Harcourt, Brace.

A non-sentimental book about Tahiti by a writer who spent four years in the islands.

THE MAGIC AND SCIENCE OF JEWELS AND STONES, by Isidore Kozminsky. Putnam.

What is known and what has been believed about precious stones.

Don Marquis writes seriously in his "Poems and Portraits" (Doubleday) as he did in his "Dreams and Dust"—although the book closes with some humorously venomous "savage portraits." Here is a poem from the first part of the book, one which is aptly quoted when so many of the brave lads who were too preoccupied with their own affairs to fight against Germany are now thumping their drums for little private war against France.

FRANCE

Thy thousand follies pass and leave thee stern,

Thy hundred madresses have left thee sane;

Rememberest thou old crimes and kings, and turn

To save a world from tyranny again. . . I love mine own land first, all lands above,

But after that, O France, I love That quick and angry grace of thine,

The calm, poised, noble soul of thee, That keen, scarred face, that vivid face of thine,

The head, the heart, the whole of thee!

M. A. Landau-Aldanov, the author of a study of "Lenin" (Dutton), is a Russian, a Socialist, and an anti-militarist. He thinks that not even Peter the Great has had so much influence on Russia as Vladimir Ilich Ulianov, who is known to the world by his pseudonym of Lenin. No man, he writes, not even Nicholas II, has done it more harm. He credits him with little mental ability, but defends him against the charge of personal corruption. He was never a paid agent of the Germans, though he may have taken German money for Bolshevik propaganda. He quotes a friend of Lenin as saying: "For the 'Cause,' Lenin would steal a pocketbook, if necessary." Personally incorruptible, he is content to live surrounded by thieves, provided they agree with his political theories.

More sympathetic with Lenin and his Government is Albert Rhys Williams's "Through the Russian Revolution" (Boni and Liveright). Mr. Williams, writing as an American newspaper correspondent wishing the revolution success, arrived in Petrograd in 1917, and ends his book with what he calls "the soviet against the capitalist world." Liberty, to this American gentleman, is a minor affair, as nearly as I can make out, compared with a chance to bellow unceasingly against capitalism; and a despotism in the United States would be a sweet savor in his nostrils, so long as a Communist was the despot. The illustrations, the reproductions of revolutionary manifestoes and Bolshevik posters, are of unusual interest.

The reviews of Kipling and Stevenson in Lionel Johnson's "Reviews and Critical Papers" (Dutton) make curious reading today. Johnson died in 1902 at the age of thirty-five. His review of "Life's Handicap" (which contains some of Kipling's best stories) appeared in 1891, and that of "Barrack Room Ballads" in 1892. He reviewed Stevenson's "Wrecker" in the same year. His notices are just enough, for

the most part, but like many critics he was too timid to award praise, too ready to find fault. He did not see how the merits in Kipling's work would outweigh the defects, and make a chronicle of the latter sound a bit absurd. The book lends strength to the saying that the history of literature is a record of the triumph of authors over critics.

Trying to express regret for one sin of omission, I have fallen into another. This letter explains:

SIR: In "New Books and Old" you refer to the English translation of "Maria Chapdelaine" *Suum cuique*. It has been translated by two Canadian men of letters, Mr. W. H. Blake, author of "Brown Waters," and Sir Andrew Macphail, editor of *The University Magazine*. The edition of "Maria Chapdelaine" published in Montreal in 1916 is enriched by the illustrations of the French-Canadian artist A. Suzor-Côté. Canada has not been slow to recognize the significance of this masterpiece.

Yours faithfully,

A. MACMECHAN

George Calderon, an English artist and dramatist, who was killed in Gallipoli, visited Tahiti in 1906 and spent four years. His book "Tahiti" (Harcourt) is illustrated with his own pencil-drawings—portraits of the natives, never idealized. He seems to have been a genuine observer; he kept his head, and laments the fate of a group of islands of exquisite climate, into which Europeans and Americans have introduced coffee, vanilla, oxen, goats, mice, mosquitoes, fleas, bicycles, telephones, ice machines, concertinas, cotton frocks, corrugated iron, Christianity, Mormonism, Munyon's remedies, mouth-organs, milk-shakes, tuberculosis, syphilis, and other amenities, "which have flourished exceedingly in that virgin soil and caused a number of modifications in the life of the natives, known collectively as Civilization."

A book after my own heart is "The Magic and Science of Jewels and Stones" (Putnam) by Isidore Kozminsky. With the knowledge of a scholar and the enthusiasm of an amateur the author has compiled a book of scientific information and superstitious lore about one of the most fascinating, beautiful, and useless subjects in the world. Useless, at least to me, not likely to be called upon to distinguish between beryls and jacinths, to advise any monarch whether his horoscope makes the opal a stone advisable for him to possess, and in little need to be warned against the baleful influence upon its owner of the Hope Diamond. Charms, the connection between precious stones and astrology, the literary associations of gems and amulets, a description of stones from azurite to zircon, and a number of beautiful illustrations in color make the book as memorable as a visit to Lurgan Sahib in "Kim."

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

"THE Passing of Mud" is the title of one of the chapters in Ralph Henry Gabriel's "The Evolution of Long Island" (Yale University Press). Mr. Gabriel is an assistant professor of history at Yale, but I make bold to ask him why he thinks the mud has passed. Certain I am that if all the mud which I have scraped off my boots as a result of traversing a certain road between Manor and Centre Moriches were heaped up in a pile it would make a mound at least half the size of Shelter Island. As many times I have pushed and pulled flivvers, automobiles, and limousines out of muddy ruts on Long Island, as there are villages and towns on that island with names ending in "ogue." How many are there, by the way? I tried to make a list one dark night: Quogue, Aquebogue, Cutchogue, Patchogue, Quogue, Wickapogue, Apaquogue, it is like a chorus of bull-frogs in a pool.

"The Monkey's Paw" by W. W. Jacobs is one of the best of short stories, and a chance to see it on the stage is not to be neglected. Mr. Augustin Duncan is to be thanked for producing it, as a curtain-raiser to "S.S. Tencacity." The dramatist, Louis N. Parker, had little to do, the story almost acts itself, but it is curious to see how the pitiful tragedy of the old couple, their loss, and the cruel trick played upon them by fate, usurps on the stage the element of mystery and of ingenious plot which are the chief features of the story. At the end, in this production, there is substituted, for the knocking at the door, a grisly scratching sound, as the dead man fumbles frantically outside his father's cottage. This adds to the horror of the situation, but the sound is more easily explainable than the knocking—which can only mean that the son has come, in answer to the magic power of the monkey's paw, to revisit the glimpses of the moon, and make night hideous.

Book Reviews

The Inconclusive He

SIMON CALLED PETER. By Robert Keable. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

ADAM AND CAROLINE. By Conal O'Riordan. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

A STRIKING after-war phenomenon is the emergence of a fiction which, instead of badgering the corpse of yesterday, notes that it is a corpse and passes on. It assumes various matters that but now were points of embittered and increasingly tedious argument. It assumes that maturity is senile, that dignity is asinine, that modesty is a bore. It ascribes all wisdom to the nosing puppy and all charm to the shrieking flapper. It assumes that the flapper loves a puppy who noses, and that the puppy delights in a flapper who shrieks; and that neither can reasonably carry love beyond the hour or the moment when the cosmic hunger (that is, the individual desire) is sated. Self-realization is the thing: one doesn't realize oneself by exercising the domestic virtues or the social restraints of yester-year. One lets go the twig of creation on the chance of landing somewhere, and anyone who happens to be strolling beneath does so at his or her own risk. The hero of this fiction is a person without solid belief in anything but the sacred claims and exemptions of his own fluttering ego. He need not do or be anything useful or generous or even ordinarily sensible. He takes what he wants when he wants it, meanwhile keeping up an incessant patter of bootstrap philosophy. He moves about his world like a skitter-bug on a puddle, and expects everybody to be intensely interested in his gyrations. That's what he is skittering for.

The two novels before us are not extravagant examples of this kind of fiction, but it is what they come down to. They are everything that is brilliant and "well-written" in the lesser senses. There is more than a trace of original flavor about them both. Neither of them is concerned with the grosser and more casual forms of "self-realization" so often propounded nowadays. Neither Adam nor Peter is a dirty fellow. But (and here is the real ground of my old-fashioned complaint) neither of them is much of anything: except a bundle of more or less amiable, if uniformly self-centred, impulses and possibilities. Now the theory of this interpretation, I take it, is that we are all really this kind of youth: those of us who have the luck to be alive—that is, young—at all. Some of us are ashamed of the situation and try to conceal it from ourselves even—but there we are, all Adams or Peters, and why not be frank about it? Well, the only answer I think of is that there is no harm in being frank about the ordinariness of ordinary men; but that what we live for, what keeps us alive, is the faith in the extraordinary man

or youth, here and there, to whom belongs some force or beauty, some heroic quality of character to which the rest of us cannot attain. And our faith in this marvel is so strong and unshakable that a realism which denies or ignores it never, whatever its verisimilitude, gets hold of us as real at all. A skitter-bug is nothing to worry about, and there is no profit or fun either in a hero if you can't worry about him.

Mr. Kemble's Peter skitters from the outset. He is, we are to suppose, a good young Anglican parson, a brilliant preacher, affianced to a nice conventional English girl. The war comes; he is presently a chaplain in France; discovers that his religious formula is of no great account there; losing his formula, loses by degrees all his faith. He becomes enamored of a nurse from South Africa. She is a vulgar, flashy little thing, the shrieking flapper in her belated twenties. She loves indecent limericks and the coquetties of underwear and bibulous "parties" and sitting on young men's knees. Peter the puppy-padre adores her. And the sad thing is that a reader whose generation or tastes do not permit him to admire her can feel only contempt for the Peter who does. But, indeed, in the end we see that Peter is not really too good for her. His emotional welcome of a new religious faith, and the romantic sacrifice which Julie makes for him (after being voluptuously his week-end mistress at last) are equally therefore empty gestures. . . . For the rest, the reading of this book is thirsty work. From the moment when Peter dons his padre's uniform and steps on the train at Victoria Station to the moment when, cursing God for robbing him of Julie, he leaves her alone in a London hotel, he is more or less comfortably saturated with alcohol. Surely, for our reformed sakes, something should be done by the Volstead actors in connection with this sort of imported provocation.

"Adam and Caroline" is the second number of 'a trilogy or worse—the sequel of "Adam of Dublin" to our knowledge and the precursor of "Adam and Barbara" by the author's admission. As the first two volumes of Adam's story bring him no further than sixteen, there seems no reason why he should not in time expand to the now classic proportions of "Jean-Christophe." I did not see "Adam of Dublin," but it appears to have "covered" the first dozen years of Adam Byron O'Toole Dudley Wyndham Innocent Macfadden, an ill-gotten little guttersnipe with a strain of good blood in him. At twelve he is rescued from his immediate forebear—extremely disreputable persons, and becomes the ward of one Stephen Macarthy, an indubitable Irish gentleman, a man of learning and of sardonic wit. The mood in which he and his cronies are conceived recalls nothing so much as that of "Tristram Shandy," though there is not the remotest resemblance in manner. And at times the note of satire is nearer Swift than Sterne.

This is not a light book; there are many things in it for many men. But the Greek motto betrays its not hopeful animus. As the Anglican "padre" in "Simon Called Peter" sees at the end a flickering vision of safety in the bosom of Roman dogma, so conversely Adam, having lost belief in that dogma, finds himself adrift in a casual world. Between superstition and blasphemy he sees no middle way. We can only suspect that blasphemy will not have the last word with him. What I cannot patiently endure in this book is the brutal insensitiveness with which Adam meets the piteous end of Caroline. And I confess that the elaborate satirical affair of Mr. Tinkler and his play seems to me quite out of place, or at least out of proportion, in Adam's story. But there is (whatever there is not) a fine careless play of humor and fancy and tenderness about the book as a whole, and I wouldn't have missed it for a wilderness of "Main Streets."

H. W. BOYNTON

Ireland from the Union to the Famine

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF IRELAND FROM THE UNION TO THE FAMINE. By George O'Brien. New York: Longmans, Green and Co.

A VETO, or at least a judicious censorship, for some years upon all historical writings about the Irish Question would have much to recommend it at the present time. Despite some recent sombre warnings, we trust that that Question has indeed "passed into history," and it will be all the likelier to remain there if the history is not written too soon. A quarrel needs to be healed very thoroughly indeed before it is safe for either of the parties to rehearse the record in public. Thus not a few persons who welcome Dr. O'Brien's book for the variety and compass of its learning, the lucid vigor of its style, its manifold riches, both in instructiveness and in suggestion, will be tempted to regret that a monograph upon such a subject should have appeared just now. For no man can tell the horrible economic story of Ireland from the Union to the Famine without reviving in thought a great deal that would be well forgotten. One of the obstacles to an Anglo-Irish *entente* is just the abnormal retentiveness of the Celtic memory for ancient grievance and ancestral feud and racial wrong. The "faculty of obliviscence," which Carlyle valued not less than the faculty of recollection, will find in Dr. O'Brien's book a new impediment in its way.

But the author may protest that with these ulterior consequences he has nothing to do. His purpose is historical, and it is as history—detached altogether from propagandist aims—that his work must be judged. He sets out to answer the question: Why did Ireland become so discontented with the Union of 1800 and demand so insistently to have it repealed? Dr. O'Brien is well aware of the so-called "political"

reasons, and he does not minimize their importance. But his concern in the present book is with the economic reasons, and he finds these more than sufficient by themselves. He sets them forth in three divisions, showing how Ireland suffered in respect of (1) her agricultural resources; (2) her non-agricultural resources—including mines, fisheries, and manufacturing industry; (3) the public finance and taxation under which she was brought. The indictment of the British alliance is very powerful indeed, and it is free from those faults which are traditionally associated with Irish controversial methods. There is no rhetoric in these pages, and there is no declamation; just a marshalling of facts and a citing of documents and a chain of cogent though not always conclusive reasoning, in a style that is strictly and even severely restrained.

Dr. O'Brien's work is thus of a very high order in a field where work is often poor. It is not indeed "impartial," if by impartiality we mean the absence from the historian's own mind of any clear convictions about the moral which his facts support. The main thesis of this author is that the vast economic disasters of Ireland after 1800 were in great measure *consequent* upon the Legislative Union, not merely *subsequent* to it, as English apologists so often allege. He has clearly no faith in Mr. Balfour's explanation by "tragic coincidences of Irish history." The decay of agriculture during the years from 1800 to 1845, the progressive impoverishment of the Irish farmer, the ghastly ineffectiveness of the Relief measures adopted during the Famine, the declining strength of a whole series of Irish industries, the crushing burden and unfair incidence of taxes both imperial and local—these and other national calamities are traced in great part to the unequal partnership into which Ireland had been drawn. In the matter of agriculture, for example, Dr. O'Brien argues that the true remedy a hundred years ago lay in (1) fixing an equitable scheme for distribution of profits between landlord and tenant, and (2) reclaiming the vast areas of waste land. The remedy adopted, on the contrary, was "consolidation"—the eliminating of small holdings, and the consequent driving of great numbers of small farmers with their families abroad. The smart English apologist has often declared that Irish distress arose from three sources, the obsolete methods, the sedentary tastes, and the reckless fecundity of the Irish farmer. This author has no difficulty in showing that these explanations are partly baseless, and partly themselves to be explained by those unjust conditions of rural life which the Union either fostered or created. The truth, as Dr. O'Brien sees it, was that English policy aimed at imposing a uniform system upon two countries whose economic needs were widely different. Nor will he admit that the error was simply or chiefly one of judgment. He draws

attention to the long series of commissions on Irish matters whose advice was persistently ignored by successive Governments that had appointed them, except when the commissioners advised some harshly repressive measure. "The strict observance," he says, "of the indivisibility of the United Kingdom was relaxed in the case of one branch of legislation, namely, coercion acts."

The book is a perfect storehouse of minute and detailed information about many branches of Irish industry. No doubt critics will often dissent from its account of the facts, for in such a field theory is implicit in the way in which the facts are set forth. For Dr. O'Brien history proves that Johnson was absolutely right in his warning to an Irish friend: "Do not unite with us. We would unite with you only to rob you." And the painful thing about the book is that so much of it is incapable of being refuted.

But it is fair to point out that the author has managed to make his story worse even than the facts support. Dr. O'Brien is extremely indignant at the imposition of Free Trade upon an agricultural country whose interests called for a tariff, but—whether he is right or wrong in this—he should not ignore those most commendable motives which dictated the abolition of the Corn Laws. He exaggerates that race-selfishness to which he ascribes so much of England's lamentable Irish policy from 1800 to 1845. No doubt there was intense selfishness in it, but we have no proof that it was just selfishness of *race*. The writer is somehow obsessed with the idea of the English Minister as seeking always to exalt English nationality at the expense of the nationality of the sister island. It is at least as probable that it was his own *class* that the Minister favored, at the expense of other classes—English, Scottish, Irish—alike. If the legend of over-population was being spread abroad to explain away the sufferings of the Irish peasantry, the legend of over-production was being used at the same time to discount the grievances of the English artisan. The horrors of absentee landlordism on one side of the Channel can be matched with the horrors of the Industrial Revolution on the other side, nor were the captains of industry more scrupulous than the owners of estates. If the Ireland of the time was the Ireland we see in Maria Edgeworth's "Castle Rackrent," George Borrow's "Lavengro," Carleton's "Tales," Thackeray's "Sketch-Book," was not the England of the same time as the England shown in Disraeli's "Sybil," Dickens's "Hard Times," Mrs. Gaskell's "Mary Barton," Kingsley's "Yeast"? It was in 1833 that Macaulay, speaking in the House of Commons, declared that of the long and melancholy list of Irish grievances recited by O'Connell there was not one which was not a subject of bitter complaint while Ireland had a domestic parliament. "Is it fair,"

(Continued on page 204)

The Pennsylvania Academy

PHILADELPHIA has been conservative in its Academy exhibitions, and this year the 117th annual display of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts is ultra conservative, of uniform good quality, without spectacular features or radical departures from the beaten track of art.

The Academy prefers to fly the colors of Sargent rather than the pennant of Cézanne, although the latter has his followers in the present exhibition. The distinguished American is represented by at least three examples



of portraiture and figure-work, the brilliant presentment of Helleu and Wife, the rather conservative portrait of Charles H. Woodbury, and his "Dolce Far Niente," a loan from the Brooklyn Museum.

For her fantastic conceit, the "Sea-weed Fountain," in bronze, Miss Beatrice Fenton, of Philadelphia, was awarded the George D. Widener Gold Memorial Medal for the most meritorious work of sculpture shown in the exhibition.

The modern school includes Hugh H. Breckenridge, who is represented by "Mirage," "Fire," and "The Valley"; by Leon Kroll, who offers "The Mountains," a Cézanne-like landscape; and Ross E. Moffett, who contributes his "Cattle on the Moors," a landscape showing originality.

CHARLES HENRY DORR

Marvels of Modern Science —Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony

WIRELESS communication—which makes possible instant transmission of messages between distant parts "having no physical connection save that of the earth, air and water," is one of the most modern and interesting of sciences.

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How to Make Wireless Sending Apparatus, <i>By Experts</i>	32c

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HERALD SQUARE

NEW YORK

(Continued from page 203)

he exclaimed, "is it reasonable in the honorable gentleman to impute to the Union evils which, as he knows better than any other man in this House, existed long before the Union?" It is indeed in his imputing of motives that Dr. O'Brien has shown a little less than the charity which we might expect so long after the horrors on which he dwells had been repented of and repaired. But his information is abundant, he has much light to cast on the persisting causes of Irish discontent, and among the many provocative things in his book he has given us everywhere that which provokes to thought.

HERBERT L. STEWART

Under the Maples

UNDER THE MAPLES. By John Burroughs.
Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company.

JOHAN BURROUGHS'S last volume is what we might wish it—not long essays, with steady, continued subjects, but gatherings of shorter theses, some almost paragraphic in brevity, all casual and gossipy. Reminiscence is strong in many of them, with consequent repetitions of facts which we recall in earlier volumes, and which gain in the repetition. It is an unconscious résumé of the field of nature—the quiet, easy glance of a farmer after his life's work, contemplating the ripened glory of the subjects of his interest. The only tares in this field are the dips into more technically scientific themes. Many scientists and naturalists turn, late in life, toward spiritualism or other form of psychic interest, usually to their and our loss, for they bring to bear not long meditation and study, but an unbalanced sudden desire to see and to know, which too often results in an imaginative seeing and knowing. Burroughs, toward his later days, developed a tendency to desert the field which he had made peculiarly his own—the gentle and charming observation of things and living beings at his elbow, and to take to technical book learning of scientific problems. These he then discussed and criticized with no more preparation than the momentary reaction of his very orderly, excellent brain. The results are often valueless, and he himself, had he lived, would have been the first to realize that just as it is impossible to rush through woods and fields at full speed and correctly record the life therein, so is it manifestly impossible and unfair hastily to judge philosophic problems whose presentation has been based on years of patient investigation and serious study.

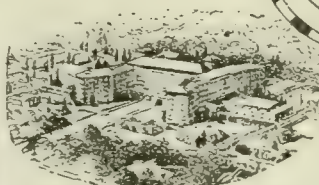
Burroughs' final paragraph deals with a subject upon which his dictum is as final—or as futile—as that of any of us. It begs the question as it must for all of us, yet it does all that such opinions can ever do, it stimulates our wonder and desire to learn a little more of the great mystery of life, and, in learning, to transform it into something worth while:



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WILLIAM BEEBE

Drama

Baliev on Broadway

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DESPITE the extraordinary triumph of Nikita Baliev and his little troupe at the Forty-Ninth Street Theatre, it may be objected that his entertainment has little or nothing to do with drama. Even those who have been wildest in their applause may consider that the "Chauve Souris" is nothing more than "super-cabaret," or vaudeville sublimated. They may point out that it is only a Russian revue, which was born in a night-restaurant of Moscow, an offshoot of the famous Art Theatre directed by Stanislavsky. More inhibited enthusiasts may point out that the individual offerings, the "numbers" that have been most vociferously acclaimed, do not possess even the merit of true novelty. "The Porcelaine de Saxe," for instance, in which tiny figures of an old clock come to life and live over again the romance of other days, may recall an effective little one-act play offered years ago by Alfred Kreymborg in his little theatre. "The Parade of the Wooden Soldiers," likewise, embodies an idea that has been used and misused in American musical comedy, revue, and vaudeville. The same is true of the Italian "grand opera" burlesque. We have never been lacking in any type of novelty in our American theatre. Our managers have almost made a religion of it. Where, then, are we to discover the secret of Baliev's triumph? Why does his modest little entertainment furnish so exhilarating an evening at the theatre?

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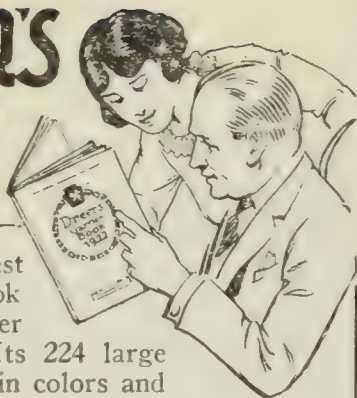
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take of thinking that amusement is, in some mysterious fashion, something outside the realm of discrimination and criticism. Laughter, these industrious gentlemen feel, cannot be coördinated with intelligence. They have forgotten, if they ever knew, the formula of Molière: no comedy without truth, no truth without laughter. They assume that Americans cannot laugh and think at the same time. And in the creation of purely visual spectacles, where the aim is to impress with visual beauty, these gentlemen too often confuse expense with expression. They provide us with extravagantly expensive scenes and costumes, orgiastic riots—riots surely—of color. In the dance, they prefer energy to grace: as though the delight of the audience must consist in contrasting its own leisurely passivity with that frenzy of bodily energy expended on the stage, that ill-disguised effort that subconsciously but continuously emphasizes how *hard* these performers are working for our amusement. Conspicuous expense in scenery and costumes, hard work on the part of chorus and comedians—these are the ordinary commercial substitutes for amusement and art.

Baliev triumphs in more strategic fashion. There is a sober economy in everything he does, an economy never niggardly but made expressive by a native gayety and intelligence. There is never apparent in his entertainment any strain, any effort to force a point, to cram comedy down our throats. The audience is assumed to be intelligent until proven otherwise. To New York audiences nothing could be more flattering; and small wonder that they are paying opera prices for this treat in a Broadway theatre. The miracle is the more amazing, the magic the greater, in that Baliev has merely snatched up these unconsidered trifles of Russian life, and by the very modesty of his means transmuted them into gems of theatrical expression. The lesson here is not merely for the Broadway manager, but for the American dramatist as well. Let the latter realize the unmined treasure in amusement, mere amusement if you please, but amusement allied with truth. Because our Broadway theatres have shamelessly advertised themselves as "places of amusement," too many of our "little theatres" have haughtily refused to admit amusement into their offerings.

Baliev and his troupe are of value in another way. Much more than the translations or adaptations of the plays of Gorky or Tolstoy, of Chekov or Andreyev, interpreted usually in a heavy fog of gloom, much more illuminatingly than these versions which are periodically offered to us, the Bat Theatre gives us directly and with salient emphasis the very spirit of the Russian people: not the Russian soul filtered and exaggerated through the mind of dramatist or novelist, but caught *sur le vif* at play. It will no longer be possible to talk convincingly of the "mysterious Russian soul, steeped

in the gloom of the steppes," or in words to that effect. Baliev reveals the Muscovite as human, indomitably, courageously gay, and with a native and philosophical resignation. In this entertainment, Nikita Baliev proves himself a true envoy of those misunderstood and misrepresented Russians. He reveals them as a singularly expressive and innocent folk, untroubled apparently by social and political constraints—and possibly for this very reason the pitiful victims of slaves of a fixed idea.

The Chauve Souris illuminates with entirely unexpected flashes the life depicted in the novels and plays of the great Russians of the past. The songs of Glinka, sung in a scene suggesting the balcony of an old Russian house, against a curtain saturated with the atmosphere of the early nineteenth century—here is Pushkin in miniature; the gypsies singing at Yard's (Moscow, 1840) entertaining a lovesick young couple spellbound by the mystery of these weird melodies—they evoke that mad night in the tavern indulged in by Dmitri and Grushenka in "The Brothers Karamazov," no less than one of the opening scenes in Tolstoy's "The Living Corpse," played here by John Barrymore as "Redemption." In the *chastuchki*, the ditties of the working folk, sung against a marvelously suggestive though fragmentary background designed by Nicholas Remisov, one seemed to catch a glimpse of that deep crystal sky, that sense of distance and color that lights up, in some inexplicable fashion, the pages of Anton Chekov's tales. The "Chorus of the Zaitzov Brothers," executed frankly in the spirit of burlesque, suggested nevertheless the ragamuffin world of Maxim Gorky. In the creation of these moods, no little praise must be awarded to Messrs. Remisov and Soudeikin, who seem to possess a magic power of expressing much with the utmost economy of line and color. They exhibit an entirely admirable vigor and directness, a simplicity that is never lacking in expressiveness.

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The Bankers Say—

IN no uncertain terms the banks of the country are discussing in their business reviews the major problems of public financial policy that confront the nation today. The question of the soldier bonus, the agricultural bloc and its activities in behalf of the farmer, legislative tampering with the Federal Reserve Board personnel, the tariff, and the question of Europe's debts to the United States, are all subjected to searching analysis. These bank opinions on such various controversial issues occupy a particularly valuable place in current thought. Bankers, their responsibilities being what they are, are necessarily accustomed to dealing with the business problems that daily come before them on the basis of concrete facts rather than of partisanship, founding their judgments not on considerations of class prejudice or political expediency, but rather on fundamental economic considerations.

On the question of Europe's debts to the United States, which has perhaps not yet reached so highly controversial a stage as it may reach later, B. M. Anderson, Jr., Economist of the Chase National Bank, New York, says: "The Governments of the United States and Great Britain should propose to cancel the debts which their Continental allies owe them. The question of the debt of Great Britain to the United States need not come into this consideration at all. Great Britain is solvent. Great Britain does not ask that her debt be canceled, and Great Britain will ultimately pay the debt if we are properly considerate in giving her time. It is the cancellation of the debts of France, Italy, and other Continental countries to the United States Government that is suggested, and with that the cancellation by Great Britain of the debts which these Continental countries owe her. The agreement should involve also the undertaking by the financial interests of the United States, of Great Britain, and of Japan to place with investors in these three countries large blocks of Continental securities so as to provide large new funds to aid in the restoration of Europe." This plan should be made contingent, among other things, he says "on necessary reforms in public finance, in currency, in tariff restrictions and in the settlement of the German indemnity."

On the question of the farmer problem, the Northwestern National Bank, Minneapolis, sees the need of strengthening the financial position of agriculture. It says: "When the banking system of the country was overhauled with the result of establishing the Federal Reserve system, the business of banking was fortified against panic and disaster. Agriculture as a whole has never been similarly fortified. For many thousands of producers, farming is a fair weather project. We are just passing through what may be called an agricultural panic. A great many

producers—those chiefly who have relied upon diversified methods—are weathering this without disaster, but others have been caught in the jam. Although agriculture, like banking before 1914, stands upon a good foundation, it is liable to succumb under surprise attacks." There is needed, the bank says, "some method of financing farmers for periods of time ranging from six months to three years. Such a provision would go far towards guarding against an agricultural panic, which conceivably could happen again—though, truth to tell, this bank is so convinced of the value of diversified farming that it believes that a widespread dependence on this method would alone nullify such so-called panics."

The Mechanics and Metals National Bank, New York, points out the danger of class legislation in meeting the farmers' problems, saying: "The agricultural bloc is in agreement that special laws should be enacted in the interest of farmers as a class. The readiness with which legislators have rallied to overcome the plight of agriculture has not failed in its effect on other industries, and producers of coal and other raw materials suffering from low prices and narrow markets, manufacturers in fear of foreign competition, exporters with their trade opportunities paralyzed, ship operators with idle boats, ex-soldiers out of work—all are now making out strong cases for Government assistance. In politics it is at best a disagreeable task to oppose a large group of one's constituency, and members of Congress, when looking ahead for reelection, have always had a human failing of voting as they think their action will affect such reelection. It would appear that more than ever education along right economic lines is necessary today, not alone of ignorant people, but of sincere, earnest and conscientious people, Congressmen among them, who do not properly appreciate the reasons underlying existing conditions, and who look to legislation for artificial relief."

The New York Trust Company says, in regard to the attempt to force a "dirt farmer" on the Federal Reserve Board: "If it is to continue to command respect and to discharge its functions as a non-political and scientific institution for the management of the nation's banking system, the Board cannot have imposed upon it the representatives of special interests. Once started on the downward path of such a policy as this there would be no stopping point in the degradation of the Board to the position of a group of log-rollers, each working for some special interest, and leaving the interest of the community as a whole to take care of itself."

In regard to Federal taxation, Otto H. Kahn, of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., New York, says: "The principles of the revenue measure stand disclosed as

breeders of harm to all the people. It is a measure unscientific, inequitable in its operation, cumbersome, vexatious and intolerably complex. It bears the imprint of class and sectional discrimination. It penalizes thrift and industry, but leaves the wastrel and shirker untouched. It discourages, disturbs, and impedes business and places the American business man at a disadvantage as against his European competitor in the markets of the world. In short, it is bound to interfere gravely and in many ways with the needs and the attainments and the prosperity and progress of the country. In order to restore normalcy to our economic life and industrial activities, our surtaxes must be reduced to the figure courageously recommended and convincingly advocated by the Secretary of the Treasury, namely, a maximum rate which does not exceed 33 per cent. But such a reduction is inconceivable from the point of view of practical politics without a simultaneous reduction of the normal tax and a downward revision of the entire scale of surtaxes. A downward revision of the whole structure of normal and surtaxes would doubtless result in a reduction of the revenue derived from that source. Therefore, we must look for a new source which can be tapped. I know of none which offers so many advantages and is so free from objections as the so-called sales or turnover tax."

The Commonwealth Trust Company, Boston, says, regarding the soldier bonus: "If there is a real political necessity for some kind of a soldiers' bonus to be given to the men who were drafted for the Great War, it seems as if another way could be devised to meet it than by a direct cash payment. Since the question has now become one of political expedience, it is useless to debate either the wisdom of giving any further bonuses whatever or the difference between such rewards offered by the Government in other wars in return for voluntary enlistment and service, and the payment now suggested to draftees over and above their stipulated wages. Moreover, since most of the States have made cash payments to such of their citizens as were enrolled in the army, another cash payment by the general Government to the same men suggests the possibility of its becoming an annual custom as a desirable vote-getting measure. Let there be no confusion about this matter. It is not a question of taking care of men whose health or earning capacity were affected by service in the war, nor of looking after the families and dependents of those who died, but involves only a direct bonus to the able-bodied. The real objection to giving this reward in the form of cash is because of the possibility of its coming up after a first or a second payment as a constantly recurring demand on the part of the more improvident and perhaps least deserving, who will soon learn to look to the Government for permanent support."



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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
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I. Newsless France.

1. Explain the principal differences between French newspapers and newspapers in the United States.
2. What notable differences exist between the front page of a French newspaper and the front page of a newspaper in the United States?
3. Give your reasons for believing, or for not believing, that the "make-up" of American newspapers is superior to that of French newspapers.
4. What is the attitude of French newspapers toward the publication of news? What is the ideal attitude?
5. Explain how newspapers affect the internal and external policies of a country.
6. What sort of newspaper does most substantial service for the country in which it is printed?
7. Prepare an article on the history of newspapers in the United States. In the article tell not only the name of the first newspaper printed in the United States, but also the names of the newspapers that have exerted great influence for good.
8. Write a somewhat similar article in which you point out differences between school papers with which you are familiar.

II. Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor.

1. Explain the title. What sort of article does it suggest?
2. Read what is said about Bayard Taylor; then read what is said about him in some good encyclopedia. Write a letter in which you speak of Bayard Taylor, and at the same time name some of his books that your friend, to whom you write, might enjoy reading.
3. Give a talk on the personality and the work of F. Hopkinson Smith. Consult any encyclopedia for facts concerning him. In particular, name some of his books in which your classmates would be interested.

III. Is There a Law of Human Progress?

1. Explain how Dr. Slosson answers the question that forms the title.
2. Why, according to Dr. Slosson, does civilization proceed so slowly?

IV. Lem Hooper on Evolution

1. Explain in what respects the article is somewhat like the articles that form the "Sir Roger de Coverley Papers."
2. Write a similar satirical article on some well-known characteristic of the members of your class, writing your article in a way that will amuse without offending. Aim at the correction of some slight fault.

V. Modes of Travel in Many Lands

1. Write a description of any one of the pictures of travel.
2. Imagine that you have traveled in one of the countries represented. Write a letter in which you tell of one of the situations shown in the pictures. Give your point of view; introduce much of personality, and do all that you can to make your description true and unusually interesting.

VI. New Books and Old. Book Reviews.

1. Imagine that you have been asked to select one of the books for your personal use. Write a letter in which you name the book that you select, and your reasons for making the selection.
2. Read aloud the poem called "France." Explain the references to "follies," "madnesses," "kings," "scarred face," and "heart." How is the poem related to "A Tale of Two Cities"?
3. What are the characteristics of the new book by John Burroughs? In what ways does this book differ from his other works?
4. John Burroughs's particular field is said to be "The gentle and charming observation of things and living beings at his elbow." Explain how his best books illustrate this.

VII. State Control of Strikes.

1. Point out the principal proposition that the writer sets forward. Point out the subordinate statements by which he supports this principal proposition.

VIII. The Bonus—a Question of Principle and Not of Finance.

1. What is the writer's belief concerning the soldiers' bonus? What are the arguments in favor of the bonus? What are the arguments against the bonus?

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. The Bonus—a Question of Principle and Not of Finance. The Domestic Budget.

1. Why is the soldiers' bonus called "a moral issue"?
2. State the case for and against the bonus.
3. Show how our experience with Civil War pensions bears on the case.
4. Describe the political and financial complications of the question. Explain "bond," "Treasury note," "sales tax."

II. Fanciful Fears, A Contrast to the Washington Conference, The Yap Treaty and the Cable Treaty.

1. Explain the advantages of the Four-Power Treaty. Show how a similar fear arose in the irreconcilables in regard to the Treaty of Versailles.
2. Describe the origin of the question of Yap. Show how it has been settled.
3. Explain the system of mandates established by the Treaty of Versailles.
4. Describe the situation in Europe at the time of the Peace of Ryswick.
5. Contrast the purposes as well as the procedure of the meetings at Washington and at Ryswick.
6. Explain the settlement at Ryswick.

III. State Control of Strikes.

1. Look up and describe the English "Statute of Labourers."
2. Why is the strike regarded by working men as an indispensable weapon?
3. Explain the objections to the New York bills.
4. Look up compulsory arbitration and explain its weakness.
5. Add to your discussion of last week any new points on what is a justifiable and what is an unjustifiable limitation of the right to strike.
6. Explain the editor's remedy for dealing with strikes against the public safety.
7. What are the most important means which have proved successful in allaying industrial unrest?

IV. The Hague Courts, The Peace Palace Revisited.

1. Describe the origin of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and of the Permanent Court of International Justice.
2. Compare their jurisdiction. In case members of the League of Nations do not wish to submit a dispute to either court what organs of the League might be called in to help solve the difficulty?
3. Describe the way in which the question of selection of judges of the Court of Justice was solved. How did they solve the question of representation of large and small nations, of different systems of law?

V. The Agricultural Outlook Improving.

1. Show on the map what states would be most affected by the increased prices of each of the following: corn, hogs, sheep, cattle, wool, wheat, cotton.

VI. Doom of the Federation of Central American Republics.

1. Describe the relations of the United States with these republics. Show how any of them are connected with our food supply.

VII. The British Empire.

1. Why are "the next few weeks" probably "the most grave and critical" in Ireland?
2. State carefully the attitude of the British Government on the Egyptian situation and on the Indian situation.

VIII. Newsless France.

1. How do you think the character of French and American newspapers, as here contrasted, affects democracy in the respective countries?
2. Explain as fully as you can how "France is the pivot around which revolve all the creaking wheels of European politics."

IX. Germany.

1. Show how the "reforms" mentioned here are connected with the question of reparations.
2. Review the main difficulties in the payment of German reparations.

X. Helps for Austria.

1. Show how the Great War affected the territory and economic situation of Austria.
2. Explain why she is in danger of collapse.

XI. The Ferment in Russia.

1. Describe developments in Russia in relation to the Soviet Government, Germany, and the Genoa Conference.

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

March 4, 1922



Britain and America—the Great Opportunity

By P. W. Wilson

OF platitudes about Anglo-American coöperation we have had a plethora, and if in London, at the dinner of the Pilgrims to Mr. Balfour, only the usual platitudes had been perorated, no comment would have been required here. But there were messages of no ordinary wording from President Harding and King George, and the speeches of Lord Curzon as Foreign Secretary and Colonel Harvey as Ambassador of the United States obviously meant more than a formal compliment, however well deserved, to the guest of the evening. In addition, Mr. Balfour has been offered once more an Earldom and with it the Order of the Garter, which latter distinction is seldom conferred upon "a Commoner"—Lord Palmerston and Sir Edward Grey, as he was then, being the only precedents. It means that there is a new era in diplomacy. Something of genuine importance has happened. One volume has been closed and another has been opened. An estrangement has been brought to an end. The relations between two cousinly countries have become definitely more intimate.

It is a result to which many circumstances have contributed. The Irish Question has been at last transferred to Ireland. We who said from the first that in the nature of things there could be no rivalry on the ocean between the navies of the Republic and the Empire have been found right and the prophets of hatred have been found wrong. The entire fabric of argument on which Mr. Hearst, for instance, based his forecasts of war has been shattered. The United States is the one country from which Great Britain has acknowledged defeat. And to contest with the United States the command of the Pacific was an unthinkable suggestion. Yet it was made, and by some who should have known better.

The miscalculation of a writer like George Bernard Shaw, who foretold that in ten years we who speak English would be at one another's throats, is simple. He saw England as imperialist only. He saw in America only the materialism. Hence he drew the conclusion that over oil and Ireland and Japan there would be a dog fight, bloody, inevitable, and suicidal, which news naturally interested a well-known section of the press. It was seeing all of Main Street except the prayer-meeting. It was estimating Sodom and Gomorrha without the ten righteous men. It was supposing that statesmen, because they don't write stage-plays, must be merely stupid. It was the conceit of

the cleverness that has outstripped its own reverence. Bernard Shaw, the brilliant, was beaten by Mr. Hughes, the Baptist. It was not the Socialists who kept faith with ideals but the corporation lawyer.

Possibly the situation was masked by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. It was assumed that this instrument was intended to ensure a balance of power in the Pacific between Japan and the United States. What concerned Britain was never that balance of power, but only the preservation of peace, and it was the risk of war alone that rendered her reluctant to abandon the Alliance until a more general solution had been reached. In strategy, it was certain that such a war would, at the outset, impinge more severely on Australia and India than on the United States herself. It would have been found impossible for Britain to remain neutral. If she had tried to stay out of the struggle it would have been open to her nationals everywhere to supply aid and comfort to both sides; her mercantile marine would have been at the mercy of both the Japanese and the American navies; incidents would have occurred on the high seas which must have aroused deep feeling in many quarters; and Britain, therefore, would have had no chance of avoiding complications except in belligerency. From the first shot onwards, her place would have been, by choice and necessity, on the side of the United States. Hence her profound desire for a *modus vivendi* in China, between the Governments at Washington and Tokyo. What the solution was, she minded a good deal less than that there should be a solution.

For Britain it is thus a supreme source of satisfaction that the peace has not been broken. It is idle to claim that the questions affecting China have been settled. But by her agreement not to fortify Guam, the United States has deliberately withdrawn her effective navy from the Far East. Hawaii is her most advanced base, and at Hawaii her fleets are beyond cruising range of the Philippines or of Japan herself. With her conscript army and her impregnable naval bases, Japan is thus left predominate over the littoral of China and Siberia; for many years to come she cannot be touched, except by diplomacy and argument. The hope in Britain is that, assured of this period of tranquillity, Japan will respond to the liberal forces which are sweeping over the world while China and India render themselves more and more capable of an autonomous and united sovereignty. By such an evolution of democracy

the East would escape the terrible disaster of a war which would impoverish America and ruin Asia. In her efforts to stabilize India and the Near East, Britain enjoys the sympathy of whatever is responsible and authoritative in the opinion of the United States, while, on her side, the United States is assured that, in her desire for the open door throughout a restored China, she may depend to the full upon British assistance.

Over European policy there are still differences. The judgments of the two countries on the ultimate issues appear to be identical. In London and in Washington equally, it is held that, on land as well as at sea, there should be a measure of disarmament and that Europe can only be restored, like China, as a whole. What Britain has regretted is the absence of the United States from the counsels of Europe and from the League of Nations, where American influence would have been so powerful in the right direction. The fact that the United States as a country and her citizens, as individuals, are creditors of Europe gives her a *locus standi* in the old world—an independent leverage—which is welcome to Britain and not less welcome, I believe, to Italy. At the same time, the reasons for American isolation are understood better than formerly and it is realized that the main reason is, after all, Europe herself. Britain would hail with great satisfaction a further conference at Washington, called this time to determine European affairs, disarmament on land and finance. But nowhere is it better realized than in London that such a conference might be useless if European nations themselves only attended to sit on opposite sides of the table, there to advertise again well-known and acute contrasts of policy. Hence, the efforts made in London and Rome to secure an effective common basis for Europe at Genoa. If solidarity

could be thus established, Europe might then revisit Washington with the hope that submarines, military establishments, reparations and loans would be subject at last to equitable adjustment.

During the late Conference, Secretary Hughes suddenly forced the pace. His very invitation to the Powers was an amicable challenge, not at all welcome, let us say, to the militarists of Japan. His bombshells bursting on battle-ships can only be described as diplomacy by high explosive. The Gordian knot, which bold men are content to cut, was blown to bits. Mr. Hughes is now on holiday. When he returns let us hope that he will be still in the same volleying mood. By the usual calculation, as I have said, it might seem to be useless for a divided Europe to proceed on a second pilgrimage to Washington. But the times are unusual. The very fact that the first Conference was called had a good effect in Japan. Europe would be stirred to the depths if there were called a second Conference. Infinitely preferable would be such a course to the mere blunt request for European loans to be met—a point on which I can write with the more candor because Britain is preparing this year to regularize her indebtedness to the United States. Mr. Hughes has been, once, wisely audacious. Assuming that his Treaties are ratified everywhere, he might be, a second time, audacious, and not less wisely. The scales tremble everywhere between folly and wisdom. A strong man, throwing himself and his country into the wiser scale, may outweigh folly and earn the gratitude even of those who at first are shocked by his decision. Events showed that Japan could not stay out of the recent Conference and that she gained much by coming in. If there be a Power in Europe inclined to be reluctant over further Conferences, might not history repeat itself?



The Ways of Soviet Diplomacy

By Leo Pasvolsky

FOR the past few years students of international politics have been devoting more attention to the question of diplomatic technique than to almost any other single feature of the situation that has come about as a result of the war. The terms "secret" and "open" diplomacy have become bywords in the discussions of this question, while the connotation of these terms often extends far beyond the mere matter of procedure. And every once in a while the emphasis in these discussions centers on the proud claim which the Soviet régime in Russia lays to important and far-reaching innovations in the domain of diplomacy.

Leo Trotsky, the first Soviet Commissary of Foreign Affairs, and George Chicherin, his successor and the present incumbent of that important office, are sometimes credited with having blazed new trails in the field of diplomatic history. And yet an examination of both the letter and the spirit of their diplomatic efforts not only fails to reveal any appreciable contribution to the technique and procedure of diplomacy, but discloses a startling similarity between their methods and those which had become inseparably associated with the work of the shining lights of imperialistic diplomacy under the Tsar's régime.

The latest achievement of Soviet diplomacy bears striking testimony to this similarity of method. It is the treaty, concluded three months ago, between the Soviet

Government in Moscow and the new Red Government of Mongolia.

This new revolutionary Government in Urga, the capital of Mongolia, was established in the summer of 1921 with the aid of the Soviet troops, which are still in complete control of that country. At the time when the Soviets turned their attention to Mongolia, the affairs in that part of the former Chinese Empire were in a rather complicated state. One of Ataman Semenov's former lieutenants, Baron Ungern-Sternberg, had just succeeded in driving out the Chinese troops, which had occupied Mongolia in 1919 in violation of that country's autonomy, established by the tripartite Russo-Chinese-Mongolian agreement of 1915. Some of Ungern's activities gave the Soviets an opportunity for carrying out a very skillfully prepared plan for the sovietizing of Mongolia. After this feat was accomplished and in order to give form to this achievement of Soviet strategy in the Far East, the Soviet Government brought a Mongolian diplomatic mission to Moscow, and on November 5, 1921, a treaty was signed between the two countries.

To anyone conversant with the technique of the so-called "most favored nation" type of treaties, the new Moscow-Urga agreement has a distinctly familiar ring. Barring the few places where such phrases as "the cunning Tsarist policy" and "the predatory interference of

world imperialism" are thrown in to give the document something of the flavor so characteristic of the diplomatic correspondence of the Moscow Foreign Office, this agreement has all the earmarks of precisely that type of international agreement which the Soviet leaders have denounced as "imperialistic" in the worst possible sense of that word.

Article 7 provides that citizens of either of the parties, residing on the territory of the other, shall "enjoy the same rights and perform the same duties as citizens of the most favored nations." Article 9 makes a similar "most favored nation" provision with regard to export and import duties, and Article 12 provides in the same manner for "rights of ownership, lease, etc., and methods of collecting taxes and other payments."

Article 8 has reference to "the judicial power of each of the contracting parties" as applicable to the citizens of the other who are residing on its territory. The second paragraph of this article reads as follows:

Both parties agree that in case one of the contracting parties should grant to parties of some third country special privileges in the matter of criminal jurisdiction, court procedure, or execution of sentences, these privileges shall automatically be extended also to apply to the citizens of the other contracting party.

By this reservation Soviet Russia reestablishes very effectively the rights of extraterritoriality which accrued to Russia under previous agreements, since Mongolia is still officially a part of China. The mutuality of the obligation is too thin a veil, of course, to conceal the real intent of this reservation.

Article 10 states that the Russian Soviet Government agrees to turn over to the Government of Mongolia "all the buildings of telegraphic offices with their telegraphic equipment which have belonged to the Russian Republic and are located within the boundaries of Mongolia." But Article 11 makes the reservation that for the purpose of "settling the questions of postal and telegraphic communications between Russia and Mongolia, . . . the two parties engage that a special agreement on this subject shall be concluded in the shortest possible time." This proviso leaves the question of postal service entirely open and does not provide Mongolia with any guarantees whatever against a possible Russian system of post-offices in conformity with the system which, according to the decision of the Washington Conference, shall be in operation in the whole of China for another year.

Article 1 of the agreement states that "the Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic recognizes as the only legal government of Mongolia the People's Revolutionary Government." This article brings up, of course, the all-important question of the attitude of the Chinese Government in Peking to this whole procedure. I have put a question in regard to this to a representative of the Chinese Delegation to the Washington Conference, and his reply was as follows:

In the first place we do not recognize the present Government of Mongolia, and in the second place we do not recognize the right of any government of Mongolia to make separate treaties with other powers.

This position of the Peking Government raises once more the question of the present status of Mongolia. But it also provides the basis for another striking similarity between the diplomatic methods of the Soviet and the Imperial régimes.

In 1912, when, following the Chinese revolution, Mongolia declared her independence of China, the Imperial Government of Russia promptly recognized this act of independence and concluded a treaty with the new government. The Peking Government refused to recognize this arrangement and protested against it. As a result, negotiations were begun between St. Petersburg and Peking, which brought about the Protocol of 1913 and finally led to the

Kiakhta tripartite agreement of 1915. By this agreement, the question was definitely settled for the time being, making Mongolia an autonomous part of China.

Four years later China abrogated the Kiakhta agreement, and in 1921, two years after the act of abrogation, the Peking Government again faced precisely the situation which it faced in 1912. Only now it finds itself compelled to deal not with the Imperial Government in St. Petersburg, but with the Soviet Government in Moscow. Again the Government of Mongolia declares its independence of China. Again Russia makes haste to recognize this act of independence and to seal it by means of a treaty made directly with the Government at Urga. And again China refuses to recognize this arrangement and is ready to protest against it.

It will be very interesting to see what the next step is going to be. If the analogy with the situation ten years ago holds to the end, presumably this next step will be the opening of negotiations between Moscow and Peking and an understanding between them, whereby all the beautiful promises which Moscow now makes to its dupes in Urga will go by the board. Well informed observers of the situation consider that the main object of the whole Mongolian adventure as far as Moscow is concerned is to use the situation in order to wrest from China a recognition of the Soviet régime and an agreement with it. What will eventually happen to the shepherds of Mongolia, who are now so proudly playing the rôle of dancing dolls on strings which run from the Moscow Foreign Office, is scarcely of any interest to the Soviet diplomats.

Thus, though the details differ, the basic lines of the Imperial and the Soviet diplomacy in this particular instance coincide most remarkably.

And yet there is one new element in the Soviet handling of the situation. It lies in the actual process of the creation of the independent government of Mongolia in 1921, as compared with the similar event ten years before. In 1912 the Russian Imperial Government seized upon a situation which had already become a *fait accompli* in Mongolia. In 1921 the Russian Soviet Government took an active, really the guiding part in bringing about the situation.

George Chicherin, the Soviet Commissary of Foreign Affairs, in a statement published in Moscow *Pravda* on November 6, 1921, said that, during the period preceding the establishment of the independent government of Mongolia in Urga, the party which later on constituted this government "had organized on the Russian territory the People's Revolutionary Mongolian Army," and that this army, "in close alliance with Soviet Russia and with the Far Eastern Republic," captured Urga and established the new government there.

Here we have, indeed, an innovation, but not in the field of diplomacy. It is rather a striking example of a new technique of scarcely disguised aggression, worked out by the Soviet régime. And incidentally, one of the tasks of Soviet diplomacy is conceived by the Moscow leaders as consisting in the prevention of the use of similar tactics against themselves. Article 3 of the Moscow-Urga agreement says:

Both contracting parties mutually agree not to permit the creation or sojourn of governments, organizations, groups, or individuals who aim to wage war against the other party; . . . also not to allow on its territory any mobilization or voluntary recruiting among its own citizens or citizens of foreign countries for armies hostile to the other country.

Whatever may be said of the novelty of the strategy employed by the Soviets in the Mongolian *coup*, there is scarcely anything novel in the diplomatic procedure involved, and the whole affair, especially in its treaty developments, is a striking illustration of the ways of Soviet diplomacy.

Old Mother Hubbard and the Bonus

By Ellis Parker Butler

IN the dull hour of the late afternoon Justice of the Peace Lem Hooper looked up from his newspaper and spoke to Court-officer Durfey.

"This bonus business, Durfey," he said, "reminds me of one time when I was a young fellow, just married, when I had promised to take my wife and my mother-in-law to the theatre, and when the day came all I had in my pocket was a plugged nickel and a pants' button. My heart was willing, Durfey, but the moment was inauspicious for large financial operations and all I could do was sit and sweat and think of eighty-six ways in which I could not raise the money.

"Parabolically speaking, Durfey, the gentlemen in Congress remind me of that worried old lady known to all readers of poetry as Old Mother Hubbard. You've heard of her. Her tale is one of the saddest ever printed in a book. She had a kind heart, Durfey, but she was one bone short. I'm no poet but I might put the situation like this:

Old Mother Hubbard went to the cupboard
To get her poor soldiers a bonus,
But when she got there
The cupboard was bare
And so the poor soldiers got explanations.

"That's a poor rhyme, Durfey, and even the ex-service men get no satisfaction from the old lady's attempt to rhyme 'bonus' with 'explanations.' They don't care for that kind of Free Verse, Durfey, and the old lady is in more of a flutter than if someone had mailed her an Article X in a candy box. She's afraid the lads lately in khaki will send her a rhyme like this:

Old Mother Hubbard went
to the cupboard
Because she had pledged us
a bonus;
If the cupboard was bare
She had better take care
For she'll have to shoulder
the onus.

"And shouldering the onus, Durfey, is one of the things Old Mother Hubbard does worst; she's a lot more handy at making promises along about election time. We all are.

"You see, Durfey, vague promises were made to the ex-service men by both parties in the Presidential campaign, but everybody forgot to look in the cupboard first. Old Mother Hubbard, down there at Washington, is eager to satisfy the boys, but there's nothing in the cupboard but a plugged nickel and a pants' button, and there's little sustenance in them. So now she's fluttering around like



a duck with a broken wing trying to raise a few billions of good dollars. Thank heaven, I'm no poet, Durfey, but if I was I might put it like this:

She went to the merchants
For taxes on sales,
But all they would give her
Were outcries and wails.

She reached for the war loans
Of England and France
But Harding and Mellon
Both cried "Not a chance!"

"I'll tax excess profits!"
 She cried, but she got
 As her only response
 A loud shout, "You will not!"

She went to the vineyards
 For taxes on wine,
 But the Eighteenth Amendment
 Replied, "Not for mine!"

She went to the brewers
 For taxes on beer,
 But all she received was
 A box on the ear.

"A luxury tax is
 The ticket!" she said,
 But they threw her downstairs
 And she lit on her head.

"Let's issue some bonds!"
 Was her next eager cry,
 But they grabbed her and gave her
 A lovely black eye.

"Won't somebody tell me,"
 She wailed, "what to do?"
 But the only reply was:
 "Why, that's up to you."

"And there you are, Durfey! That's the unfortunate situation as she sits in the Capitol down there at Washington bathing herself with arnica and moaning in a dull voice: 'Oh! what can I tax? What can I tax?'"

"It is a strange sight, Durfey, to see Congress—for the first time in history—afraid to pile on more taxes. One trouble seems to be that the folks back home have a notion they are being taxed a little, off and on, already. They've heard rumors to that effect. Some of them think, maybe—when they are making out their income tax pa-

pers—that it might be almost as well to pay the hang-over bill for the war wages of the soldiers before they start giving Christmas presents. But not many say so, Durfey. They're bashful. We're a diffident nation.

"None the less, my heart bleeds for Old Mother Hubbard, Durfey. It is a cruel thing to have elections coming along no later than next November, with new promises to be made, when you can't raise money to keep your old promises. It is the sort of thing that drives our politicians into their graves at the untimely ages of ninety or ninety-five.

"The world is sadly changed, Durfey. There was a time when the politician's life was as glad as Pollyanna's. Those were the days when a promise to dredge Mill Creek, Kansas, to a depth sufficient to float a transatlantic steamer, or to build a hundred-thousand-dollar postoffice at Sand Hill Junction, Nevada, meant nothing but a joyous tariff-raising bee with all hands gaily boosting the good old ad valorem another ten per cent., and everybody was happy. When a people balks at paying a few billions of dollars that were actually promised somebody in a speech from the stage of Hickey's Opera House in the middle of a Presidential campaign things have come to a pretty pass! It is hardly worth while being a politician any more, Durfey, money is so scarce."

"But what do you think will be done about it, judge?" Durfey asked. "Will Congress rig up some sort of tax or will the bonus have to wait?"

"Well, now, Durfey," said Judge Hooper, "you need not worry about that. You can trust Old Mother Hubbard to do what she thinks is best for the nation."

"And what is that, judge?" asked Durfey.

"Whatever will hold the most votes," said Judge Hooper with a grin.

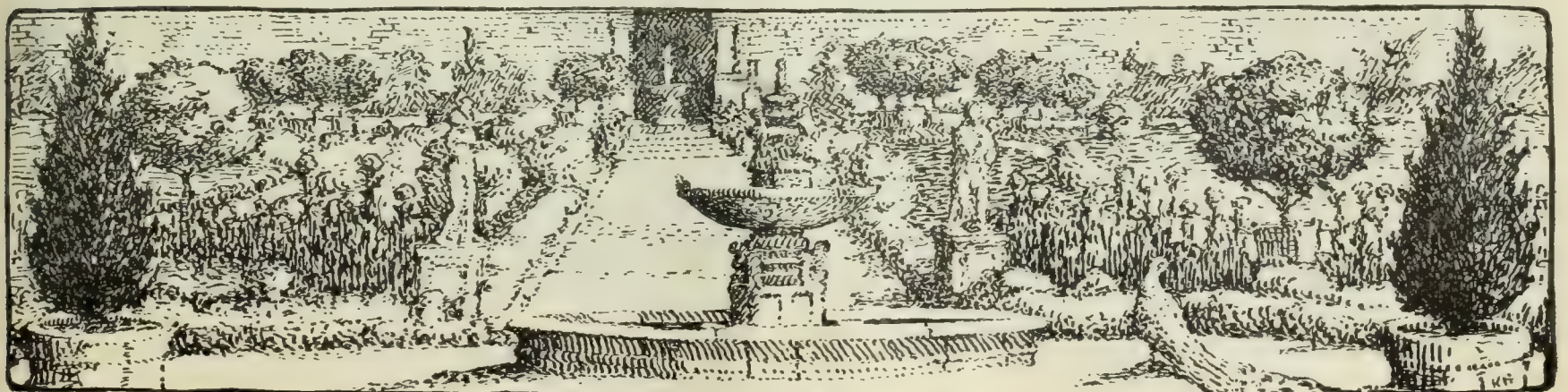
A Garden Song

HERE, in this sequestered close,
 Bloom the hyacinth and rose;
 Here beside the modest stock
 Flaunts the flaring hollyhock;
 Here, without a pang, one sees
 Ranks, conditions, and degrees.

All the seasons run their race
 In this quiet resting-place;
 Peach, and apricot, and fig
 Here will ripen, and grow big;
 Here is store and overplus—
 More had not Alcinoüs!

Here, in alleys cool and green,
 Far ahead the thrush is seen;
 Here along the southern wall
 Keeps the bee his festival;
 All is quiet else—afar
 Sounds of toil and turmoil are.

Here be shadows large and long;
 Here be spaces meet for song;
 Grant, O garden-god, that I,
 Now that none profane is nigh—
 Now that mood and moment please,
 Find the fair Pierides! —Austin Dobson.



“A Garden Is a Lovesome Thing, — —”



J. T. Beals

Come thou, and brim the garden stream



J. T. Beals

The Sentinels



J. T. Beals

Flowers in a crannied wall



J. T. Beals

A living lace of green that lets the sun come in



Mary H. Northern

Gracefully drooping wistaria intermingled with azalias cover this arbor of a Salem garden



J. T. Beals

The lordly swans reign in the silence of this garden



J. T. Beals

Between the house and the garden



J. T. Beals

Faint bells of perfume along the wall



J. T. Beals

The modest intrusion of a waterfall

A. B. Morse Co.

The elysium of bees and butterflies



Mary H. Northern

A vine-covered pergola



EDITORIAL



Diplomacy: Open and Secret

WE are led to a general consideration of this much abused subject by Senator Hitchcock's resolution asking the President for the records, minutes, arguments, debates, conversations, etc., relating to the Four-Power Treaty, and the President's frank and well-considered reply. Mr. Harding's message is a model of brevity and clearness:

Responsive to Senate resolution Number 237, asking for records, minutes, arguments, debates, conversations, etc., relating to the so-called Four-Power Treaty, I have to advise that it is impossible to comply with the Senate's request. Many of the things asked for in the resolution it is literally impossible to furnish, because there were many conversations and discussions quite outside the Conference, yet vital to its success. Naturally, these are without record.

I do not believe it to be compatible with public interest nor consistent with the amenities of international negotiations to attempt to reveal informal and confidential conversations or discussions, of which no record was kept, or to submit tentative suggestions or informal proposals, without which the arrival at desirable international understandings would be rendered unlikely if not impossible.

While I am unable to transmit the information requested, I do, however, take this opportunity to say most emphatically that there were no concealed understandings and no secret exchange of notes, and there are no commitments whatever except as appear in the Four-Power Treaty itself and the supplementary agreement which are now in the hands of the Senate.

The President's words sum up the whole case at issue better than the many volumes and magazine articles on the subject with which we have been bombarded. And it is all so simple—all that is required is a little common sense. The diplomatic representatives who meet to discuss settlements and agreements must be safe to talk freely and exchange views without restraint. Only so can understandings be arrived at. Yet any schoolboy can see that frankness and the free interchange of views and tentative proposals are impossible if confidences are not guarded. Small chance indeed would there be of getting together in fruitful conference if each representative had ever in view the contingency that his words would be picked to pieces by hostile parties and used for partisan ends. If such were the case we should have conferees addressing, not each other, but the political gallery outside.

What the public is concerned with is not the confidential conversations of the negotiators, but the understandings and agreements arrived at, and here the President gives the proper assurance. Everything is open and aboveboard. There are no secret agreements or commitments not contained in the texts submitted to the Senate for approval.

The analogy to corporate negotiations is very close. Representatives are chosen to carry on negotiations because they are believed to be well-qualified and loyal to the interests of the company. The stockholders do not presume to interfere and dictate what they shall say. It is the business of the negotiators to keep in touch with the stockholders and strive to attain the results they desire, but at the same time to use their own judgment as to what they shall say. When agree-

ments are concluded, they are laid before the stockholders for confirmation. Then they are registered so all the world may know, as a deed or a mortgage is recorded. It is not diplomacy, but the results of diplomacy, that must be open.

Soon after the great war broke out, a group of English liberals took up the cry that it was caused by secret diplomacy. Had their thinking been less confused they would have talked not of secret diplomacy but of secret treaties and agreements. Here they would have stood on firmer ground. Their arguments reached similar groups in America. President Wilson was so much impressed that he made his famous pronouncement for "open covenants *openly arrived at*," a dictum that he found utterly impractical as soon as he arrived in Paris. One of the amusing illogicalities of the present time is the charge that Mr. Wilson's opponents are now prone to employ the very methods whose use by him called forth their attacks, whereas the real issue was Mr. Wilson's inconsistency in disregarding his own rule.

The part that public opinion should play in diplomacy is a moot question. Negotiators are chosen as trusted experts and must of course be given much latitude to exercise their best judgment in the interest of their clients. On the other hand, they in turn should be responsive to the wishes and aspirations of the people they represent. Those who proclaim loudly the panacea of "open" diplomacy are wont to talk glibly of democratic control of foreign relations. To judge from their arguments they would have one believe that the statesmen of all countries are chiefly engaged in furthering selfish plots and schemes of which the pure and simple common folk are the victims. Give the latter a hand in the proceedings, let their wise opinion rule, and peace and happiness would result. Of course they do not mean this at all. What they really mean is that they should be given an opportunity to sway public opinion to suit their own theories, and so be themselves the real arbiters of foreign policy.

Public opinion played a large part in the success of the Washington Conference. This was because the general principles adopted to govern the proceedings met with public support. Probably there was as much publicity concerning its deliberations as will ever be possible in a similar assembly. All this involved a change in methods that is not without its dangers. Since publicity was the rule, each delegation was bound to organize a regular staff for influencing public opinion. In the present case all this was for the most part good and useful. But a situation may easily be imagined where, in a struggle between rival propaganda organizations to influence and control a public necessarily unable to ascertain and weigh all the facts, the right and the just might come off second best.

The truth is that a lot of nonsense is being talked and written about open diplomacy and secret diplomacy. Open diplomacy is a contradiction in terms—diplomatic negotiations are confidential by their very nature. As

to publicity for the results of diplomatic negotiations—treaties, agreements, understandings—that is a different matter. The success of our form of democracy rests upon its representative character. We choose experts to do something for us better than we can do it ourselves. We entrust them with authority and then hold them responsible. Healthy public opinion supports them in general principles and aims; it has no more business to interfere in actual negotiation than has the client to direct his attorney in the technical conduct of his case. This is preëminently the lesson of the Washington Conference and this is why it is the business of the Senate to approve or reject the treaties negotiated on their merits, and not make itself ridiculous in the eyes of the world by meddling with matters with which it has no concern.

The “Triple Alliance”

THE American public will watch probably with more curiosity than alarm the development of the alliance concluded at Chicago between the coal miners, the railroad unions, and the longshoremen. This new labor grouping is obviously in imitation of the “Triple Alliance” of the English railway men, miners, and transport workers. British labor and its sympathizers had high hopes, at the time of the British coal strike last year, that the Alliance, by paralyzing the entire country, would force a full and speedy victory for the miners. Instead, the Alliance went to pieces at the critical moment, rent by differences of opinion over policy. There are many weighty reasons for believing that the new American Alliance will not in the near future reach any such threatening potency as appeared to lie in its British counterpart.

Although the “memorandum” adopted by the Chicago conference asserts the “mutuality of interest” of the organizations involved, that mutuality is in fact rather shadowy. All wage earners have indeed a common interest in a high level of wages, because wage levels tend to spread throughout all industry. In so far as coöperation in “moral” and publicity support may tend to realize their wage demands, therefore, the Chicago alliance has a certain real basis.

But at this point the actual community of interest seems to end. The longshoremen have already taken two pretty drastic wage reductions, and they naturally would welcome any support for a strike they might think necessary in resisting further cuts. But they are in no position to make such a fight; and if made it would have little effect on mine and railroad wages. Given the surplus of labor that now exists, the level of longshore wages depends upon shipping-trade conditions that have nothing to do with conditions in the mines and on the railroads. A strike by the miners also appears far from hopeful, though present appearances indicate that there will be such a strike on April 1. Union mines in the bituminous fields have been working at half capacity, or less, for many months. Fully half the members of the United Mine Workers are idle, and many are in actual want.

These facts produce the strike temper, but they are at odds with the economic facts that in the long run will determine the outcome of the strike. Non-union mines, paying lower wages, command the present coal

markets because they can sell at lower prices than the operators of union mines; and their capacity is already so great that a prolonged strike would quite possibly break up the Mine Workers’ organization. It is apparent that the competition of non-union mines is the force that compels the union operators to fight for a reduction of the present wage scale. The outcome of the miners’ strike might be influenced by financial aid from the railroad unions, but this seems unlikely. A general railroad strike might help the miners, but would hardly benefit the longshoremen. And it is extremely unlikely to occur.

The pacific tone of the announcement at Chicago by President Lewis of the Mine Workers, taken in connection with the facts of the position of the organizations involved, seems to us to show pretty clearly that the new alliance is little more than a “gesture” by which the leaders are making a last attempt to stem the tide of economic forces which they realize are irresistible. Present conditions and recent precedent are against the realizing of any hopes from such a display. If the public or the Federal Government could be persuaded that the situation were such that almost any concession would be justified to avoid a strike, the gesture would have a practical value. But this seems most unlikely.

The threatened railroad strike of last autumn was crushed by the opposition and active preparation of an aroused public, reinforced by the effect on the Brotherhood leaders of a similar attitude on the part of the Government at Washington, which refused to act before the strike actually began. If Washington adopts a similar attitude toward the miners’ strike—and this now seems probable—that strike cannot succeed in the face of present economic conditions. Union-mined coal cannot compete with non-union coal until union wages have come down. The whole country knows this. The United Mine Workers really lost their battle when they failed to unionize the competing fields.

Well-warranted sympathy for the hardships of the individual mine workers need not prevent our realizing that the miner’s problem can never be fully solved without a different attitude on the part of his leaders and his organization. Bituminous coal mining, like longshore work, partly supports a greater number of workers than it can provide with a full living wage. In England the leaders of the longshoremen resisted, at the outset, the registration system that has done much to stabilize and equalize employment and earnings. In this country, the majority of the longshoremen’s leaders have refused to sanction the regularizing of the industry—because it would limit union membership, and the power of these leaders. Similar considerations would stand in the way of the miners’ leaders supporting any other scheme of relief than ever higher wages. The point is of course a very difficult one, and it is not the only problem. Yet it seems clear that one of the conditions of peace—at least in some industries—is the realization on the part of the workers and their leaders that the number of those who depend on the industry must somehow be limited to the supporting capacity of the industry itself. Hitherto, this axiomatic principle has been recognized only by “theorists” and a few employers. Any labor leader who avowed it would probably mark himself for sacrifice; but it would be a splendid, and might be a fruitful, heroism.

Happy-Thought Money

MR. FORD'S attack upon the gold standard has taken the shape of a systematic campaign, carried on not only with great energy but with great skill in the columns of his weekly paper, the *Dearborn Independent*. Writers of ability, and evidently with considerable knowledge of the subject, are presenting, week after week, striking aspects of the question in a way calculated to make a deep impression on the average reader. If these articles contained no good points, if they were merely the onslaught of ignorant agitators, they might either be ignored or, if answered at all, answered by mere ridicule. But of all ways of disseminating error the most effective, the most dangerous, the most difficult to counteract, is that which interweaves with what is false much that is true, with what is silly or ignorant much that is sound. And this is the character of the *Dearborn Independent* articles. To take them up with anything like completeness would require far more space than the articles themselves occupy; and that space, week after week, is of very ample dimensions. Accordingly, the only practicable way to show up their unsoundness is to point to a few crucial instances of misconception or false reasoning.

"More Wealth Than There Is Money to Move It"

Let us look, first of all, at one notion that runs like a thread through the series in general. "Wealth"—we are told, for example, in the issue for January 28—"must slow down to pass through the narrow gates of money, because there is more wealth than there is money to move it." Or again, in the issue for January 21: "If money does not move business, if there is not enough of it, if it is not sound enough to carry business, then it is not 'good money'." Now the remarkable thing is that neither in connection with these two assertions, nor anywhere in the entire series, is there the slightest indication of a consciousness that the amount of money which is necessary to "move" a given quantity of wealth, or to "carry" a given volume of business, depends upon the scale of prices. When prices are doubled—other conditions being unchanged—it takes twice as many dollars to "move" a given number of tons of coal, barrels of flour, bales of cotton, etc., as it did before the prices were doubled. There is a great deal of dispute about the meaning, and even the validity, of the quantity theory of money; but no person in his senses would assert that the amount of money required to "move" the wealth, or to "carry" the business, of a country was a thing that was not essentially related to the scale of prices. Yet this relation is never so much as hinted at in these articles, though their very object is to challenge the foundations, to search into the essentials, of the money system.

"What Makes American Money Good"

Another thing that runs through the whole series is the endeavor to make it appear that all our money is "fiat money"—to break down the odium that bitter experience in many generations has attached to that phrase. Here is a specimen of the way in which this is done:

If the people were to demand in one day or one month their money in gold, they would discover that most of the

money they are carrying around has no gold behind it—nothing in the world behind it except the United States!

And that is what makes American money good—the United States, with its forests, its farms, its waterfalls, and its factories. It is the "fiat" of the United States that makes money good for common folk.

But what really "makes American money good" is something over and above the possessions of the United States in the shape of forests, farms, waterfalls and factories; and that something is essential. It is the confidence that everybody has that every dollar of currency in circulation—not only the legal-tender notes but the bank notes that are not legal tender—can, with almost no practical difficulty, be converted into a gold dollar by anybody who wants the gold. It is true that the amount of gold necessary for the conversion of all the notes is not held by the Government or the banks, or both together. But much more is held than there is any prospect whatever of being called for; and just as soon as that situation ceased to exist—just as soon as it became doubtful whether a man could get gold for his paper dollar—American money would cease to be "good," no matter how great the value of our forests, farms, waterfalls, and factories. Some other thing than gold might play the part that gold does now; the paper dollar might be defined as representing a certain amount of wheat, or cotton, or iron; but in order that this definition should confer specific value upon a bit of paper, that paper would have to be actually redeemable in the commodity specified. That nothing has yet been discovered which would serve the purpose as well as gold does, is the opinion of practically everybody who has studied the subject; but that is not the point with which we are at this moment concerned. The point is that a mere vague *basing* of paper money upon the nation's possessions, without any provision for redemption, means nothing at all. The difference between fiat money and non-fiat money is the difference between money redeemable in a definite amount of a specific commodity or commodities and money not so redeemable.

The Pretty Story of the Island of Guernsey

Let us close with just one more illustration of this half-truth method.

One whole issue of the series is occupied with the very interesting story of the way in which the Island of Guernsey, in the English Channel, has financed its public works for a hundred years, and the moral to be drawn from it. After the close of the Napoleonic wars the islanders wished to build a market house, but had no money to do it with. Their first thought was to negotiate a loan in Paris or London. But the governor proposed a very different plan. He pointed out that there was in the community the necessary lumber, granite, clay to make bricks from, and the masons, bricklayers, and carpenters to do the work. And instead of paying for these materials and this labor with ordinary money, the governor proposed that the island issue its own money, upon this simple and practical plan:

We will make a careful estimate of the cost, and issue money to the amount of the estimate; then we will levy a tax in the same amount and spread it over a convenient period of time. By the payment of this tax, the money will be returned to its source of issue; and, having performed the function for which it was printed and issued, it may then be destroyed.

Not only did this scheme work out smoothly and successfully, but it has been followed since by the carrying

out of many other useful public works in the same manner.

So far, so good. But when it comes to drawing the lesson of the story, a lesson light-heartedly extended by the writer from the island of Guernsey to the whole world, we must stop and think a bit. Of the four points he makes, it will be sufficient to consider the second:

2. Over-Issue: If the issue of paper money is confined to legitimate, that is, constructive purposes, there can be no danger of an over-issue, because it is paid out for material, labor, or other services, and as the volume issued is based upon the estimated cost of work to be performed, it logically follows that, as the performance of the work depends on the number of the hands available, so the issue of currency is limited accordingly; but is, nevertheless, always adequate.

Now this may be very convincing to many persons; but if so, it is only because they overlook—as the writer himself completely does—an essential circumstance. The people of Guernsey are a little community of about forty thousand persons, occupying a little island attached to a great kingdom of forty million inhabitants. When they “make a careful estimate of the cost” of a proposed public work, they reckon in the pounds, shillings, and pence which form the currency of England. What they issue or what they fail to issue has no more influence on the general purchasing power of British money than a gallon of water thrown into Lake Superior would have upon the level of that lake’s surface. To infer that that which was done on a small scale, and with explicit reference to an established standard, might be done just as harmlessly on a nation-wide or world-wide scale, and without any reference to an established standard, is obviously childish. Yet that inference is made by the *Dearborn* writer, without so much as a word to indicate that it requires any justification. It would be going only a step farther to infer the needlessness of the gold standard from the fact that people conduct their games of poker or bridge by means of chips and never produce the slightest embarrassment in the way of inflation or depreciation of the currency. And yet it is on the basis of this sort of reasoning that the people of the United States are asked to cut loose from the safe anchorage of the gold standard and plunge into the uncharted waters of happy-thought money.

Better Prices for the Farmer

BEFORE any of the legislative remedies secured by the farm *bloc* have had time to act, purely economic forces have appreciably improved the situation of the Western farmer. The gain has been particularly marked in wheat; but substantial, also, in the case of corn, hogs, and lambs. As a result of these price advances, many farmers in the West and Northwest have made unexpected profits from grain and stock, and have materially improved their financial condition. The gains are not great enough, nor sufficiently widespread, to get the farmers as a whole out of debt, but their situation is decidedly better.

The rise in wheat prices has been due to world-wide causes, and is especially worth attention as an example of how widespread economic forces outrank all other influences bearing on the agricultural staples. Wheat prices have advanced because European needs have increased by about fifty million bushels above earlier estimates; and because the estimated exportable surplus in the exporting countries (aside from the United

States) has been reduced—in Australia by forty million bushels, in Argentina by nearly sixty, in Canada by thirty million. The estimated world surplus as a carry-over stock from the present to the new crop season has been reduced to fifty million bushels.

The causes affecting the prices of other American farm products are less wide-reaching, because wheat is preëminently our exportable foodstuff; yet it is plain that the other price advances just noted have been due to economic causes rather than to any special devices. We hope that the farmer’s situation can be and will be bettered by more appropriate credit facilities, by co-operative action, and by every other legitimate measure. Yet, because the farmer produces so largely for a world-market, his good and ill fortune will be determined mainly by very broad, and mostly uncontrollable, economic forces.

The Receding Bonus

THE danger of a soldiers’ bonus raid on the Treasury, which appeared imminent a fortnight ago, is steadily growing less. Many circumstances are contributing to this alleviation. Foremost, to be sure, is the consideration of ways and means. The country is already taxed to such an extent that business recovery is seriously impeded and the addition of some new form of taxation can only make matters worse. Consequently when President Harding put the responsibility squarely up to Congress, that august body began to have serious misgivings; and the letters of protest that came pouring in from all over the country did not tend to reassure those who saw in the bonus an easy way to purchase the soldier vote with public money. We were sorry that the President had not based his objection on the moral issue involved, but we must admit that his analysis of the financial considerations involved was effective. There is still some probability that a bonus bill may be passed by Congress with no provision for raising the money with which to meet its demands, in the expectation that it will be vetoed. This is an old familiar dodge of politician-legislators. But the trick would be too transparent to win much political capital.

The insolent message of Hanford McNider, Commander of the American Legion, a demand to stand and deliver, has been another important factor in the situation. The widespread disgust aroused by this has not been without its effect in Washington. We believe that it has also had a salutary effect upon the better and saner element of the Legion itself. Already the men who actually fought in the war, and especially those who suffered wounds or illness, are beginning to realize that the bulk of the cash bonus proposed would go to those who never smelt gunpowder or got within hundreds of miles of the front. Said one of them recently, a brave young fellow who had lost his right arm: “It was my luck to be wounded early in action. Within six months after I entered the service, I was discharged as cured. I see about me hundreds of men who were in the service for twenty-four months without ever once being in danger, and in many cases never having crossed the Atlantic. It doesn’t seem a fair deal that these men should receive four times as much as I. And, mind you, I am not complaining about myself, for I only did my duty, and would do the same thing tomorrow if the occasion came.”

The Story of the Week

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

The Domestic Budget

The Fate of the "Roma"

THE army semi-rigid dirigible "Roma" (built in Italy) came to a terrible end near the Hampton Roads army supply base on Tuesday. The Liberty motors installed in place of the Ansaldo motors, which had not given satisfaction, were being tested. The "Roma" was sailing serenely, when suddenly the vertical controls of the rudder failed to function. Lieutenant Burt (who survived), at the elevation lever, shouted: "She will not respond." "Good God, boys!" cried Captain Mabry, the commander. Then she struck; struck the feeder wires of the army base, charged with 2,300 volts. A crack; a roar. The hydrogen gas bag, filled to its 1,100,000 cubic feet capacity, had exploded. Of the forty-five who had gone out so gaily, eleven survived by strange luck; the rest were burned to cinder, except one who broke his neck in an unsuccessful parachute jump. The primary cause of the disaster appears to have been faulty rudder construction. Had helium gas been used instead of the highly inflammable hydrogen gas, the disaster would have been far less terrible. It is folly to talk of giving up the dirigible because of sundry disasters and misadventures with that type; the type has a successful and mighty future before it. But despite the great expense of helium gas, hydrogen gas must be abandoned. Doubtless some non-explosive gas cheaper than helium will be discovered in time. The evidence of the survivors proves (what was of course to be expected) that the "Roma's" officers behaved with perfect coolness and heroism.

Strikes of Textile Workers

Twenty-one thousand workers in New Hampshire and Massachusetts cotton mills went on strike on the 13th, in protest against a 20 per cent. wage cut. Eight thousand workers in Rhode Island have been on strike for a similar reason for more than four weeks. Wage cuts affecting 50,000 textile workers in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Massachusetts went into effect on the 13th; in addition, in New Hampshire the 54-hour week was restored.

The Riot at Pawtucket

There was a riot at Pawtucket, R. I., on Tuesday, which was quelled in blood. A crowd had as-

sembled before the gates of a textile mill, apparently bent on interfering with those who remained at work there. The crowd jostled the police and blows were exchanged. The mayor of Pawtucket on his automobile in front of the gates watched the proceedings. He ordered three of the crowd arrested. The police obeyed and were putting the trio in a wagon when the crowd broke through for a rescue. The police fired, killing one, seriously wounding two, slightly wounding five others. National Guard units were dispatched to Pawtucket and to two other strike centres, and there is now a military peace. The State Board of Mediation and Conciliation is at work, attempting another kind of peace.

The Miners' Convention: A Notable Issue

The Howat or Kansas or "Rebel" faction failed to dominate completely the convention of the United Mine Workers at Indianapolis on the 18th. They failed to stampede the convention into voting instructions to their officials to declare a general strike on April 1 without more ado should the operators fail to comply with the convention's wage and other demands. Instead, the convention voted that the question of a strike should be determined by a general vote of the mine workers prior to March 31. The extremists did, however, swing the convention to a vote in favor of the six-hour day and the five-day week.

The other important demands which the organization officials are instructed to present to the operators are as follows:

For continuance of the present base wage schedules, and that this may be possible, no reduction of the present operators' coal prices.

For time and one-half pay for ordinary overtime, and double time for work on Sundays and legal holidays.

For a two-year agreement.

The convention proceedings were uproarious, but there was quiet for a little space when "Mother" Jones mounted the platform and addressed the delegates as follows:

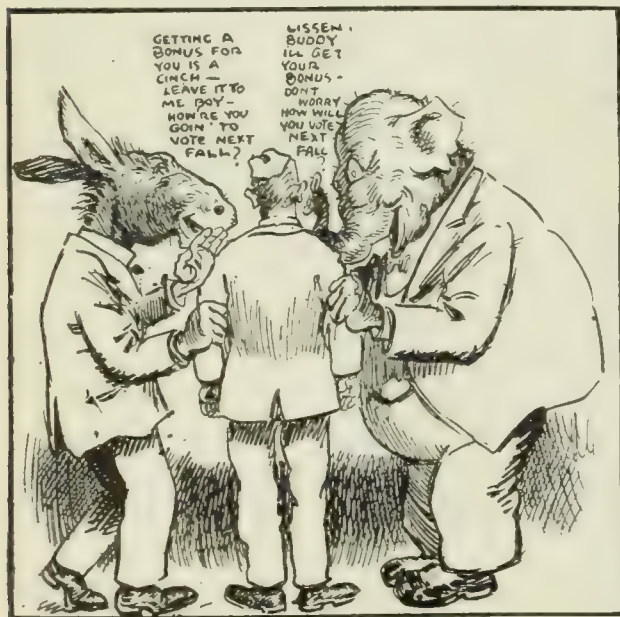
Stop howling like a lot of fiends and get down like men and do business. You are wasting time here, wasting money that ought to go to your families and babies. You ought to be ashamed of yourselves. Quit this noise.

Contrary to the expectation of the "Rebels," though she extolled Howat, she urged the delegates to trust President Lewis and his colleagues to look after their interests. If they fail, "we can go out and I will be with you and raise hell all over the nation. I am going before the board, and, if they don't treat you right, I'm going after them myself." "Mother" Jones has been and still is something of a firebrand, but one's heart goes out to her. What would the world be if the mother's heart were not a firebrand?

The Latest on the Bonus

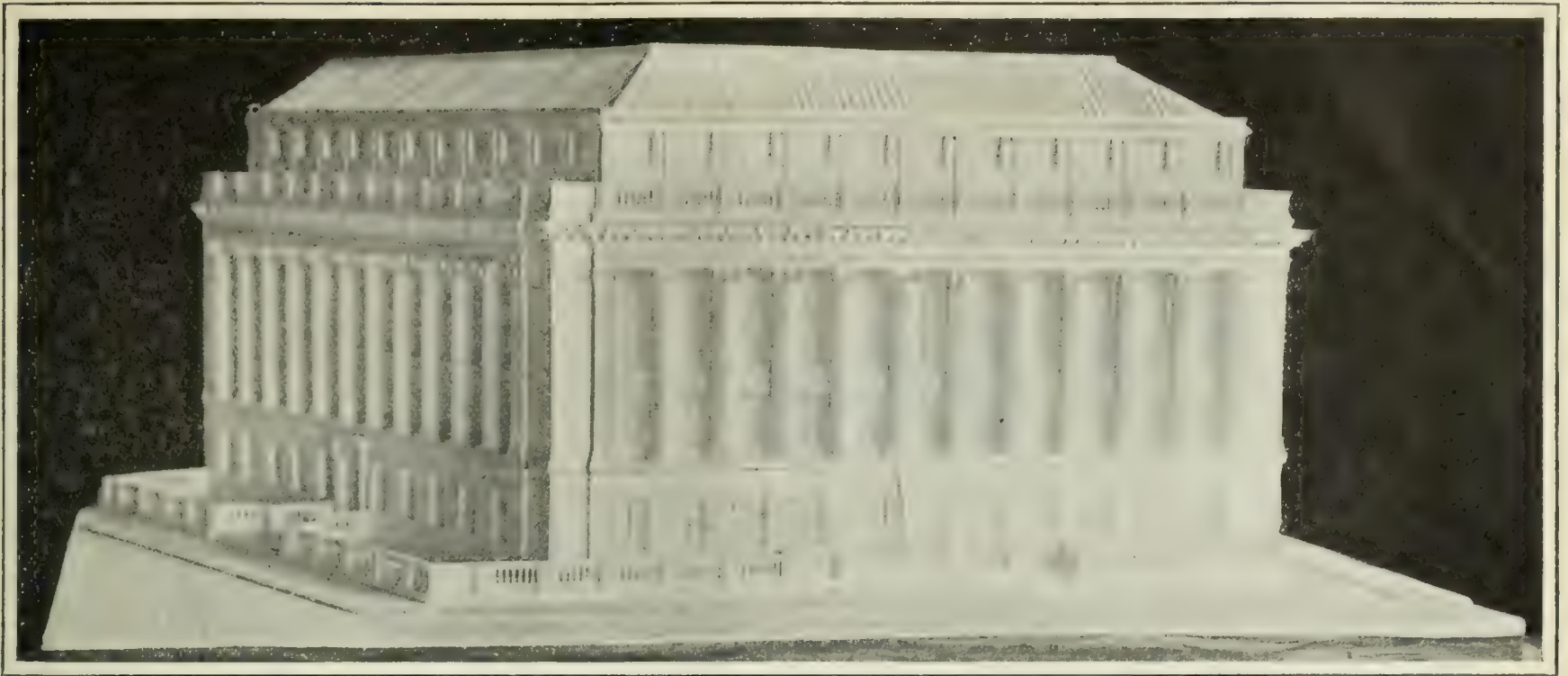
The plan now said to be commending itself to the Ways and Means Committee is a tax of one per cent. on wholesale sales of manufactured goods (like the Canadian sales tax). Food products would be exempted. It is estimated that such a tax would produce \$350,000,000 yearly. The farm bloc and the Democrats are expected to oppose any sales tax. Organized Labor also is opposed.

* * *



Morris

It looks as though he may get it



International

Model of the Chamber of Commerce Building soon to be erected at Washington, to be national headquarters of all the Chambers of Commerce in the United States; Cass Gilbert, architect

An ex-service member of the House suggests offering the ex-soldiers negotiable Treasury certificates dated January 1, 1923, bearing interest.

* * *

There is alleged to be a possibility that a bonus bill will be passed by Congress without any provision for revenue. That would be "putting it up" to the President with a vengeance.

* * *

The Case of Governor Reily

Charges of official misconduct, supported by many affidavits, are to be made in the House of Representatives against Governor E. Mont Reily of Porto Rico. Governor Reily's enemies of the Unionist (majority) Party of Porto Rico are asking for a Congressional investigation; to be followed, they hope, by the Governor's impeachment. It may or may not be of significance, but it is a fact, that the Unionists are agitating for an associated Free State of Porto Rico, with an elected Governor. Forty-two of the fifty-seven members of the Porto Rican Legislature, it is said, are Unionists. Among other offenses, Governor Reily is accused of "removing judges in violation of the organic act, of intimidating the judiciary, and of appointing incapable officials."

A New Kind of Defense

It is understood that our Government is considering withdrawal of practically all American forces from the Philippines, leaving a mere handful for police and caretaking purposes. The security of the islands would be entrusted to the Four-Power Treaty and international good faith. It is reported that shipments of mines and anti-aircraft guns have been held up *en route* to Manila and turned back.

Presumably the reader is following the Senate debate on the Four-Power Treaty and the attempt to attach a reservation thereto.

Freedom Barely Wins in Kentucky

The attempt in Kentucky to suppress liberty of thought and discussion by a sweeping measure which would prohibit teaching in schools or colleges supported by State funds of anything that "would weaken or undermine the faith of pupils," has been scotched if not killed, in Committee of the State Senate; but only by the narrowest margin of votes.

Unemployment in New York City

Dr. William E. Mosher, of the National Institute of Pub-

lic Administration, declares that there are 400,000 unemployed in New York City; that the plan recommended by the National Unemployment Conference has not been carried out in that city. That plan calls for appointment by mayors of representative committees to coöperate with employers towards giving work to the unemployed. Dr. Mosher says that the mayor of New York appointed a committee which has accomplished two things: it has opened an industrial aid bureau and it has compiled statistics on unemployment. It has not, however, he says, found work on an adequate scale for the unemployed. He finds employers indifferent to the plight of the thousands of starving wretches. One would like to know the whole truth of the matter: whether the mayor's committee are doing their duty, and, if so, whether the employers are heartless or unable to help.

Hard on the Managers if Not on the Public

Seven Washington theaters, including two of the most important "legitimates," have been closed by order of the District Commissioners as inadequately protected against fire or defective in construction. The cynic is likely to remark that, true to American form, the Commissioners are going to the opposite extreme. Washington will miss seeing, among other things, "The Greenwich Village Follies," "The Dream Maker," "East Is West," and "The White-Haired Boy." If she won't miss much in missing the first two, she ought at least to see "The White-Haired Boy." On the 18th Congress passed a regulation empowering the Commissioners to close any theatre in Washington which does not come up to the requirements of the District building regulations.

Mr. Edison at Seventy-Five

Mr. Edison was seventy-five the other day. He expects to work full pressure till ninety. Perhaps the most indubitable proof of his genius is the invention of the phonograph. His most useful inventions are the carbon telephone transmitter, the incandescent lamp, and his system for distributing light and power. He is now at work on a sound amplifier "which, when perfected, will let you hear ants talk." Sitting in New York, you will be able to carry on a conversation with your fiancée in Paris precisely as though she sat beside you, which suggests something terrifying about that amplifier.

One of the most charming passages in Stevenson's "Memoir of Fleeming Jenkin" is the account of that remarkable man's delight in Edison's invention of the phonograph.

From a description of the instrument (before any could be purchased in the British Isles) Jenkin constructed two phonographs which worked and gave infinite amusement to his familiar circle, which included R. L. S.

The Aedile of New York

Commissioner of Accounts Hirshfield has revived for the behoof of New York City the old Roman office of aedile and has appointed himself to the job. His following utterance is portentous:

No formal complaint has been made to me to the effect that among other bad features of some of our school books they teach atheism or lay down the Darwinian theory as law. I am, however, perfectly willing to investigate the matter. I believe in giving the people a full and free opportunity to be heard from. Nothing and nobody shall stop me from making a thorough investigation of the manner in which Darwinism may be taught in our schools if a complaint is made to me on the subject.

I will hold an open meeting on the subject of history on February 20. If any one knows of a passage in our school books that ought not to be there, whether it be about evolution, atheism, radicalism or propaganda, he may come forward on that date and he will receive a hearing. If there appears to be merit in his complaint, I will look into it.

I don't want you to think that I am prejudging the matter. I have not made up my mind whether I believe the Darwin theory or not. If evolution is being incorrectly taught, it is probably due to the influences which we all know.

The New York *Times* correspondent is good enough to explain the allusion in the last paragraph. It seems that Mr. Hirshfield has spoken in the vein of the Gracchi of "big interests, which desire to mislead and mystify people so as to retard the development of the brain of the common people and keep a monopoly of knowledge and skill as the possession of a hand-picked few."

The "open meeting on the subject of history" was duly held on the 20th; but an account of its important results must be postponed.

Brief Items

Both the New York and the New Jersey Legislatures have passed the Port Authority bill, which is now before the respective Governors.

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President Harding has nominated Secretary Hughes, Secretary Hoover, Senator Smoot, and Representative Theodore Burton, to be members of the Foreign Debt Funding Commission. Secretary Mellon is *ex officio* a member.

* * *

The Japanese Consul at San Francisco has been instructed to refuse a visé to a passport for Mrs. Margaret Sanger, head of the Birth Control League, who is about to sail from San Francisco for the Far East in the interest of birth control.

* * *

Our force in Germany is to be further reduced to 169 officers and 2,217 men.

The British Empire

The Ard Fheis

THE great convention of delegates from all the Sinn Fein clubs was opened by de Valera, President of the Sinn Fein, at Dublin, on Tuesday. De Valera moved a resolution, of which the essence was that the Sinn Fein should adhere to the Republic. Griffith moved as an amendment that the Ard Fheis (the assembly of delegates) declare approval of the Dail Eireann's acceptance of the London agreement.

Neither resolution nor amendment was voted on that day. A priest made the suggestion that the elections for a new Parliament (called for by the London agreement) be postponed for three years. De Valera eagerly took up the idea, alleging that, if elections were held at once, the Irish people would be voting in the dark.

Collins in reply pointed out the danger to the Provisional Government in delay of the elections. Through the machinations of the Opposition the very slight majority in the Dail of the supporters of the London agreement might be destroyed; in which case the Provisional Government must resign. Some one suggested that Lloyd George might force an early election. Whereupon Collins displayed the defect of his qualities. "All I can say," said he, "regarding Lloyd George is that, if there is any false dealing with us, I am not a Redmond or a Dillon to deal with." One might get a little bored by these spurts of Michael Collins and by his bellicose lock of hair; and it might be observed that Redmond was a greater man than Collins has yet proved himself to be. At this point de Valera rose to make the characteristic observation that, if Lloyd George should attempt to force immediate elections, the Dail, being still the sovereign body, would have the right to use the army to prevent them.

The fact seems to be that Collins (in his extreme solicitude not to appear unpatriotic or unconciliatory to the Republicans or subservient to Lloyd George) was swept off his feet, so that, when that unbending Republican, Charles Burgess, suggested adjournment for three months, the Dail and Sinn Fein to function in the meantime, Collins did not merely accede to the suggestion but strongly supported it.

Finally Richard Mulcahy offered a resolution directing the leaders of the two parties to meet that night and attempt an agreement to be submitted to the convention the next day.

The Republicans made very skillful use of the sentimental appeal for unity; but unity, as every one in the assembly knew, at the expense of the prospects of the Free State.

* * *

It is said that, when the Ard Fheis adjourned overnight on Tuesday, few believed a compromise agreement between the opposing leaders possible.

But an agreement was reported to the convention the next day as follows:

In order to avoid division of the Sinn Fein organization, to avert the danger to the country of an immediate election, and to give opportunity to the signatories to the London agreement to draft a constitution, so that when the people are asked to vote in an election to decide between the Republic and the Free State the Constitution of the latter may be definitely before them, it is hereby agreed that:

1. This Ard Fheis shall stand adjourned for three months.

2. Meantime the officers' board of the organization shall act as a standing committee; the Dail Eireann shall meet regularly and continue to function in all of its departments as before the signing of the articles of the London agreement, and no vote of the Dail Eireann shall be regarded as a party vote requiring the resignation of the President and the Cabinet; in the meantime no Parliamentary election shall be held, and when it is held the Constitution of the Free State shall be in its final form of agreement.

3. That this agreement shall be submitted to the Ard Fheis, and, if approved, shall be binding.

The agreement was enthusiastically approved by the convention. It is thought that the discussion above of the first day's proceedings of the Ard Fheis furnishes a sufficient comment on the agreement. Though direct reference to the



P. & A. Photos

Edison at work on his 75th birthday

Provisional Government is delicately avoided in the document quoted, it is thought to be the understanding that a vote in the Dail Eireann adverse to the supporters of the London agreement should not be regarded as calling for the resignation of the Provisional Government.

The "reaction" of Lloyd George, the British Parliament, and the British people, to the action of the Ard Fheis, will be noted with interest. The "Irish Free State Act of 1922," now under consideration by the British Parliament, calls for immediate elections to a new Southern Parliament which should act as a constituent assembly. By the Ard Fheis agreement the "signatories to the London agreement" are to draft the constitution, but presumably it will be moulded by debate in the Dail Eireann.

A New Offer to Egypt

It is reported that Lord Allenby, British High Commissioner in Egypt and the Sudan, who has been in London in consultation with the Cabinet concerning the Egyptian situation, is returning to Egypt with proposals closely based on the recommendations of the Milner Commission, which were as follows (Associated Press digest):

1. Recognition by Great Britain of the independence of Egypt and her safeguard against foreign aggression.
2. Acknowledgement by Egypt of Great Britain's privileged position in the Nile Valley and assurance of free access by Great Britain to Egyptian territory in case of war.
3. Maintenance of a British garrison in the sphere of the Suez Canal, probably at Kantara.
4. Control by Egypt of her foreign relations, subject to her not making treaties at variance with British policy, Egypt also to have her own diplomatic representatives abroad.
5. Abolition of the capitulations and the veto on legislation affecting foreigners to be vested in High Commissioners; closing of the consular courts and transfer of their jurisdiction to mixed tribunals.
6. The system of advisers in the different Egyptian Ministries to cease, but a British official to be appointed to carry out the operations of the Public Debt Commission and another to look after legislation affecting foreigners.
7. Rights of British officials in the Egyptian service to be safeguarded and compensation provided.

France

A Mare's Nest

THE French Government has emphatically and categorically denied the German reports alleging an important accord between Paris and Moscow. The Teutonic imagination was set going by the fact that for a day or two Poincaré and Chicherin were in wireless conversation. It seems that some months ago the French Chamber voted a sum for Russian relief. That sum has not been expended because of lack of satisfactory guarantees from the Soviet Government that relief supplies would reach their destination. Poincaré was trying to obtain the required guarantees.

The Devastated Regions

The French Minister for the Liberated Regions has given out the following statistics of reconstruction in those regions:

Of 280,147 houses destroyed and 422,736 damaged, 335,479 had been restored at January 1.

Of 53,976 kilometres of roads destroyed, 31,965 kilometres had been put in repair at October 1 last.

Of 1,112 kilometres of navigable streams destroyed, 1,027 have been made navigable.

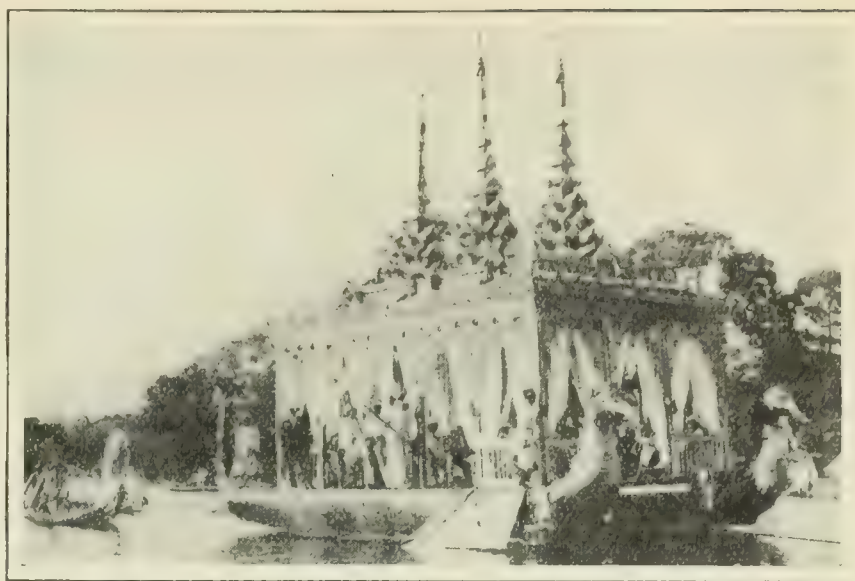
Of 4,084 industrial establishments destroyed, 3,986 have been operating since October 1.

Of 3,337,000 hectares of land devastated, 2,009,593 hectares have been restored.

A Striking Statement by Senator King

Senator King made the following statement to the United States Senate the other day:

France has a population of 40,000,000. The war destroyed more than 1,000,000 of her best men and disabled more than 1,500,000 others. Her indebtedness exceeds \$63,000,000,000



Underwood & Underwood

The royal barge at Rangoon with the Prince of Wales on board

and the total value of her property, public and private, is less than \$75,000,000,000. Let us never forget the sacrifices of France in the great war and let us always remember the frightful devastation that she suffered.

Prohibition and Marshal Foch

It has been claimed that Marshal Foch was through his visit to the United States converted to prohibition. The matter is important. This is what that supreme soldier and honest gentleman has to say about it (an interview in *Le Petit Parisien*, as translated in the *New York Times*). The attitude of the Marshal is the classic Greek one: "Nothing in excess."

The truth is that I drink two glasses of wine with every meal—two glasses of Bordeaux. That's not too much, I think, but it is enough, and in all things I like a reasonable measure. Without being anything of a gourmet, without having a marked preference for any special cuisine, I have an appetite and eat well—and quickly. It is not good to sacrifice too much to the beast. And, anyhow, I am always in a hurry to get back to my pipe. My pipe is my vice.

Germany

Wirth Gets a Reprieve

SUNDRY dispatches would have us believe that Chancellor Wirth's "crisis" was "bogus, flimflam, bunk."

It wasn't exactly that. The following seem to be the facts: Wirth still keeps the precarious support of the People's Party, and so the Independent Socialists remain in opposition. He got the vote of confidence from the Reichstag for which he asked, on the 15th; but not only because the People's Party supported him, but also because the Independent Socialists abstained from voting. They could have defeated him, but refrained chiefly because they were patriotic enough to accept the argument that a change of administration on the eve of the Genoa Conference would be disastrous. Wirth probably has a lease of life until after the Conference (unless the latter is unseasonably delayed), but then he will have to resume the fight for his official head.

According to another source (which has usually been found less trustworthy than the one on which the above was based), Wirth does not retain the precarious support of the People's Party, who voted adversely on the "vote of confidence"; he managed barely to win on that challenge through the abstention from voting of a part of the Independent Socialists. This informant is certain that Wirth cannot get his taxation programme past the Reichstag.

The question as to the alignment which gave Wirth his dubious triumph is not of supreme importance at present. The important fact is that a majority of the Reichstag propose to keep Wirth on the job until after the Genoa Conference. Whether until after the Conference the Allies will forbear to press Wirth (supposing his tax proposals voted down by the Reichstag, or voted in fatally mutilated

form, or supposing no action in expectation of Conference results); remains to be seen. Ultimately Wirth may have to choose between surrender at discretion to the People's Party (whose policy has hitherto been to fulfill only under extreme compulsion) and surrender at discretion to the radical Independent Socialists, who would fulfill by confiscating capital. The situation is almost incredibly complicated. A confident analysis is out of the question.

Listen to Dr. Wirth!

Listen to Dr. Wirth, the German Chancellor:

We are not going to Genoa with a dagger under our cloak and perfidious intentions, but with our visor raised and with a device representing the program of the conference—"an Entente of all nations, rich or poor, victors or vanquished, with the common aim of re-establishment of international economic relations."

This is a far cry from *Schrecklichkeit*, at least "in principle."

The German Press Waxes Metaphorical

Lloyd George's speech of the other day to the British Congress of Coalition Liberals, in which he indirectly, but none the less surely, referred to Poincaré as a man of "rigid views, who dislikes facing realities," drew from the Teutonic press torrents of mixed metaphor in praise thereof. The following, by Theodore Wolff, of the *Tageblatt*, is a pretty specimen (N. Y. *Times* translation):

We must take Lloyd George's speech as a harbinger of sunrise, without forgetting that we several times erroneously believed we saw the aurora. But while the world insistently demands salvation from the present circumstances, Poincaré and his confederates sit behind their cannon and produce hate. That must prove bad business in the long run, for the demand for this export merchandise of hate is visibly diminishing.

Russia

What Anti-Bolshevist Russians Think

THE attitude of the Liberal anti-Bolshevist Russians toward the Genoa Conference is well expressed in the following from a speech by Prof. Paul N. Miliukov, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs in Kerensky's Provisional Government:

If the Genoa Conference takes place, it will illustrate once more the impossibility of bridging the chasm between Bolshevism and civilization. It may result only in disappointment for the business circles and in strengthening of the Bolsheviki, whose power is nearing its logical end. The material resources upon which it rested are near exhaustion. The Bolsheviki are badly in need of a loan. It is naive to expect that they would spend the credits secured for the economic reconstruction of Russia. Such reconstruction is impossible without the establishment of the personal security and legal order which would safeguard lives and property. The Bolshevist régime lacks even primitive and elementary conditions of civilized intercourse that Russia possessed since the time of Peter the Great. The loan they ask for is needed for a temporary upkeep of their much dilapidated machinery of domination. It cannot and it will not be efficiently employed, as even the minimum changes necessary would destroy the Bolshevist power. Continuation in power is their only aim, and they will not accept any condition which would even remotely menace that aim.

Hoover on Russian Relief

In his report to the President upon the administration of relief for Russia, Mr. Hoover said grimly:

The famine is proving of even larger dimensions than anticipated, for the agricultural decadence outside the special drought region of the Volga Basin is so severe in some places as to amount to famine. The amounts of food estimated by the Soviet authorities as being available for towns in the non-drought area seem to have been much overestimated.

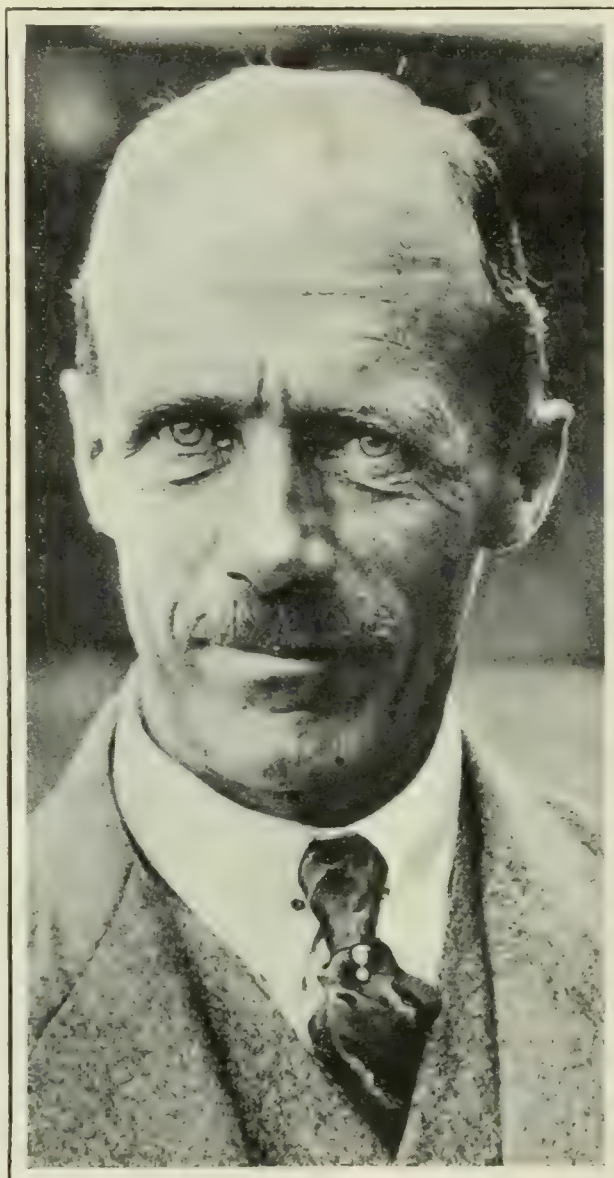
The neck of the bottle in relief to the drought area is port facilities and transportation inside Russia. It is impossible to determine at this moment what quantities can be handled, because the maximum pressure upon ports and railways will not occur until the large arrivals during this month. Already the Soviet transportation authorities have requested that the rate of dispatch (now 5,000 tons daily) should be slowed down owing to their inability to handle such large quantities, and already there have been congestion and delays at some points. American transportation and port experts have been sent in the hope of increasing the volume of movement. Both Finnish and Polish Governments have offered free railway transport during the past few days, and some increase can be had by using their ports.

The intensity of the famine is undoubtedly beyond any capacity of the accessible ports and railways, even if shipments were expanded considerably. In consequence there will be a great death roll under any present probable internal movement in Russia.

The Dairen Negotiations

There is a report (to which too much credence need not be given, for so many reports on these negotiations have proved false) that the representatives of Japan and the Far Eastern Republic, who have been in parley so long at Dairen, are near agreement. The report adds that the Japanese conditions for withdrawal of Japanese troops are very severe. Here (if the report is correct) is the first beneficent result from the Washington Conference; that the Siberians recognize that no help is forthcoming from the United States, that there is no prospect of better terms from Japan, that further negotiations would be futile, that they had best accept the terms offered, in fear of worse should they demur. Does this mean war, and, if so, when?

A later report states that the Soviet Russian representatives at Dairen have handed an ultimatum to the Japanese representatives, demanding that Japan carry out at once her promises made at the Washington Conference respecting Siberia. (These promises carried no date.)



Kadel & Herbert

Frank Wild, an old associate of Shackleton, who succeeds to the command of the "Quest" and will continue to the Antarctic

What's Become of the "Association of Nations"?

IN his speech closing the Washington Conference the President made the following statement, which may or may not indicate that he still clings to his idea of an association of nations:

Since this conference of nations has pointed with unanimity to the way of peace today, like conferences in the future, under appropriate conditions and with aims both well conceived and definite, may illumine the highways and byways of human activity. The torches of understanding have been lighted and they ought to glow and encircle the globe.

At worst, doubtless the model of the association, like that of Plato's Republic, has been laid up in Heaven.

Music

"The Love for the Three Oranges"—Jeritza—Philharmonic Concert

By W. J. Henderson

SERGEI PROKOFIEFF'S dream found its way to the stage of the Manhattan Opera House on the evening of February 14. The name of this confusing vision is "The Love for the Three Oranges." A friendly audience contemplated the revelation with sympathy and introduced its laughter and applause with the taste and discrimination of a political reporter recording for a waiting world the eloquence of some distinguished statesman. Mr. Prokofieff's creation mightily disturbed the critical waters and an amusing diversity of opinion enlivened the columns of the newspapers.

The venerable sages who have written musical comment for thirty or forty years admitted that the thing was funny, but declared that it was not an opera. The young gentlemen and still younger ladies who have not yet recovered from their astonishment at finding themselves empowered to determine the fate of operas, symphonies, and virtuosi asserted that it was a good show and that they enjoyed it. The simple truth is that Mr. Prokofieff has used in his own way the materials of fairy tales of Gozzi, constructed a bombastic and pretentious burlesque on grand opera itself, set it to modern music which sharpens the point of the burlesque by the ancient process of treating with impressive solemnity ridiculous utterances and actions, and has given us a jolly musical extravaganza, which might be performed with propriety in a Broadway theatre—if it were not for the music. The work reaches over the border line between pure burlesque and real opera buffa with Mr. Prokofieff's music, which belongs to that new world inhabited by the children of Stravinsky.

The whole thing is loosely jointed, uncertain in point and wanting in dramatic cohesiveness. It contains delightfully amusing incidents; but as a whole it is ponderous in matter, prolix in method and unsatisfying as an entertainment. About the music little can be said except that here and there, as in the march and in the chorus of the last scene, it has some rhythmic incisiveness. But no person in the drama sings anything that can be remembered. This is not astonishing, because there is no genuine human emotion or even sentiment in the work, and without these opera music has no nourishment. There is some clever scoring, but any one can score in these days.

The scenery of Boris Anisfeld was a triumph of ingenuity, fantasy, and appropriateness. This was indeed one of the chief attractions of the opera. Those who are acquainted with Mr. Anisfeld's art know that it is never happier than when it roams in an impossible realm. The members of Miss Garden's company concerned in the performance of the work covered themselves with glory, strange garments, and dust. Desire Defrere achieved the highest distinction of the evening when he turned a somersault over the prostrate body of a ponderous basso. And this is "grand opera" entirely up to date.

IN the field of opera no other new flowers have appeared. The performances at the two houses go on with the regularity of the days of the month and there is nothing to discuss. True, Miss Garden did present "Tannhäuser," but the performance was so bad that it was unworthy of serious comment. The incursions of the distinguished general director into the domain of German opera have not been triumphant. The "Tristan und Isolde" production was regrettable; the "Tannhäuser" was lamentable. Meanwhile the Metropolitan is preparing to produce Mozart's "Cosi fan Tutte," which may possibly be lost in the vast

spaces of that comedy-destroying house. However, let us not anticipate the event, but wait to see what we shall see.

MENTION of the Metropolitan reminds one that Leo Slezak, the tall Czech tenor who sang there some years ago, has published a little book in which he tells how he came to this country and discovered that great national institution the press agent. Which serves to remind us that Mme. Jeritza comes to us from the same city and the same opera house as Slezak came from. Perhaps he "put her wise" before she started. It looks as if he had. She has made no new sensations on the stage, but she is promising to give us another if they will only let her sing Salome, whom she will transform into a sweet little girl playing with a dolly. But alas! Mr. Gatti-Casazza has hardened his heart and avowed his belief that there is nothing in "Salome," not even in a doll-baby version.

It might be interesting, however, to observe the tall Viennese soubrette masquerading as an innocent Salome. Of course, the text would remain, but possibly the admirable artist is of the opinion that Americans are unacquainted with either Wilde's drama or the German translation of it made for the use of Richard Strauss. The customary attitude of distinguished visitors from abroad is familiar to inhabitants of the United States. They all arrive bearing precious gifts of information which are to enrich the minds of the money-chasers of the Western world. But the information that Wilde's Salome can be represented as an ingenuous maiden who does not understand the significance of the words which she addresses to Jokanaan is perhaps greater than we can bear.

THERE has been little, indeed almost nothing, in the concert world to call for comment since the last was made here. Perhaps nothing has contained more meaning than the fact that Willem Mengelberg on Saturday evening, February 18, conducted a Philharmonic concert in Carnegie Hall to one of the smallest audiences of the season. This fact is in no way discreditable to Mr. Mengelberg or the Philharmonic. It is merely one of those straws which indicate the movement of the wind. The astonishing newspaper sensationalism of last season has deserted Mr. Mengelberg and concentrated itself on Mme. Jeritza. The public, which dearly loves excitement, has been disappointed at its own inability to continue uttering loud cheers every time Mr. Mengelberg appeared on the platform. All of which is a great pity. Mr. Mengelberg is a fine conductor. He is just as admirable now as he was last winter. If he had been treated in a dignified manner then, critically considered and judiciously praised, he would now undoubtedly be marching steadily along the highway to future popularity. But sensational headlines and critical consideration do not consort well. Mr. Mengelberg no longer yields headlines. Therefore let us "play up" Mme. Jeritza. In the winter of 1922-23 the trumpet of newspaper fame will be blown for still another headliner. It is a noble pursuit.

A SONATA for violin and piano by Ottorino Respighi, one of the young Italian composers, was produced a few days ago by Bronislaw Huberman, the violinist. The work proved to be interesting. There is a promise in the activities of these new Italians who have broken away from the traditions of their country and endeavored to achieve success in some field outside that of opera.



Why I Have My Own Garden

By Henry T. Finck

(Author of "Gardening With Brains")

SOME streets in New York—Third and Eighth avenues for example, and Amsterdam Avenue—have a green-grocer at almost every corner, or between corners. In front of these stores are exhibited fruits and vegetables in all stages, from freshness to decay. Dust blows on them, and usually little or nothing is done to keep the fierce heat of the sun from wilting them. Vegetables thus exposed and desiccated are not the kind that tempt the appetite or digest easily. Is it a wonder that doctors and dietitians constantly feel it their duty to exhort American families to eat more of the health-giving vegetables? French and Italian families do not have to be admonished.

It isn't merely a question of epicurism, or of appetite and digestibility. There is also a direct loss in food value. It has been chemically demonstrated that corn, for instance, loses 30 per cent. of its sugar content in the first twenty-four hours after it has been pulled from the stalk and 25 per cent. more the next twenty-four hours. As you seldom can buy, at the corner grocer's, corn that isn't a day or two old, you are cheated out of half its food value. The loss of flavor, too, is regrettable. No one enjoys wilted dry corn as much as fresh, juicy cobs; and the more you enjoy a meal the easier it is to digest it and build up bodily strength.

The only way to make certain of juicy, flavory, digestible vegetables is to have your own garden. If you are rich and have an acre of fertile soil and a gardener or two, raise all your vegetables. But if your grounds are limited, it is foolish to waste space and labor on potatoes, cabbages, pumpkins, celery, onions, oyster plants, parsnips. All those can be bought in an edible condition at the grocer's. But you will never know, unless you raise them yourself, how delicious garden peas and beans, radishes, cucumbers, tomatoes, lettuce and romaine, okra, spinach, carrots, beets, and, above all, corn and asparagus can be.

Rapid transit to the table is the secret of having delicious vegetables of the perishable kind. For one o'clock lunch or dinner, peas, corn, asparagus, and baby beans should not be picked before ten or eleven o'clock. An English lady, who taught me some secrets of epicurean gardening and cooking, used to take along a pan of water into which she stuck the bottoms of asparagus stalks the instant she cut them.

Of course, if you allow your cook to boil your vegetables, home-grown or bought, you lose most of their precious mineral salts and "vitamines," unless the water in which

they are boiled is saved for making soup. Vegetables should preferably be steamed.

Within the last few years it has been demonstrated that food minerals, such as greens, legumes, and other vegetables provide in abundance, are the most important of all the ingredients of our diet. They particularly abound in raw vegetables. Everybody eats radishes, melons, cucumbers, tomatoes, celery, lettuce uncooked; but few know that baby peas and carrots are far more delicious raw than cooked; and so are yellow turnips, sweet corn, and asparagus tips. All these, of course, must be very young to be juicy and palatable; and in that condition you can get them only when you have your own garden.

Are there any other reasons for having one's own garden? Plenty of them. For one, there's economy.

Many a fisherman has been laughed at for using up a dollar's worth of tackle to get a few small trout. An amateur gardener, in the same way, may be ridiculed for spending \$50 to raise \$20 worth of vegetables. Yet, like the fisherman, he will feel that he has got his money's worth.

That's not economy, to be sure; but it is economy to buy a pound of Golden Bantam corn, with a dollar's worth of fertilizer, and grow table corn enough to last a family of five or six two months. Every single kernel of corn yields two ears, with several hundred kernels each. Your \$1.50 will yield at least a thousand cobs of corn. At the average city price for a dozen ears that means a saving of \$30. Is that economy?

With a nickel's worth of lettuce or romaine seed you can raise two hundred heads, which, in the city markets, would cost 10 to 20 cents each, or more. How about country markets? There are none for perishable vegetables. You must either grow them yourself or have them sent from the city, in which case they are hardly fit to eat. Yet the doctor urgently advises you to eat a lot of them. Ergo, every man should be his own gardener.

Not being a millionaire, I do not feel that I could spend a dollar or more daily for two quarts of shelled green peas. Up in Maine my garden yields, for an outlay of three or four dollars in seed and fertilizer, a daily quart or two of shelled peas for six or eight successive weeks. I call that economy.

It makes me think of the good old times, a third of a century ago, when my sister, in Southern California, bought for ten or fifteen cents all the vegetables needed

for a family of four. If she bought fifteen cents' worth, the Chinaman who brought them in his cart threw in a bunch of celery or radishes or a big juicy cucumber for good measure.

Let me briefly dwell on two other good reasons for having your own garden if you possibly can: health and pleasure.

Not one person in ten—perhaps it would be safe to say not more than one in fifty—gets sufficient exercise outdoors. Indoors we are often wiser than the Orientals, who, too lazy to bestir themselves, always have their dancing done for them by professionals. We have such professionals, too, in the theatres; but at social gatherings, at any rate, everyone does his or her own dancing. Yet at our outdoor games there are from a thousand to fifty thousand lazily looking on while the baseball nine or the cricket or the football eleven does all the exercising.

Golf is different; but golf is not for the many. Everybody, however, who is not imprisoned in a large city can have a small garden. If it's only twenty by fifty feet, it provides for several hours of daily exercise of the most healthful sort.

Spading, hoeing, weeding, sowing, watering and gathering the crops are the diverse kinds of healthful exercise you get in the garden. Together they train every muscle in the body and you need not indulge in tiresomely monotonous gymnasium stunts or hateful parlor gymnastics, none of which bring as much vitalizing oxygen into the lungs as gardening does, because it is always in the open.

To increase still further the healthfulness of gardening you should indulge in deep breathing all the time, especially when hoeing or spading. Take several sniffs (always through the nose) of air till the lungs are full; then rapidly and forcibly expel this air till nothing seems to be

left in the lungs. If you do that you can spade or hoe twice as long without feeling tired or having your heart beat too fast. It's truly marvelous; and the reason of course is that you get into your lungs twice as much oxygen to redden your blood as by the usual shallow breathing.

As for the pleasure of gardening, I know few things to equal it. Are you a father or a mother, or an aunt or an uncle? If so, you know that there is endless pleasure in watching the tots growing up and gradually unfolding all their human qualities. It's the same with plants, be they flowering plants or vegetables.

If you are rich and have a gardener, it isn't quite the same thing. You should plant the seeds yourself, water the ground and pull out the weeds with your own hands; then you will enjoy their daily growth and wear a perpetual smile when they begin to blossom.

Choose flowering plants that will appeal to your sense of smell, as well as to your eyes. There are plenty of them. Try sweet peas, pansies, nasturtiums, nicotiana, petunias, stocks, wallflowers, marigolds, carnations, rose geraniums, phlox (annual and perennial), peonies, hyacinths, daffodils, roses, lilacs, lilies, wistarias, honeysuckles, and so on—there are dozens of them which you can try and enjoy.

If you are a beginner, you must be told that the four indispensable tools are hoe, spade, trowel, and rake. Your soil should be dark and rich; if too light or too heavy, it should be enriched with humus (or decayed vegetable matter). In dry weather water your plants till the lowest tips of their roots are wet. After a heavy rain break up the crust that forms, so as to let in the air which the roots need. And when the flowers come, pick them, or the seed capsules, daily; in this way the plants will blossom twice as long.

The Furnishings of Your Garden

By Robert S. Lemmon

THE well-planned garden, using the term in its broader sense as signifying all the ornamental parts of the grounds, is somewhat analogous to the rooms in the house itself. There are the green carpets of grass underfoot, the baseboard of low shrubs or flowers marking the boundaries, the tinted or variegated wall patterns of the taller plants, the blue ceiling of the sky spanning the whole. There are, or should be, bits of decoration here and there comparable to floor-lamps and mantel ornaments, and, most important of all, comfortable, well-placed pieces of furniture where we can sit at ease and enjoy the beauty of our surroundings.

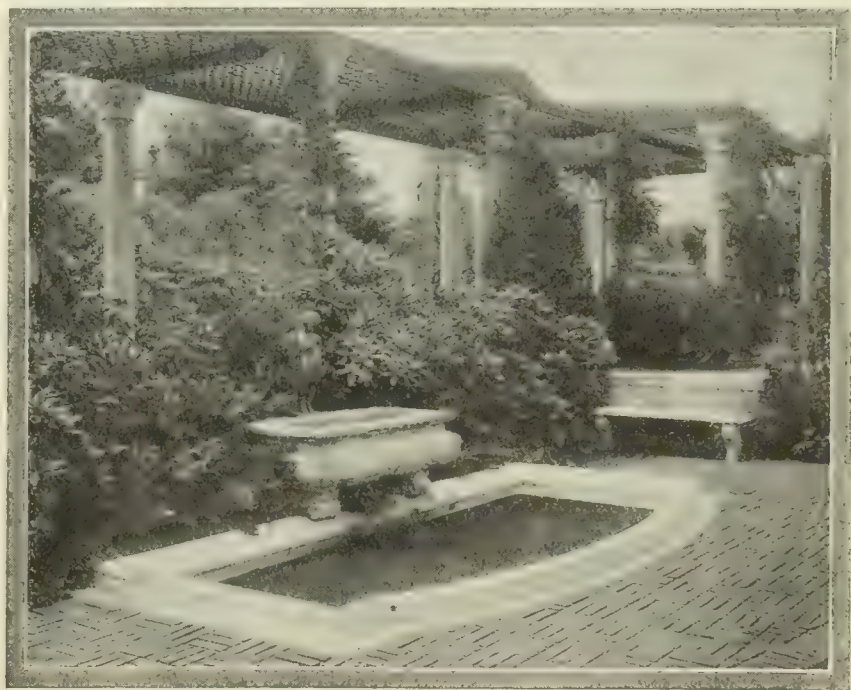
After all, the garden is a place for outdoor living. Work in it we must, if it is to be a success. But when the labor is over, do we not deserve the comfortable enjoyment of its fruits? Who wants to run through a garden, or stand punctiliously and inspect it in a sort of dress parade? No—to appreciate your garden fully you must sit down to it.

Garden furnishings fall naturally into two general classes: the practical as well as ornamental things, such as summer-houses, arbors, seats and tables, bird-baths; and the purely ornamental, which include sun-dials, fountains, gazing globes, and statuary. Perhaps the clearest direct approach to a presentation of the subject will be to take up each of these main groups in turn and discuss it somewhat in detail.

In the scheme of almost every suburban or country home, and in many city ones as well, there is place for some sort of warm-weather outdoor shelter where we may read or sip tea, or just loaf at ease and listen to the undercurrents of the garden's voice. A vine-covered pergola, perhaps,

with a cool brick or flagged floor, a table and a few comfortable chairs, or perhaps a regular summer-house whose roof will shed the heaviest shower and avert the hottest sun. It will be open at the sides, of course, so that we may look out along flower-lined paths and catch every breath of fragrant breeze. Well away from the house, too, so that its individuality and importance as a feature will not be dwarfed by the larger structure.

Such a retreat may be made in various ways and of divers materials. Round wooden posts and squared tim-



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bers for the roof are usually best for the pergola, although concrete and sometimes stone can be used for the pillars with equally good effect. Climbing roses can scale the uprights and explore the top, mitigating the rather stark architectural effect of the unmasked structure. Ten feet is a good average height. Whatever style may be decided upon, do not feel that you must have a pergola just because your neighbor has one. Among the most incongruous and, unfortunately, frequent pieces of so-called garden ornament is the pergola which stands forth unadorned in the middle of an otherwise excellent lawn, fairly screaming for the attention which it does not deserve.

The tea or summer-house is safer from the standpoint of good taste, for it can be made to fit into the scheme of things as logically as the garage or any other outbuilding. Yet there are restrictions on its design which may not appear at first glance. More than any other type of garden fixture it should harmonize with the architectural style and color effect of the house. A white clapboard house and a brick or rustic wood summer-house can never result in the unity of general scheme which should characterize every home grounds, especially if medium-sized or small.

The same principle governs the selection of detached garden seats, tables, benches, and other unsheltered pieces. Carry the architecture of the house into the architecture of the garden, and you will have caught one of the most important elements of success.

The rules for the placing of these smaller pieces of true furniture are simple. First, they should be in spots where people would naturally like to stop to enjoy nearby flower beds, look down into the depths of lily pool or fountain, or merely take refuge from the hot sun in the shade of some fine old tree. Here an inviting grouping of the pieces, if there are several, will greatly enhance their effectiveness.

Simplicity of design and strength of material and construction are vital to the success and satisfaction which our garden accessories give us. The formal French or Italian or English garden may justify ornateness in its furnishings, but not so the great bulk of ours here in America. The more closely we adhere to that substantial, wholesome air of unadorned sincerity which characterizes our plantings the wiser we shall be. Well-painted, solid pine, wrought iron without complicated filigree work, and classically simple concrete—these are the materials for 90 per cent. of our garden furniture that is intended to remain in virtually the same place during the whole season.

It is perhaps within the scope suggested by the title of this article to mention rose arches, arbors, and trellises, for in a sense they are pieces of garden furniture. One excellent combination in this class is the white wooden seat, curved or straight, with a wooden lattice hood over which the roses are trained. Such a piece had best go at the end of one of the walks, or some other place where one naturally looks for a full stop in both progress and view. Another variation from the usual arbor can be made by setting up galvanized piping in a square or circle, bending the upper ends together to form a sort of roof which, covered with heavy woven wire fencing, and planted with pink or white Dorothy Perkins roses, will make a literal rose house.



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Smaller than any of these things, but calling for just as much wisdom in their selection and location, are the sundials, gazing globes, bird-baths, bits of statuary, and other garden ornaments of æsthetic rather than utilitarian appeal. They are the mantel and table decorations of our outdoor room, the things which we do not actually need but which add immeasurably to the completeness of the whole.

It follows, therefore, that they should be so placed that they fulfill their real function as accents and focal points of interest in the garden scheme. What they really accomplish, though we may not realize it as we look at them, is to catch our attention by their very contrast with the evanescent character of their flower surroundings. There is something firm and enduring about them which stabilizes our impressions and helps us to view the surroundings in their true perspective.

In general, sun-dial, gazing globe, pottery urn, or stone oil jar should stand apart from the actual flower or shrub planting while still retaining the latter as a background. Not so with the bird-bath, which calls for seclusion simply because birds are naturally shy and do not care to venture far away from sheltering foliage.

As for statuary—well, be careful! Shun bronze deer, wrought iron mastiffs, and similar mid-Victorian atrocities as you would the plague. A really good and thoroughly artistic small fountain figure may be worked in, or perhaps a Pan's head half hidden among the leaves. But unless your garden is spacious and formal, hold back your statuary desires with a very firm hand.

Moderation and restraint—these are the keynotes of success in furnishing the garden. Every piece you put in must have complete justification, whether utilitarian or æsthetic. The flowers and shrubs of which our gardens are made are the most true, sincere creations of the world. Whatever of the artificial we may decree shall live with them must serve as adjuncts, not insults, to their beauty.



A Little Primer for the Garden-Lover

By Gardner Teall

THE poet Cowley once wrote "I never had any other desire so strong, and so like to Covetousness, as that one which I have had always, that I might be master at last of a small house and a large garden, with very moderate conveniences joined to them, and there dedicate the remainder of my life to the Culture of them and study of Nature." It was Cowley who declared

"God the first garden made, and the first city, Cain."

A garden is a necessary adjunct of the true home, otherwise the premises is merely a dwelling. Those who do not love gardens—and there are few such—will turn a deaf ear to the praises one sings of the delights of planting and of watching growing things. Those who do love gardens need hardly be reminded of the enchantments that await their enthusiasms with the advent of each new season. But there are many who, like Cowley, have been denied the gardens for which they long, or whose hope of having a garden is just about to be realized, and it is to such that I would whisper the magic word "catalogues" both as solace and as inspiration. What would the world do without the catalogues of seedsmen and nurserymen! What a boon these are to garden-lovers! What delectable excursions one may take in their pages, and what time-savers they are with their crowded columns of useful hints and gardening directions! These generous horticulturist-suppliers do not keep their trade-secrets hidden away; they tell you all they know about garden-making and seem to feel that their mission in life is to make gardening as easy for you as possible. Bless them, and may they prosper! To let Spring trip into your midst without sending for a seedsman's catalogue or the nurseryman's list *before it is too late* is to remain without the pale, and this little primer is not for such!

Garden Planning

THE experienced garden-maker need not be told that no garden primarily for pleasure should be so planned that its care throughout a season requires an amount of attention that the owner does not feel able or equal to give it. One should never plan for a garden that cannot be kept up with comfort and without exhaustion. This does not, of course, apply to those gardens which are planted solely for profit or to supply necessities. On the other hand, many a garden is under-planted. Nothing is sadder than an unnecessarily "stingy-looking" garden, a garden of plants too far apart, of plants misplaced. A good garden requires both care and thought, but what other thing in the way of recreation yields so much pleasure for the time spent in its pursuit! The amateur garden-maker should decide upon the amount of time at his disposal for gardening, and regulate the planning in accordance. Even if one has an experienced gardener to help, there are still certain things the true garden-lover will wish to do for himself, and there is no gardening satisfaction quite like that of owning a lovely garden that one has brought to its perfection through personal care.

Individual tastes and individual needs will, of course, also influence the planning of a garden, and individual gardening hobbies will play their rôles in garden-making. One will devote his main attention to bulbs, another to Dahlias, another to Peonies, another to Gladioli, and so on, just as one garden-maker devotes herself to annuals and her neighbor to perennials. But whatever sort of garden hobby one has, or however eclectic one's taste may be, the garden

should be made an inviting place, large or small, not merely a growing place, a spot where flowers and vegetables are "raised" for the obvious ends of cutting and of eating. Let the garden be so planned, when possible, as to seem an outdoor home, a place in which to commune with oneself and nature. To do this we must give garden-planning the careful attention we give house-planning and interior decoration. Arrangement, form, and color all count.

Color in the Garden

COLOR is coming to play more and more an important part in planning the season's garden of flowering annuals, and in plans for the permanent perennial beds and borders. The following list of flowers arranged in color-groups should prove helpful to the garden-lover who has in mind certain color-effects to be attained. Many species, of course, such as the Sweet Pea, Verbena, Phlox, etc., are found in many different colors, and so are repeated in the list below. With those flowers which have variegated coloring, such as *Clintonia* (*Downingia*) *pulchella*, *Gilia tricolor*, the perennial *Glaucium*, etc., no attempt is here made to designate the varying tints in a single blossom. It will also be noted that where there are both annual and perennial varieties of a species these are given in both lists.

ANNUALS

White: *Acroclium*, *Ageratum*, *Aster*, *Balsam*, *Calendula pluvialis*, *California Poppy* (*Eschscholtzia*), *Campanula*, *Candytuft*, *Centaurea*, *Chrysanthemum*, *Clarkia*, *Clary*, *Collinsia*, *Convolvulus*, *Cosmos*, *Delphinium*, *Fenzlia*, *Forget-Me-Not*, *Four O'Clock*, *Dianthus*, *Gilia*, *Godetia*, *Gomphrena* (*Globe Amaranth*), *Gypsophila*, *Helichrysum*, *Ipomœa*, *Jacobæa*, *Lavatera*, *Leptosiphon*, *Lobelia*, *Love-In-A-Mist* (*Nigella*), *Lupinus*, *Malcomia* (*Virginia Stock*), *Malope*, *Matricaria*, *Nemesia*, *Nemophila*, *Nicotiana*, *Nolana*, *Nycterinia*, *Petunia*, *Phlox*, *Poppy*, *Portulaca*, *Scabiosa*, *Schizanthus*, *Snapdragon*, *Specularia*, *Stock*, *Sweet Pea*, *Torenia*, *Verbena*, *Whitlavia*, *Xeranthemum* and *Zinnia*.

Blue: *Ageratum*, *Aster*, *Blue Lace Flower*, *Campanula*, *Centaurea*, *Collinsia*, *Convolvulus*, *Cygnoglossum*, *Delphinium*, *Dracocephalum*, *Forget-Me-Not*, *Gilia*, *Ipomœa*, *Kaulfussia*, *Leptosiphon*, *Lobelia*, *Love-In-A-Mist* (*Nigella*), *Lupinus*, *Meliotus*, *Nemesia*, *Nemophila*, *Nolana*, *Petunia*, *Phlox*, *Salvia*, *Specularia*, *Stock*, *Sweet Pea*, *Torenia*, *Verbena* and *Whitlaria*.

Purple, Violet, Lilac, or Mauve: *Abronia*, *Aster*, *Balsam*, *Candytuft*, *Centaurea*, *Clary*, *Collinsia*, *Convolvulus*, *Delphinium*, *Erodium*, *Helichrysum*, *Ipomœa*, *Jacobæa*, *Lavatera*, *Leptosiphon*, *Petunia*, *Phlox*, *Portulaca*, *Salpiglossis*, *Scabiosa*, *Schizanthus*, *Stock*, *Sweet Pea*, *Verbena* and *Xeranthemum*.

Yellow: *Adonis*, *Balsam*, *Bartonia*, *Calendula*, *California Poppy* (*Eschscholtzia*), *Calliopsis*, *Celosia*, *Centaurea*, *Chrysanthemum*, *Collomia*, *Convolvulus*, *Evening Primrose*, *Four O'Clock*, *Gaillardia*, *Helianthus*, *Helichrysum*, *Hunemannia*, *Marigold*, *Matricaria*, *Mignonette*, *Nasturtium*, *Phlox*, *Salpiglossis*, *Schizanthus*, *Snapdragon*, *Sweet Pea*, *Verbena* and *Zinnia*.

Orange: *Calendula*, *California Poppy* (*Eschscholtzia*), *Celosia*, *Cosmos*, *Dimorphotheca* (*African Orange Daisy*), *Erysimum*, *Helichrysum*, *Marigold*, *Nasturtium*, *Portulaca*, *Salpiglossis*, *Sweet Pea* and *Zinnia*.

Brown: *Calliopsis*, *Marigold*, *Nasturtium*, *Nemophila* and *Salpiglossis* and *Snapdragon*.

Red: *Adonis Aleppica*, *Aster*, *Balsam*, *Bidens*, *California*

Poppy (*Eschscholtzia*), Candytuft, *Celosia*, *Centhranthus*, *Chrysanthemum*, *Clarkia*, *Convolvulus*, *Clary*, *Collomia*, *Cosmos*, *Delphinium*, *Eucharidium*, Four O’Clock, *Gaillardia*, *Godetia*, *Gomphrena*, *Gypsophila*, *Helichrysum*, *Ipomœa*, *Kaulfussia*, *Lavatera*, *Lupinus*, *Malcomia*, *Mignonette*, *Petunia*, *Phlox*, *Poppy*, *Portulaca*, *Salpiglossis*, *Schizanthus*, *Snapdragon*, *Stock*, *Sweet Pea*, *Verbena* and *Zinnia*.

Pink: *Acroclinium*, *Balsam*, *Centaurea*, *Clarkia*, *Convolvulus*, *Cosmos*, *Delphinium*, *Evening Primrose*, *Fenzlia*, *Forget-Me-Not*, Four O’Clock, *Godetia*, *Gomphrena*, *Gypsophila*, *Helichrysum*, *Ipomœa*, *Lobelia*, *Lupinus*, *Malope*, *Nasturtium*, *Nicotiana*, *Petunia*, *Phlox*, *Poppy*, *Portulaca*, *Scabiosa*, *Schizanthus*, *Snapdragon*, *Stock*, *Sweet Pea*, *Verbena*, *Xeranthemum* and *Zinnia*.

Maroon: *Calliopsis*, *Chrysanthemum*, *Gomphrena*, *Helichrysum*, *Marigold*, *Nasturtium* and *Sweet Pea*.

PERENNIALS

White: *Acanthus*, *Achillea*, *Aquilegia*, *Arabis*, *Arctotis*, *Aspernea*, *Aster*, *Bocconia*, *Campanula*, *Candytuft*, *Centaurea*, *Chrysanthemum*, *Cobæa*, *Dahlia*, *Daisy*, *Delphinium*, *Hedysarum*, *Dictamus*, *Digitalis*, *Galega*, *Gypsophila*, *Helleborus*, *Hollyhock*, *Jacob’s Ladder* (*Polemonium*), *Lathyrus*, *Lupinus*, *Lychnis*, *Malva*, *Nierembergia*, *Peony*, *Pansy*, *Phlox*, *Physostegia*, *Platycodon*, *Poppy*, *Rocket*, *Romneya*, *Salvia*, *Saxifraga*, *Snapdragon*, *Valerian*, *Vinca*, *Violet*, *Viola*, *Wallflower* and *Yucca*.

Blue: *Aconitum*, *Anchusa*, *Anemone*, *Aquilegia*, *Asperula*, *Aster* (*Michaelmas Daisy*), *Baptisia*, *Campanula*, *Centaurea*, *Delphinium*, *Echinops*, *Eryngium*, *Galega*, *Gentiana*, *Jacob’s Ladder* (*Polemonium*), *Lupinus*, *Pansy*, *Passiflora*, *Salvia*, *Scabiosa*, *Stokesia*, *Trachelium*, *Veronica* and *Violet*.

Purple, Violet, Lilac, or Mauve: *Arctotis*, *Aubrietia*, *Auricula* (*Primrose*), *Chrysanthemum*, *Cobæa*, *Dahlia*, *Digitalis*, *Gunnera*, *Honesty*, *Kudzu Vine*, *Kenilworth Ivy* (*Linnaria Cymbalaria*), *Nierembergia*, *Pansy*, *Phlox*, *Rocket* and *Violet*.

Yellow: *Adonis*, *Alstrœmeria*, *Anthemis*, *Aquilegia*, *Auricula* (*Primrose*), *Coreopsis*, *Chrysanthemum*, *Dahlia*, *Delphinium*, *Digitalis*, *Gaillardia*, *Helenium*, *Hollyhock*, *Lupinus*, *Minulus*, *Pansy*, *Pentstemon*, *Polyanthus*, *Poppy*, *Pyrethrum*, *Rudbeckia*, *Snapdragon*, *Trollius*, *Verbascum*, *Viola* and *Wallflower*.

Orange: *Asclepias*, *Chrysanthemum*, *Dahlia*, *Pansy*, *Rudbeckia*, *Snapdragon* and *Wallflower*.

Brown: *Pansy* and *Wallflower*.

Red: *Adonis*, *Aquilegia*, *Aubretia*, *Chrysanthemum*, *Dahlia*, *Daisy*, *Delphinium*, *Digitalis*, *Gaillardia*, *Geum*, *Gypsophila*, *Hedysarum*, *Henchera*, *Hollyhock*, *Incarvillea*, *Lathyrus*, *Lobelia*, *Lychnis*, *Mimulus*, *Monarda*, *Peony*, *Pansy*, *Pentstemon*, *Phlox*, *Poppy*, *Pyrethrum*, *Salvia*, *Snapdragon*, *Sweet William*, *Valerian*, *Vinca* and *Wallflower*.

Pink: *Aconitum*, *Anemone*, *Chrysanthemum*, *Dahlia*, *Daisy*, *Gypsophila*, *Hollyhock*, *Lathyrus*, *Lupinus*, *Malva*, *Peony*, *Passiflora*, *Phlox*, *Plumarius*, *Snapdragon*, *Sweet William*, *Veronica*, *Vinca* and *Wallflower*.

Maroon: *Chrysanthemum*, *Dahlia*, *Pansy* and *Wallflower*.

BIENNIALS

White: *Campanula*, *Carpatica* (*Harebell*), *Calycanthema*, *Dianthus* and *Foxglove*.

Blue: *Campanula*, *Carpatica* (*Harebell*), *Calycanthema*.

Purple, Violet, Lilac, or Mauve: *Carpatica* (*Harebell*), *Calcanthema* and *Foxglove*.

Yellow: *California Poppy* (*Eschscholtzia*), *Foxglove*.

Orange: *California Poppy* (*Eschscholtzia*).

Red: *California Poppy* (*Eschscholtzia*) and *Dianthus*.

Pink: *Calycanthema*, *Foxglove* and *Dianthus*.

As the colors of the Bulb Plants—*Hyacinth*, *Tulip*, *Daffodil*, *Jonquil*, etc., are easily in mind, no color-group lists of these need here be given.

Garden Pests

THE garden-beginner should not be scared away from garden-making by any belief that garden pests will make the struggle to bring plants to maturity not worth the while. As a matter of fact, many an owner of a small garden has little trouble in this respect. However, plant enemies do abound, and one should be forewarned to be forearmed. Those insect pests which suck the juices from the plants, and thus cause so much damage to growing things, can only be destroyed by *contact insecticides*. Such pests are lice, mealy bug, scale, green, black, and white aphids or fly, and these are killed either by suffocation or pore-closing by the powder insecticides such as Hellebore, Tobacco Dust, etc., or through absorption of the liquid insecticides such as Fish-Oil Soap, Melrosine, etc. The insects which destroy plants through *chewing* are killed by poisons which reach them internally, such as Paris Green, Pyrox, Arsenate of Lead, etc. All the important seedsmen sell insecticides and their catalogues give good descriptions of these powders and liquids. The garden-maker should have the insecticides he will require at hand for prompt use, as delay is often fatal.

A Word About Small Fruits for Home Gardens

THE maker of a little home garden, as well as the maker of a large one, cannot afford to overlook the matter of small fruits on the home premises. In the whole category of “Practical Plants” nothing gives a more satisfactory yield than small fruits. Blackberries, currants, gooseberries, raspberries, strawberries, grapes, and now the new blueberries have strong claim to Everyman’s garden. Then apples, apricots, cherries, peaches, pears and plums should not be overlooked when planning an American garden. A Japanese garden-lover anticipates the time when their lovely Spring-flowering period will come to gladden the sight as much as the more mundane product which will follow to tickle the palate. By all means give the small fruits room in your garden, for they are easily cultivated and become permanent adjuncts. The following table will indicate the distances apart for setting out fruits:



L. W. Brownell
Trailing Arbutus

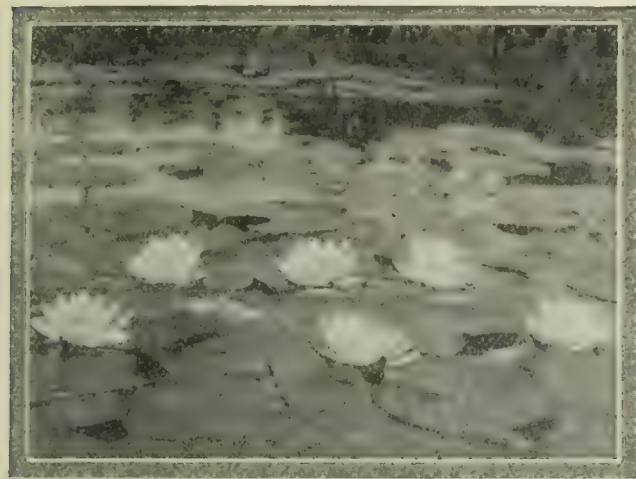
Apple, Standard.....	30-40	ft. apart
" Dwarf	8-10	" "
Apricot, Standard.....	16-18	" "
" Dwarf	8-10	" "
Blackberry	5-7	" "
Cherry, Standard.....	18-20	" "
" Dwarf	10-12	" "
Currant	3x5	" "
Gooseberry	3-5	" "
Grape	8-10	" "
Peach, Standard.....	16-18	" "
" Dwarf	8-10	" "
Pear, Standard.....	18-20	" "
" Dwarf	10	" "
Plum, Standard.....	15-20	" "
" Dwarf	10-12	" "

Quince	10-12 feet apart
Raspberry	3-6 " "
Strawberry	1-3 " "

Nurserymen's catalogues will give the garden beginner full information as to the soil requirements, culture, etc., of all these fruits.

Watching the Garden Grow

MANY garden enthusiasts keep garden diaries, jotting down each day planting, cultivation, and harvesting notes, observations and conclusions. It is well worth the while, and will prove useful as well as entertaining. In this great country, embracing as it does such a range in temperature and atmospheric conditions and such varieties



L. W. Brownell
Water Lily

of soil, one cannot present other than general or fundamental garden rules. The seasons East differ from the seasons South and West. But only the isolated garden-maker

will be at a loss to know when to plant, since in every community, from farm to town, planting time will be in the air at its proper season and we shall know it as instinctively as the small boy knows marble time and top time. It may be well to point out that each State in the Union has a State Agricultural Station and letters of inquiry addressed to the Director of any such Station on matters pertaining to horticultural conditions within the State will be promptly and cheerfully answered without charge.

For localities north of Philadelphia and westward, the following suggestions of gardening operations from month to month may prove of service, requiring, here and there, some slight adjustment, perhaps, to fit local conditions:

GARDENING CALENDAR

March: This is the month for beginning to rid the garden and home grounds of all bark insect pests. Late in the month roses should be pruned, dead wood should be removed from them and the strong shoots cut back. Spring may not look to be here, but it is here, and let there be comfort in that thought. Peach and apricot will need a spraying before the first of next month. Hotbed and cold-frame must be put in shape and early varieties of lettuce, onions, cabbage, eggplant, tomatoes, and peppers should be planted in them. Seeds of such early annuals as bear transplanting can be sown in cold-frames this month to ensure early flowering. As soon as frost is out of the ground, this month or next, the lawn should be reseeded where needed, fertilized, and rolled. Asparagus beds and rhubarb rows should receive attention.

April: Sweet peas should be planted outdoors as soon as the ground is in condition for them. Asparagus and rhubarb beds should be fertilized. Remove the mulch from strawberries. Spraying should all be done by the middle of the month. Plant roses, fruit trees, berry bushes, and other nursery stock this month. Soil around trees and shrubs should be loosened and fertilized. Early in the month the garden should have a manure dressing. Perennial roots may now be divided.

May: This is the great gardening month. Beans, sweet corn, squash, melons, cucumbers should be sown early. When all danger of frost is past, tomato, eggplant, and

pepper plants may be set out. When the Sweet Peas are up above ground a few inches give them support. Look out for insect pests—cutworm, etc. Sow seeds of annuals outdoors. Transplant seedlings from hotbeds and cold-frames to the open garden. Dahlias, Lilies, Gladioli, and summer-flowering bulbs may now be set out. Bedding plants should also be set out this month. By the end of the month one may sow seed of late cabbage, cauliflower, Brussels sprouts, kale, rutabaga, and fall turnips for the late fall crops. Blossoms of newly set strawberry plants should be removed; give the old plants a mulch of clean straw as a protection and as an aid to conserve moisture. Spray elms and fruit trees.

June: Make a second planting of gladioli and dahlias. Set out celery plants. Spray roses to prevent destruction by aphid. Such garden vegetables as potatoes, squash, melons, and cucumbers should be sprayed in time. Biennials and perennials should be sown at this time, as this will allow them to attain good root growth to stand wintering and their successful blossoming next summer. *Keep the weeds down!*

July: Late crop sweet corn may be sown now. Celery kale, cabbage, cauliflower, rutabaga, and Brussels sprouts plants may now be set out for fall crops. Asparagus tops should be allowed to grow, and the cutting given up, otherwise the asparagus root crowns will not regain strength for the season to follow. Sow endive, lettuce, radish, etc., for late crops. Flowering plants will be helped by an occasional application of fertilizer. Stake bush plants, peonies, dahlias, gladioli, etc. After their period of blossoming, hybrid perpetual roses should be pruned.

August: Dig potatoes only as needed at this time. Evergreen may be planted this month. Pot-grown strawberries set out now will bear fruit next year. Dress rose beds with sheep-manure or bone-meal. Give especial attention to watering this month, evening being the best time for this work. Pinch off seed-pods, except those which you wish to permit to ripen for seeding, as this will prolong the blossoming of the plants. Superfluous growth may be removed from tomato plants.

September: This is the time to order Dutch bulbs, which you will be planting next month. This is peony-planting month, and also the best time for setting out the iris. New lawns may be made. Watering must be kept up industriously. New perennial beds and borders should be made not later than the third week of the month.

October: Dutch bulbs for spring bloom must now go into the ground. This is also a good month for setting out hardy roses, ornamental trees, shrubs, and fruit trees. Lettuce and



L. W. Brownell
Daisies

radishes may be sown in cold-frames for winter use. Cabbages should be stored in pits or cold-frames by the latter part of the month. Lawns will need an "overhauling" and a dressing of pulverized sheep-manure in those spots requiring reseeding. This should be done *before* the seeding.

November: Give a manure dressing to asparagus bed, trees, roses, shrubs, and vines. Protect bulb beds with a proper winter covering. As soon as frost has killed the foliage, dig up the gladioli, cannas, and dahlias and store them after properly drying. Cellar vegetables. Clean up the garden and destroy all litter.

December: See that evergreens are protected; this includes rhododendrons. Parsnips and oyster plants should be dug up and cellared; such as will be needed for early spring consumption can be left in the ground. See that all gardening implements are clean and oiled for protection from rust and put carefully away for the winter. On bright days give the cold frames a ventilation.

January: Mulch trees, shrubs, and fruit trees with manure. If you have neglected to protect your strawberries, lose no time in covering them with a mulch of leaves, salt hay, or other suitable material.

February: Pruning can be commenced in many localities this month. The hotbed should be made ready by the middle of the month. Grapevines, currant and gooseberry bushes should be pruned, as also should fruit trees.

The Kitchen Garden

I SUPPOSE someone invented the term "Kitchen Garden" to keep vegetables in their supposed social sphere! Nevertheless vegetable gardens have a fascination of their own beyond that of mere utilitarian attraction. Given a good sandy loam soil, rich and friable, the garden-maker who appreciates the treasure-trove of a good supply of home-grown vegetables should select his seed carefully and as the season progresses keep his garden as clean as the kitchen should be kept that is ultimately destined to witness their apotheosis. As a general rule, the same sorts of vegetables should not be planted a succeeding season in the same spot as the previous season's planting, although potatoes, onions and some other vegetables prove exceptions to this order of things. Frequent hoeing, vigilant weeding, and sufficient watering are all required. The well-culti-

vated vegetable garden repays all the trouble expended upon it. As to the choice of a site, one is not always able, with a small garden, to meet ideal conditions, which would place it with a south or with a southeast exposure. So much time may be gained by starting plants in hotbeds or coldframes, and thus make possible early vegetables, that their advantages should not be overlooked by the owner of even a small garden. It is true

that seedlings can be cheaply bought from local florists and nurserymen, but one's own coldframe and hotbed experiments will be sufficiently interesting to make them worth while. Again the seeds catalogue brings to the garden-maker who is planning for vegetables a wealth of valuable suggestion and reliable information. The most satisfactory arrangement

for vegetables will be found to be planting them in rows. This enables the garden-maker to cultivate them easily with wheel tools.

A slovenly garden is no more pleasant to the eye than a slovenly house. Nature takes care of her wild growing things, it is true, but where man interferes to the extent of upsetting Nature's premises and remodelling them after his own designs—and every garden-maker does that—it will be necessary for him to keep things in good garden-shape if he would compete to his own credit with Nature's enterprise. This being so, one should begin without delay to look into the matter of horticultural implements and garden requisites, for garden tools, few and simple though they may be, are a necessity. Spade,

hoe, and rake form the particular historical trio. They seem to spell work, but gardening is not a matter of frivolity and play, a Watteau or Fragonard sort of thing; it is work. But it is the kind of work that brings happiness with it. There may be little or no joy in weed-pulling, but there *is* joy in the results of having saved the garden from the obnoxious enemy, and fortunately modern garden tools are not the cumbersome implements of days gone by.



Adonis Aleppica

Vegetable Planting Table

Vegetable	Quantity for Row 50 Feet	Distance of Plants Apart	Depth to Plant	Time to Maturity
Artichoke . . .	10 plants	2½ ft. apart		Yr. following
Asparagus (Roots)	33 plants	1½ ft.	6 in.	1-3 yrs.
Beans, Bush . . .	1 lb.	2 in.	2 in.	45- 65 days
Beans, Lima . . .	1 lb.	6 in.	2 in.	70- 80 "
Beans, Pole Lima	½ lb. to 25 poles	5 in. in hill	2 in.	85- 90 "
Beet	2 oz.	3-4 in.	1 in.	60- 80 "
Brussels Sprouts	⅛ oz.	1½ ft.	½ in.	100-120 "
Cabbage	⅛ oz.	1½ ft.	½ in.	100-120 "
Carrot	½ oz.	2-3 in.	½ in.	70-100 "
Cauliflower . . .	⅛ oz.	2 ft.	½ in.	100-115 "
Celery	½ oz.	6 in.	¼ in.	120-150 "
Corn, Sweet . . .	¼ oz.	3 to hill	½ in.	70-100 "
Cucumber	½ oz.	Hills 4 ft. apart	1 in.	60- 85 "
Eggplant	⅛ oz.	2 ft.	½ in.	125-140 "
Endive	½ oz.	12 in.	¼ in.	60- 75 "
Kale	½ oz.	1½ ft.	¼ in.	90-120 "
Kohlrabi	½ oz.	8 in.	¼ in.	60- 75 "
Leek	½ oz.	6 in.	½ in.	120-150 "
Lettuce	½ oz.	8-10 in.	¼ in.	60- 80 "
Melon Musk . . .	¼ oz.	Hills 5 ft. apart	½ in.	100-120 "
Melon, Water . .	½ oz.	8 ft.	1 in.	100-125 "
Onion	1 oz.	2-3 in.	½ in.	130-150 "
Okra	1 oz.	10 in.	1 in.	75- 90 "
Parsley	½ oz.	3-4 in.	½ in.	85-100 "
Parsnip	½ oz.	4 in.	½ in.	100-125 "
Pepper	¼ oz.	1½ ft.	¼ in.	125-150 "
Peas	1 lb.	1 in.	2 in.	50- 75 "
Potato	5 lbs.	15-18 in.	4 in.	75-120 "
Pumpkin	½ oz.	8-10 ft.	1 in.	100-125 "
Radish	½ oz.	1-2 in.	½ in.	30- 40 "
Rutabaga	½ oz.	8 in.	½ in.	90-100 "
Salsify	1 oz.	3-4 in.	1 in.	120-150 "
Spinach	½ oz.	1-3 ft.	½ in.	50- 65 "
Squash	¼ oz.	Hills 6 ft. apart	1 in.	100-125 "
Swiss Chard . . .	1 oz.	6 in.	1 in.	60- 80 "
Tomato	15 plants	4 ft.	¼ in.	125-150 "
Turnip	½ oz.	4-6 in.	½ in.	60- 80 "



L. W. Brown

Dutchman's Breeches

cheaply bought from local florists and nurserymen, but one's own coldframe and hotbed experiments will be sufficiently interesting to make them worth while. Again the seeds catalogue brings to the garden-maker who is planning for vegetables a wealth of valuable suggestion and reliable information. The most satisfactory arrangement

Novelties in the Garden

THE true garden enthusiast looks forward with eagerness to the arrival of Spring catalogues which invariably herald new varieties of flowers, fruits, and vegetables to whet his interest. Even in the old days before seedsmen's and nurserymen's catalogues had been devised for the delectation of the garden-devotée, the arrival of some unusual plant brought home by a traveller in foreign lands to be naturalized in the home garden was a matter for great excitement among garden-lovers in the neighborhood. How Master Gerarde's old gossips flocked to see the specimen of Yucca brought to him from the West Indies by the adventurous servant of an apothecary, to see, likewise, his specimen of that prodigiously rare vegetable, the Potato, brought him by his friend Sir Walter Raleigh, and planted in Gerarde's garden in Holborn, London, somewhere about the year 1597.

Master Gerarde was generous, not like the vain Monsieur Le Cour of Leyden who, having succeeded in obtaining



L. W. Brownell

The Modest Violet

double tuberoses from seed until he raised more than enough to supply a whole garden, destroyed all but a few in order to maintain his boast that no other garden in Europe contained this novelty. I suppose Master Gerarde gave potato-eyes right and left, and had he lived to see the Yucca increase, would have been as generous with its progeny. At his death old John Parkinson, author of the famous "A Garden of all Sorts of Pleasant Flowers . . ." (1629), bought the Yucca from Gerarde's widow. Neither of these old herbalists knew anything of the Sweet Pea, a novelty not then introduced from Ceylon, Sicily and Tangier.

More likely than not, even though we may think there is nothing new under the sun, any season's catalogues may announce some novelty that will, a hundred years hence, be looked upon as an old-fashioned garden plant, for who of the garden-lovers of a century ago would have dreamed that the decorative Love-Apple, adorning the flower-beds for show, would come to be the indispensable Tomato of to-day! Only this morning the postman brought me a new batch of seeds catalogues which announce novelties galore, new plants that are too tempting to be ignored by anyone whose interest in gardening is not merely a superficial one. Here are some of the new flowers described—what a harvest to anticipate!

Snapdragon (Anthirrhinum): Twelve new varieties!—Indian Summer, Golden, West, Pathfinder, Yosemite, Navajo, Seminole, Wyoming, Narragansett, Tenega, Shasta, Massoit and Miami. One wants them all, and surely the Indian Summer variety, at least it would be hard to turn stoney heart to this Snapdragon, a brief description of which one may give here: A new size, a new shape, a new color and a new race with flowers a third larger than one finds on the plants of the large varieties heretofore put forth. The color is bewitchingly beautiful, a lovely rich velvety and glossy copper hue never before seen in the Snapdragon.

Gladiolus: Seven Ruffled, twenty Petaled and eight Primulinus Hybrid varieties. Of the Ruffled varieties are Ben Boa, Blushing Beauty, Lillian, Norumbega, Orange Flame, Ruffled Beauty and Yellow Glory. The Anthony Zonker of the plain Petaled varieties is extra tall and strong with five to seven deep salmon rose blooms (lower petals beautifully blotched) open at a time. Of the Primulus varieties, the new Butterboy, large buttercup yellow flowers, is of special merit.

Petunia: Three new varieties announced by one grower—Copper Red, a deep-throated, single, fringed variety with blossoms seven inches across, a beautiful shade pencilled with pink; Purple Queen, a bedding Petunia of rich clear purple with flowers four inches across; Violet Queen, a violet-blue Petunia with a rich velvety sheen, very decorative.

Zinnia: A new giant Dahlia-Zinnia; the New Victory Zinnia; new Apricot variety.

Blue Lace Flower. This is a dainty flower with finely laced umbels of the most exquisite light blue, gracefully borne on long stems, decorative and useful for cutting.

Salpiglossis: The new variety called the Candelabra. Instead of branching out from the bottom like the old type, this new type sends up a centre stem four or five feet high, side branches shooting out about eighteen inches from the ground. The flowers are above the ordinary in size and of exquisite Orchid shades.

Heliotrope: A deep violet-blue variety of unusual fragrance, Royal Fragrance.

Adonis Aleppica: A rare gem. A fine dark blood-red, enhanced by very attractive cosmos-like foliage. Grows sixteen to twenty inches high and produces from sixteen to twenty main stems from which many lateral branches are sent out, each ending in a well-shaped eight-petaled flower.

Eschscholtzia (California Poppy): Mauve Beauty, a beautiful shade of pure mauve.

*Blue Lace Flower*

New Books and Old

MR. E. V. LUCAS'S "Over Bemerton's," that story of a book-shop, helped to make known one of the most curious and charming books in the world: "A Chinese Biographical Dictionary" by Herbert A. Giles, published in Shanghai by Kelly & Walsh, and in London by Bernard Quaritch. But there are many who have never read "Over Bemerton's"—even Mr. Christopher Morley, who tells me that it is thus an added bitterness when he is accused of getting from that work the inspiration for his own novel, "The Haunted Bookshop." And there are certainly thousands of people (millions, would be nearer, and Mr. Morley is included again) who have never seen the volume by the learned Dr. Giles. Some have even been known to question its existence. In spite of them, however, it is a real and rather heavy book of over a thousand pages, containing biographical sketches of 2579 men and women who have lived in what we call China any time during the last three thousand years. The copy which I am fortunate enough to possess came with its yellow covers unspotted, wrapped in a Chinese newspaper, and smelling pleasantly of the aromatic and mysterious East.

The fascination of the book is explained by a number of things. First, it is so long that you could not possibly read it through—even if you were silly enough to want to do so—in one, two, or three sittings. Like an immense jar of Canton preserved ginger, or a barrel of brown sugar in the pantry, there is always some there when you go back for more. Next, as you cannot, unless you are an erudite Sinologist, like the author, remember all these Chinese names, you are constantly forgetting your favorite characters, losing them for the time being, when you wish to read to your friends about them (which is exasperating) and then having them turn up again, weeks later, when you are hunting for somebody else—which is delicious. Third, Dr. Giles has put all together in one alphabet, the comic, tragic, pathetic, legendary, historical, mythical, comical-historical-pastoral personages of that strange and great country, paying no more and no less respect to a Chinese statesman of our own time who negotiated a treaty with Russia in 1893 than to an old man of the Sung Dynasty who offended the gods by slaying two of their pet dragons and was transported to the moon and set hoeing millet there forever and forever. It is as if somebody should write a biographical dictionary of England and America and combine in one list King Alfred, Mr. Hoover, Gyp the Blood, the Venerable Bede, Priscilla Alden, Robin Hood, Mr. John Wanamaker, Nell Gwynn, Thomas Jefferson, Steve Brodie, Lord Beaconsfield, the Cheshire Cat, Mr. Joseph P. Tumulty, and the Old Man of Tarentum who gnashed his false teeth till he bent 'em.

There is a strangely modern sound about the deeds of some of these Chinese worthies. Take Ou-yang Hsiu, who although he died as long ago as 1072, "used his influence as Examiner to check the growing craze for eccentric writing and reasoning." He was the author of an elaborate treatise on the peony, was fond of wine and company, and described himself as "the drunken Governor." Liu Po-to, in the 3rd Century A. D. anticipated some of our contemporaries by being skilled in the preparation of a kind of whiskey. "It was so strong that a person who got drunk on it did not recover his senses for a month. Another, a statesman, named Sang Wei-han, who died A. D. 946, was high in favor with the Emperors of the Later Chin dynasty, until, daring to suggest a regency while the Emperor was suffering from delirium tremens, he was dismissed to a provincial post. Hsu Mo, who rose to be President of the Board of Works in 242 A. D., suffered from certain weaknesses—he was contemporary with Ts'ai Yung, whose fame as a wine-bibber he rivaled, if not eclipsed. Evidently the Chinese government were trying experiments with prohibition, for "even when the use of liquor was altogether forbidden under the severest penalties, he was unable to resist the temptation of getting occasionally drunk." In the end, however, we learn that he was canonized. A good literary style has always been appreciated in state papers—especially in times of great danger: Han Yu, who was born A. D. 768, found his neighborhood troubled by a huge crocodile, and the "denunciatory ultimatum" which he addressed to the monster and threw into the river, together with a pig and a goat, is still regarded as a model of exquisite English—I mean to say, of Chinese composition.

Chang Yen-shang was a magistrate, who, on the occasion of an important criminal case, refused successive bribes of 30,000 and 50,000 strings of cash, but his virtue succumbed to an offer of 100,000 strings. He said that 100,000 strings would tempt even the gods, who would resent the refusal of such a bribe by a mere mortal. He died at the age of 61, and was canonized. Chao Tun, of the 7th Century B. C., was the minister of a stern tyrant, Duke Ling of Chin. The Duke amused himself by shooting at his passing subjects from the top of a tower; also he put his cook to death for serving some badly prepared bear's-paws. Chao Tun remonstrated, and fell into disfavor. Ch'en Ting, of the 4th Century B. C., fled from the offer of a cabinet position, and went with his wife into the country where they occupied themselves in watering plants. Stoicism was his long suit, for on one occasion he went without food until he could neither see nor hear. His principles were so lofty, not to say impossible, that Mencius declared that a man would have to be an earthworm to carry them out.

Chiang Shih, who lived in the 1st Century A. D., was one of the twenty-four examples of filial piety, and his wife was one of his rivals in this virtue. She, because her mother-in-law preferred river water, used to trudge several miles every day to fetch it. The old lady was also very fond of minced fish, and an effort was made to provide her with it; the outcome of it all was that a spring burst forth near their dwelling with a flavor like river water. Daily it cast out on the bank two fine carp. One is surprised that the carp did not proceed to mince each other for her benefit; these examples of filial piety seem to have dealt in fish rather extensively. There is another of them—the name of the hero escapes me—who went to procure his stepmother, or mother-in-law, the fish that she craved, and on finding the pond frozen over, lay down naked on the ice, thawed out a hole with the heat of his body, and was rewarded with the conventional "two fine carp" which seem to have been the perpetual requirement of mothers-in-law. Another fish incident, by the way, concerns Chiang Tzu-ya, who flourished about the 11th century B. C. He fished with a straight piece of iron instead of a hook, but the fish readily allowed themselves to be caught in order to satisfy the needs of this wise and virtuous old man. Chu Hsi led an exemplary life—so remarkably that after death, to the embarrassment of his family, his coffin took up a position suspended in air, about three feet from the ground. Whereupon his son-in-law, falling upon his knees beside the bier, reminded the departed spirit of the great principles of which he had been such a brilliant exponent in life—and the coffin descended gently to the ground.

Li Ch'ung, of the 4th Century A. D., used to attack with a sword anyone he found injuring the cypresses about his father's grave. He was secretary to Prime Minister Wang Tao, and later to Ch'u P'ou from whom he finally accepted a minor office, declaring that "a monkey in difficulties cannot stop to choose his favorite tree." The discovery of the elixir of life kept many of these personages busy; one of them poisoned himself and died from the effects of some of it. Liu An, however, in B. C. 122, absolutely discovered the precious liquid, drank, and rose up to heaven in broad daylight. He dropped the vessel which had contained it into his courtyard as he rose, his dogs and poultry sipped the dregs, and immediately sailed up to heaven after him.

I am interested in a fellow-librarian named Wang Chi, of the 7th Century A. D. He obtained a good post in the Imperial Library, but disliked the restraint and was always getting drunk. He retired, kept poultry, and grew millet—from which he produced an ardent spirit! He wrote a number of books on philosophy, many beautiful poems, and a short skit called "Note on Drunk-land."

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

Book Reviews

"Something New"

MEMOIRS OF A MIDGET. By Walter de la Mare. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

THE inveterate reviewer hopes for the best and by no means despairs of it. But his usual mood in taking up a new novel is of mild curiosity rather than burning expectation. "Hum—let's see which lot *this* belongs to?" Photography (retouched), illustrated commentary, sentimental conserve, animated tract, autobiographical arrangement, novelized movie, sex-exhibit. . . . "Main Street," "Bloody Gulch," "Zenda," "Way Down East," "The Front," "Fifth Avenue," "Montmartre," "Yellowest Asia" . . . which? A chapter answers the preliminary question; and after that it is all over but the (not unimportant) business of judging the quality of a recognized staple. People make these goods, and people buy them, and it is certainly part of a reviewer's job to advise honest customers where they can get a fair article for their money.

Thus runs the modest routine of his trade. Happily for his reason, this is not all there is "to it." Novels do appear, with, on the whole, surprising frequency, which are not cut out of the old cloth or to the familiar pattern. . . . The reflection has led me to glance back over my records for the past year or two. I find the old reliable headliners doing their turns with credit; but there was no fresh thrill there. I find some remarkable things from abroad—"Hunger," "The World's Illusion," "You." And I find, to my surprise, more than a handful of novels in English which caught me with a fresh mood or method or savor, and therefore remain in my memory while the rest of the year's grist has, I am thankful to say, pretty thoroughly vanished from the cluttered premises of my mind. "Pirates of the Spring," "Legend," "The First Valley," "The Voyage Out," "Eli of the Downs," "They Went," "The Charmed Circle," "The Great Way," "Autumn," "Vera," "The Answerer": these are titles the eye cherishes, as it looks back over the whole list of books read and reported on during, say, the past two years.

To them now shall be added the "Memoirs of a Midget" of Walter de la Mare. In the beginning it looks like a very doubtful "stunt." For the heroine of the tale is a midget in the technical or showman's sense: one of those tiny persons at whose minute maturities and accomplishment one has stared, in dime museum and sideshow, with wonder and some distaste. She is a child of physically normal parents, English provincials of respectable birth; the mother temperamental, the father eccentric. She is reared with care and some tenderness. At eighteen she is left an orphan with a legacy as tiny as herself. She has a mind and a will, as well as remarkable beauty on her microscopic scale. She refuses to live with an impossible god-mother; and



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by lucky chance finds a devoted friend as well as a magnanimous landlady in a Mrs. Bowater of rural Beechwood, a few miles from London. So the story begins. After the first chapter, as I have said, the book seems like an impossible enterprise. A glance ahead shows nearly 450 large pages to come. How is the story-teller to keep us interested, all that time, in a story of a midget, a "freak"—a natural object of interest and pity, perhaps, but by no means of liking or sympathy? Well, all those pages are needed to answer the question. But the key to the answer is the story-teller's own imaginative interest and sympathy.

In fact, he has simply made extraordinary application of a familiar principle. Whether we are aware of it or not, what we want of a hero or a heroine (that we want heroes and heroines may be taken for granted) is ourselves plus x. Ourselves, if you like, with a bloom or a tang; or a strangeness of pose or proportion that will justify us, or conceal us, in the act of gazing, once more with approbation and affection, upon—ourselves. A prince has the bloom, a pauper has the tang, a virtuous crook will serve. A giant may pull it off at a pinch. But if John Ridd was a *tour de force*, how much more our "Miss M." with her few piteous inches? A giant is embarrassing, but we can forgive him. He represents the displacement possibilities of an august race. It is not so easy to forgive the midget who represents its possibilities in another direction. Mr. de la Mare does not minimize this difficulty. He lets us know plainly that most people, "pocket Venus" though Miss M. be, are physically repelled by her. Lest we be over-complacent, he lets fall the fact that the repulsion is mutual. She is nevertheless of normal susceptibilities and impulses. One thing the story-teller is free to do for her; he can bring on the scene a male more or less of her own physical scale, and let them make a romantic match of it. For a time something of the kind seems pretty clearly in view. The small male appears, to match our small female. But Mr. de la Mare in his rôle of Nature has no mind to permit us the momentary gratification of this bathos. Miss M. does not return poor "Mr. Anon's" passion; and her fastidious taste revolts from the thought of such a union, as an occasion of justifiable ridicule on the part of the world against which, as merely "one of the smaller works of God," she holds her own, in the main, stoutly enough. I wish the chapter or two towards the end which prepare for the death of "Mr. Anon" were away from the book. They bring a note of strain and unreality from which the narrative is otherwise free. Miss M.'s romantic experience lies rather in her maturing though unrewarded devotion to the beautiful, heartless Fanny Bowater: and in that moment when the face of the ideal Stranger of her dreams, unseeing, is seen by her—and passes.

Thus, clumsily, I try to give an ink-

ling of the book as a study of one person. It is far more than that: a book of rich and varied portraiture, of delightful commentary, of action without machinery (but for the circus episode), and of a style which releases us from the jumpy clevernesses of the prevalent manner, and puts us at ease with a courteous, witty, and humane fellow-spectator of life.

H. W. BOYNTON

The Anglo-American Theatre

REPRESENTATIVE PLAYS BY AMERICAN DRAMATISTS. Edited by Montrose J. Moses. Three vols. Vol. I, 1765-1819; Vol. II, 1819-1856, in press; Vol. III, 1856-1911. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

THE third volume of "Representative Plays by American Dramatists" is now in circulation. The first volume was published in 1918. The second, covering the mid-period, long in print, has yet to appear. The reason for this inversion is evidently that in the minds of the publishers there is a better market for recent plays than for the products of three and four generations ago. There is no question about it. Mr. Moses's first volume is the only collection limited to early American plays; there are no full reprints of individual early dramatists; and no collection such as the second volume will be, of before-the-war plays. On the other hand the book lists in Miss Mayorga's useful collection of one-act plays by American authors contain a dozen titles on the modern theatre movement, scores of titles of play collections representing different groups and types, and nearly a hundred volumes of plays by contemporary Americans; proof enough of what the public wants.

A reading of a round number of old and new American plays leads to certain obvious conclusions. One of these is that the general public is missing little in its neglect of the early ones; and another is that until today—or, at farthest, day before yesterday—there has been no literary playwriting in America, and nothing of account that has not been definitely related to the theatre, and to definite theatres and producers. Furthermore, a very slight knowledge of the theatre in America is enough to assure one that on the producing side up to 1900 both the tradition and the personnel were overwhelmingly British.

As to the tradition, the so-called American stage was all English up to the Revolutionary War—plays, players, and managers. Of the recorded performances, from the first professional beginning to 1774, something over five hundred, about one-third were productions of sixteen Shakespeare plays, about one-third productions of ten eighteenth-century comedies, and one-third some fifty other plays which failed after one or two performances. In this latter fraction were the two American efforts. Except for the Colonial failures, this repertory was a

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NEW YORK

duplicate of what could be seen in the English theatres, London or provincial, in the same years; a point that is made doubly clear by the fact that there was no striking change in the offerings by the British soldiery when the invading armies were diverting themselves under the encouragement of Generals Howe and Burgoyne. The most interesting American play in the meanwhile had been Godfrey's "The Prince of Parthia" (Moses, Vol. I), which was given one performance as a last moment substitution for another American product—advertised but never played, and appropriately entitled "Disappointment, or the Force of Credulity."

During the war writers like Mrs. Mercy Warren and H. H. Brackenridge contributed to the controversy certain satires in dialogue (Vol. I), which were undramatic and dull, while the ventures of Low and Leacock (Vol. I) were almost as sedative. The most that can be said for American drama up to 1790 is that it was not utterly neglected, but that the native playwrights, like Lowell's musing organist, were "beginning doubtfully and far away."

The stream of English productions flowed on, however, leaving along the shores certain of the lesser favorites, still carrying Shakespeare, and bringing into midstream such up-to-date works as the Goldsmith and Sheridan plays. It was the direct and immediate influence of "The School for Scandal" that resulted in the first American stage success, Royall Tyler's "The Contrast" (Vol. I). This was self-conscious and complacent in its use of native material:

Our author pictures not from foreign climes

The fashions, or the follies of the times:
But has confin'd the subject of his work
To the gay scenes—the circles of New York.

However, the extended reference to the Sheridan play as seen by the Yankee bumpkin, Jonathan, is acknowledgment enough of Tylers debt to an English master. "The Contrast" contained occasional clever lines as caviare, and occasional platitudes on patriotism for the gallery; yet the contrast coupled American virtue with priggish dullness. The heroine no doubt belonged to her period in her assertion that "the only safe asylum a woman of virtue can find is in the arms of a man of honour," but her chosen man of honor was too truly characterized by his sister when she said that his conversation was like an old brocade. It will stand alone. Every sentence is a sentiment."

It was nearly ten years before the patriot heart was again loudly bidden to exult, this time by William Dunlap: A Native Bard a native scene displays
And claims your candour for his daring lays.

Dunlap, manager for the New Park Theatre when he wrote and produced "André" (Vol. I), was the prototype of successful American dramatists from his day to ours. He made his start by dealing with popular themes of the moment, and he established his best market when as manager-playwright he

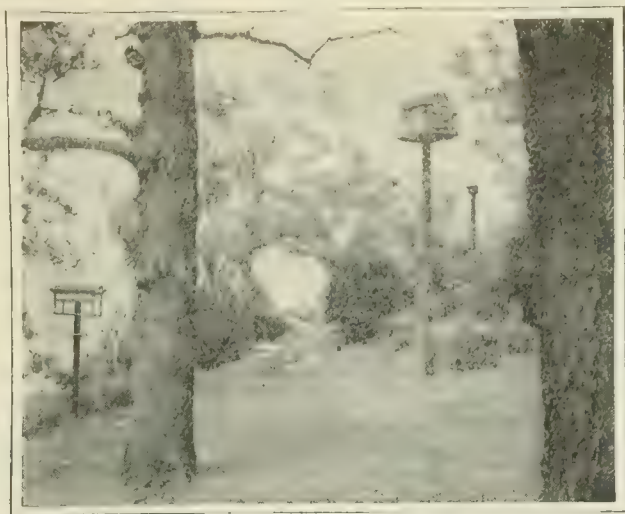
submitted his wares to himself. What he could not write he could translate or adapt. He turned Schiller's "Don Carlos" into English and it failed; but he made a great success of Zschokke's "Abaellino," and, with Kotzebue's English vogue in full cry, he translated no less than thirteen plays of the German sentimentalist. A comic opera, a dramatic satire, a farce, or an interlude were all one to him, and before his work was over about seventy productions of all sorts could be set down to his credit.

During the 1830's Edwin Forrest, at the early height of his tumultuous career, attempted a diversion through his nine annual prizes offered for American plays on primitive American themes. R. M. Bird's "Metamora," an Indian play, was the first result, and was carried by Forrest for years; but the thin native vein was soon worked out, and the subjects for later winners were primitive but not American. The great success of the series was "Spartacus, the Gladiator," which took its place in a resounding quartet with Payne's "Brutus," Knowles's "Virginia" and Bulwer's "Rienzi."

In 1845 Mrs. Mowatt's "Fashion" returned to "the gay scenes—the circles of New York," a good, fresh piece of sentimental social comedy written by an unbookish actress and played "with universal applause." It was like "The Contrast"—substituting francomania for anglomania—but better, though equally complacent in its approval of rural American integrity; but it was a lone western wildflower in a period almost wholly garnished with wilting exotic themes—the sort of themes resorted to in off moments by Willis and Mrs. Howe and more persistently by Boker. (Vol. III.)

Then in mid-century English domination became stronger than ever. The Jeffersons, the Booths, the Wallacks, the Hacketts, the Sotherns, who came and settled here, and who gave America players of distinction, were consciously newcomers, supplementing the visiting Macready, and the Kembles, and the various Keans. And the two Irishmen, Boucicault and Brougham, settled as actor-manager-playwrights to make the first very considerable outputs since the hey-day of Dunlap. Brougham was perhaps the happier actor of the pair, and Boucicault nearer to the Dunlap type. His name is connected with one hundred and twenty-four plays. He started as a very young man with "London Assurance" before he had come to this country. He built a reputation here for acting Irish parts and writing Irish plays. He succeeded in the uneasy days just before the Civil War in writing a "color" play, "The Octoroon," with such a nice distribution of vice and virtue between Northern and Southern characters that neither section took great offence.

More important than Boucicault and Brougham were their successors, Augustin Daly and Steele MacKaye. Daly, of Irish parentage, was born in America and actually began to swing the balance of influence away from Eng-



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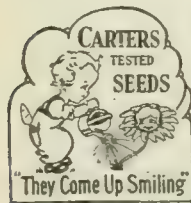
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land. For thirty years, from his first independent managership in 1869, he wrote and he produced, and in his producing built up the preëminent stock company in the history of the American stage. He was no more certain than any other good producer as to what would prove successful, ranging from one hectic season with twenty-six ill-fated ventures to one happy year with three long runs. But there were three anchors to windward: Shakespeare and Sheridan revivals, Americanized German comedy successes, and melodramas from his own pen. For a much shorter period Steele MacKaye made his mark as manager-playright. Though he wrote relatively few plays, his proportion of successes was very high, and two alone, "Hazel Kirke" and "Paul Kauvar" (Vol. III), would have made his fortune if he had not allowed the proceeds to flow into other pockets. Both were much more theatrical than dramatic; either would lend itself readily to burlesque. His contribution to dramatic history lay rather in his plan for the World's Fair Spectatorium, frustrated by the money panic of 1893, and in his theory of massed community enterprise, a general theory to which his son fell legitimate heir and for which he has been chief spokesman.

With the nineties came two young Americans, Clyde Fitch and Augustus Thomas (Vol. III), both professionally related to the stage, and both theatrical craftsmen of the new type, writing for audiences rather than for readers and composing with definite actors and actresses in mind. Both adapted old themes, and dramatized novels, but each also made his contribution to a native drama, Fitch with his metropolitan and international comedies, and Thomas first with his "plays of States," beginning with "Arizona," and later with his excursions into the borderlands of spiritism and psychiatry, from "The Witching Hour" on.

The representative plays in Mr. Moses's collection carry us no further in point of dramatic development than does the work of these later men, though plays by Langdon Mitchell and Eugene Walter are included (Vol. III). The interesting tendencies of the present seem to be leading to a new chapter in American dramatic history. The time will never come, of course, when enterprising playwrights will refuse to sell out to producers, or when producers who know all the tricks of the trade will cease to write plays for their own theatres in default—at least in their own opinions—of anything better. Yet, while the number of people who want to go "Up in Mabel's Room" does not seem to be falling off, the number of people who want to go somewhere else is on the increase. All the evidence that a play-producing, play-acting, play-supporting, play-reading public is in steady growth is familiar to anyone who has read this article to this point.

Mr. Moses's volume belongs in all liberally provided libraries.

PERCY H. BOYNTON

The Bankers Say—

THE conviction that notable fundamental improvement in Europe's economic condition has become an accomplished fact is generally expressed by the nation's banks in their more recent opinions on the business outlook. The great significance in this is that behind it lies the universal belief among these experts on business that such recovery of Europe is requisite for the return of a full swing of prosperity in the United States. The note of discouragement that was frequently heard a few months ago in discussions of Europe's plight is now conspicuously lacking. No economic miracle, no great stroke of finance has intervened to save Europe from disaster, but the cumulative power of natural economic forces is credited by the banks with establishing the basis for the restoration of normal world conditions. Hopes are expressed that further needed international conferences, such as that proposed to be held at Genoa for "organizing the economic recovery of Europe," will prove effective in speeding the return of better times, since the progress already made will give something for the conference to organize.

The First Federal Foreign Banking Association, New York, sees in the present strength of the foreign exchanges an accurate indication of underlying realities in world conditions. This bank says: "The currencies are like speculative stocks of the nations they represent. They fluctuate up and down as conditions affecting the individual nations develop from day to day, and, just as happens in the stock market, there is a general trend among groups of currencies an damong all of them together, that reflects 'general conditions.' If we go by this barometer, the 'world-market' is decidedly 'up' as compared with three months ago. The feeling of underlying confidence and strength that is shown by the exchange market is not hard to understand. The French upset was distinctly a shock. If France insists on enforcing the terms of the treaty she may adopt military means to do so. But there seems no great anxiety. The reason is that it seems next to impossible to get a war going again soon. The optimism shown in the exchange market is significant. Nearly everywhere over the world things are steadily getting better. The trade of the world is not so great in volume—it has dropped back in recent months. But the basic situation is better. The conditions that had to be corrected have been corrected, for the most part. Readjustment has proceeded past the period of slump. Everybody feels that things are on the way to betterment. The purpose of the conference at Genoa is to find some way of 'organizing the economic recovery of Europe.' If everybody could get together at Genoa for a heart-to-heart talk, in the same spirit with which the Washington



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Conference began, and a friendly adjustment of the plain necessity of workable reparations from Germany could be arrived at, the biggest obstacle to business recovery in the world would be removed."

A number of concrete aspects of improvement abroad are cited by the *National Bank of Commerce in New York*, which says: "Excepting in those parts of eastern Europe where social and political disturbances have entirely prevented the return to normal conditions and have served to augment the intense suffering from famine as a result of crop failure, fundamental physical and economic conditions throughout the world have improved in recent months. Although there are yet large stocks of some classes of raw materials, progress is being made toward absorption in every line and the accumulated stocks of manufactured goods are rapidly diminishing throughout the world. Most of the principal countries show great improvement, not only physically and economically, but in a definite attitude of hopefulness on the part of the people. Economy is the rule both for individuals and business enterprises. Increasing attention is being paid to an import and export policy which will secure a gradual return to normal conditions, and in most countries public finances show definite betterment. Manufacturing in important lines has continued to be carried on at a fair rate of operation, and with the exception of the United Kingdom, unemployment does not seem to be widespread. The most marked gains in Europe have been in the direction of improved food production. Despite the drouth of last summer, European conditions as to food supplies are good and this is being reflected in the steadily improving physical condition of the population. The outstanding features of the British situation which give the best grounds for real encouragement are the balancing of the budget which has been accomplished, and the marked improvement in the balance of trade. The strength of sterling, however, is to be interpreted not as a reflection of British conditions alone, but as a reflection of improved conditions, not only on the Continent, but in other countries. Europe has traveled a long way since 1918. It is essential, however, that business should not lose sight of the fact that despite great improvement, European conditions are as yet unstable and international trade has by no means been restored to its old channels."

Brief comments on specific aspects of the world trade and financial situation with reference to future developments in America's part in it are made by many other banks. The *First National Bank of Philadelphia*: "Various foreign governments have sought loans in this country and the chances are that some important flotations of this character will be announced before long. There has never been so broad a market in the United States for foreign government issues and the proba-

ility is that our total investment in this direction will be considerably increased during 1922. It is obvious that American capital will have to be supplied in great volume in connection with the rehabilitation of Europe's ripped industries."

Irving National Bank, New York: The overturn of the Briand cabinet was a sharp surprise to those who believed that the Genoa Conference bade fair to parallel the constructive political achievements at Washington. The attitude of France is still doubtful, and the full consequences of admitting Soviet representatives to the Conference are not yet manifest. The present firmness of sterling may be due in part to the substantial achievements of the Disarmament Conference which ended last week with the signature of six completed treaties. In part, also, sterling rates now reflect an improvement in the balance of British foreign trade, as well as the reassurance inspired by the funding of the British debt to our federal treasury."

Wells Fargo Nevada National Bank of San Francisco also sees benefit from refunding and from the Washington Conference, saying: "Two of the most important developments of the past month have been the adjournment of the great Disarmament Conference at Washington and enactment of the law for the refunding of the Allied indebtedness to the United States. There is apparently good basis for the view that the international accord and understanding evidenced by the agreements reached in Washington should serve as a stabilizing and constructive influence. Enactment of the law providing for the appointment of a commission of five members under the Secretary of the Treasury, which shall have full charge of the refunding operations, disposes of a very important adjustment. While the commission will have few, if any, precedents to follow, its chairmanship assures intelligent handling and fair treatment."

An interesting point of view on the benefit of foreign trade on American business is presented by the *Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland*, which says: Foreign trade as a safety valve for production is absolutely essential for future prosperity, and without minimizing the importance of foreign trade as affecting the industrial and financial well-being in this country, there are plenty of opportunities for business and finance in caring for the needs of the 110,000,000 people in this country. Instead, therefore, of assuming that the developments here must wait for developments elsewhere, business men are finding a response, however feeble, to their efforts toward reviving domestic trade. World business is closely competitive, and to engage in it will require business organizations keyed to compete. Business men intending to engage in foreign trade find in their efforts to stimulate domestic trade that they are in reality fitting their organizations to handle foreign trade in their respective lines."



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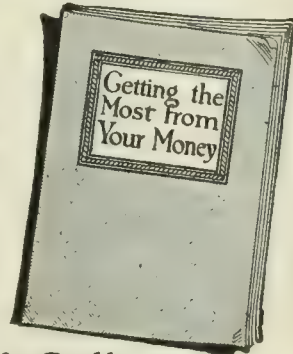
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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. A Garden Song.

1. Read the poem aloud to your class, reading it in such a way that you will interpret its meaning, and present its spirit.
2. What book in the school course of study mentions Alcinous? Tell the story of the events connected with Alcinous.
3. Explain the reference to the Pierides. You will find information concerning Alcinous and the Pierides in the Century Dictionary of Names. Follow the cross-references.
4. Define the following words: close, flaunts, stock, sequestered, profane.
5. In what types of verse did Austin Dobson excel? Consult any encyclopedia.
6. Tell in simple language, as if to a young child, exactly what the poem means.

II. The Anglo-American Theatre.

1. What changes have taken place in American play writing? How can you account for the changes?
2. Name the Goldsmith and Sheridan plays. Tell something about at least one play. Articles in the encyclopedia will assist you.
3. Name the great American actors and play producers who are mentioned in the article. Tell something in detail concerning any one.
4. What prophecies may be made for the future of American play writing and production?

III. New Books and Old.

1. More than a dozen interesting short stories are suggested in the review of "A Chinese Biographical Dictionary." Select any one story that appeals to you. Write an original short story founded on the suggestions. Give your story, as far as possible, the quaintness and the humor that the reviewer has so clearly indicated.

IV. Editorials.

1. In what way is President Harding's reply to Senator Hitchcock's resolution "a model of brevity and clearness"?
2. Describe in your own way the difference between diplomacy and the results of diplomacy.
3. Why was the arrangement between the English railway men, miners, and transport workers called the "Triple Alliance"? What is the historical allusion contained in the term?
4. Why does the writer on "Happy-Thought Money" say that to answer the fallacious articles in the *Dearborn Independent* completely would take more space than the articles themselves occupy?

V. Britain and America—The Great Opportunity.

1. In a well-prepared talk tell your class what great opportunity now lies before Britain and America.
2. Explain clearly what is meant by the expression, "A new era in diplomacy."
3. Define "Prophets of hatred." Explain why the writer believes such people not worthy of attention.
4. What serious criticism is conveyed in the sentence: "It was seeing all of Main Street except the prayer-meeting"?
5. In a single paragraph explain what is meant by "stabilizing" India and the Near East.
6. Explain the allusions to Sodom and Gomorrah and to the Gordian knot.
7. Imagine that the first sentence of the article is written in a foreign language. Translate it into language that a comparatively ignorant person could understand.

VI. Music.

1. "The scenery of Boris Anisfeld was a triumph of ingenuity, fantasy and appropriateness." Explain exactly what the sentence means. Prove that the scenery made by Inigo Jones for the original production of "Comus" was scenery of the same type.

VII. Why I Have My Own Garden.

1. Is the article exposition or argumentation?
2. What other articles in this number have a somewhat similar spirit?
3. Draw from all the articles on gardening material for a talk, or an essay, on "The Ideal Garden."

VIII. The Ways of Soviet Diplomacy.

1. Write a single sentence that will express the principal thought of the article.

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. Britain and America—The Great Opportunity, The British Empire.

1. What, in your opinion, is "the Great Opportunity" in the eyes of Mr. Wilson?
2. Explain how British and American policies coincide.
3. To what extent is there divergence on European policy?
4. Explain the questions in the past which brought estrangement.
5. Describe how the "estrangement has been brought to an end" and explain the underlying reasons for this.
6. What were the services for which Lord Palmerston and Sir Edward Grey were given the Order of the Garter?
7. Summarize the latest developments in Ireland and Egypt.

II. The Ways of Soviet Diplomacy.

1. (a) On a map of Asia locate the former parts of China which have passed from under her control and explain how it came about in each case. (b) Show which parts of China have passed completely to other powers, which are held under long leases, which parts are considered spheres of influence of other powers. (c) Explain exactly what you mean by spheres of influence.
2. What is Japan's interest in Mongolia?
3. Describe the ways in which Soviet Diplomacy resembles Tsarist Diplomacy. In what respects can you show that it differs?

III. Diplomacy: Open and Secret.

1. What is there admirable in the idea of Open Diplomacy? What are its dangers? Explain what you think should be the proper meaning of Open Diplomacy.
2. Show how Senator Hitchcock's resolution and President Harding's reply emphasize and illustrate the division of the treaty-making power in the United States.

IV. Happy-Thought Money.

1. Point out the weakness in reasoning in each of the ideas on money here criticized.
2. Explain the meaning of "fiat money." To what extent is there "fiat money" in the monetary system of the United States?
3. Give your idea of the meaning of "the quantity theory of money" and of its validity.
4. Explain why gold is the best standard of value yet discovered.

V. The Case of Governor Reilly.

1. Describe the form of government of Porto Rico. Explain its relation with the United States.
2. Compare the position of Governor Reilly with that of a colonial governor in a royal colony just before the American Revolution. Compare the legal rights of the people of the same respective colonies. Compare the grievances of the colonists.

VI. The Triple Alliance, Miners' Convention.

1. What, in the editor's opinion, will be the "potency" of the Triple Alliance?
2. Describe the demands of the miners. Show the situation which makes it unlikely that the operators will grant the demands. If a strike is called what are the chances for its success?
3. From the "Strikes of Textile Workers" and the other articles what do you think are the chances for deflation of wages in textiles, transportation, and mining?

VII. Better Prices for the Farmer.

1. Explain the rise in the price of wheat. Show how it illustrates the working of an underlying economic law.

VIII. What the Bankers Say.

1. Summarize the conditions which indicate improvement in European economic conditions.

IX. The Genoa Conference—The Story of the Week.

1. Show how this number describes slants of the Genoa Conference in Germany, Russia and England.

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

March 11, 1922



What Are We Doing for the Soldiers?

By Louise Montgomery

I HAVE been impressed with the number of recent articles telling stories of ex-soldiers in straitened circumstances, many walking the streets out of work or reduced to back-door peddling, and thousands in need of the hospital care they are not getting. The bitter accusation runs through all of these stories that ex-soldiers are isolated, misunderstood, and neglected; that the American people have "closed the door on the war" and are unwilling to help bring back to normal life those thousands of humble men who fought in France. The articles are evidently truthful reports of each writer's personal observations, for they bear the imprint of sincerity.

We are all inclined to take the emotional rather than the scientific attitude. We select one case or a group of cases, instead of trying to understand the complex as a whole. According to a wise old college professor of thirty years ago, one needs the opinions of at least 400 men and as many women of a given class in order to form a basis for judgments as to the reactions of that class towards any event of public importance. But in practice we draw our conclusions from accidental contacts and casual happenings. This casual method is, of course, unscientific, but it has human values not to be overlooked. Since this has been the method of the articles referred to, I may be pardoned for gathering up a few observations of my own.

Our city is one of the centres established by the Federal Government to give hospital service and vocational training to returned soldiers. I remember my early visit to the head of the vocational training division. He had piles of leaflets ready for distribution to all parts of the city. The pages contained simple and attractive statements of what every disabled soldier would find waiting for him: free hospital service if he needed it, classes in English and in all the elementary branches if by chance he had missed the schooling of the grades, training in any vocation he chose to follow with a Government allowance to pay his expenses. I was impressed with the plans and with the number daily coming to claim this aid.

Still later I visited one of the elementary schools where special classes were being held for foreigners. These boys and men were not humbled by being put into the usual school-room with grade pupils. They had their own teacher and an attractive room. I recall the simple and unemotional dignity of one teacher who told me she was giving to this work all the strength, wisdom, and insight at her command as a thank-offering to God for the safe return of her only son, a youth of twenty years, from

overseas service. The soldier lads said she was "some teacher." I recall the "follow-up man" who came at the close of the school session to talk with this teacher, going over the records of every one as a distinct human being, making a note of personal characteristics, hopes, and ambitions. This was no easy task, but it was done that each man and boy might be helped on towards self-realization as rapidly as possible.

I saw the continuation school in another part of the city giving personal attention and individual instruction to hundreds who had been physically disabled but who had recovered and were joyfully working at something that would once more put them in contact with the world's work. I say joyfully because this appearance of joy was actually there in a marked degree. Those who have been ill know the peculiar exhilaration of returning strength. The suffering is forgotten. I shall always carry with me the picture of one lad draughting plans with his left hand. He told me he had had the wretched feeling that he was done for. He had lost his right arm. Draughting was the one and only thing in life he had ever wanted to do. He had pictured himself going about forever doing some inferior job that he hated. Then the marvelous discovery came that a left arm was just as good as a right. The drawings showed unusual skill; the left arm moved easily and swiftly at his command. He also told me he was living comfortably and that he was entirely satisfied with his Government allowance. He is one illustration of the adjustment being wrought out for hundreds in one city.

However, in spite of this faithful personal effort, there was always anxiety over certain types of soldiers. Without warning numbers of them dropped out of classes, thereby forfeiting the Government allowance, a condition with which they were fully acquainted. Sometimes they ran away and returned after a few months of adventures. They wandered about, picking up odd jobs, a visible sign of the neglect of the country. I had personal knowledge of a lad who ran away twice, refused the hospital service that he sorely needed, and seemed bent on thwarting his own best interests. It took three years of patient effort, loyal devotion from parents and friends to bring him back to his real self. He is now training to be a scientific farmer, and the Government sends him the allowance without which he could not afford to get ready for this life work, his own choice. These are not cases of recognized shell-shock. So far as I can know, the lads who have come to my back door and smilingly asked me to buy

patriotic songs about the U. S. A. or to take out numberless subscriptions to cheap magazines have preferred this casual employment to the training that was waiting for them in any branch of their own choosing, with a monthly allowance greater than their best adventures afforded.

I say this in no spirit of condemnation or even rebuke. I am fully convinced that thousands of boys and men, not recognized as shell-shocked or even with severe wounds, went through varying degrees of mental over-strain which left an unseen record, something that made adjustment to a steady routine impossible, or at least most difficult. They had been through experiences which turned daily living into a dull thing. For the period of their service even the most light-hearted and care-free by nature learned a new language which not even family love could understand. Isolation and a terrible loneliness are usually the portion of those who have lived through the great adventure.

In many a returned soldier, apparently unhurt, this feeling of isolation persisted. I recall a boy of twenty-one years who, after a few weeks at home in a country town, came to Chicago "to get a chance to write up the war." He was one of those lads who had taken life easily and dropped out of school from the fifth grade, having a preference for odd jobs. He had drifted about till he enlisted. A busy editor of a Chicago daily newspaper took time to read the first manuscript. It was hopeless. The editor looked up an agent who made a business of criticising and placing amateur work. I learned the story from the agent. Without charge this man gave hours of time to the pathetic efforts of an untrained boy who could not write a paragraph of grammatical English, whose soul was bursting to express the bigness of what he had seen. Nothing else satisfied him. He suffered the mental anguish of knowing that others did not understand. He did not realize what the agent saw, that the bigness he felt never crept into his pages. The grammatical errors might have been managed, but the boy's vision remained his own. But while he worked, the agent indulged him, to keep up a friendly relation, racking his brains for a chance to guide the boy into something else, and a patient father paid for room and board in the city, hoping that the experience would finally "set him right." They did their best to understand.

Will Boys Ever Understand?

[The following is from a letter of a mother to her nineteen year old son, whom, together with a younger daughter, she is supporting and educating by hard work. We print it in the hope that it may do a good service both to mothers and to headstrong youth.]

I SUPPOSE you cannot realize that no matter what other folks do or do not do to make me happy it does not affect me, because I am not responsible for them. I have not tended them from babyhood, guided their steps when they were unable to go alone, moulded their characters along the lines I felt were right, only to find myself absolutely out of the running—opinions flouted and wishes disregarded. Some day you will know, my son—perhaps after twenty years or more of toil, sleepless nights, self-denial at a time when good clothes and good times meant more than they ever will at any other time, pain, and suffering, and many other things—that there are some things in this world that money cannot repay—obligations that love and consideration alone can ever discharge. Then I will expect you to remember this.

I am sure that the day will come, for I can hardly believe that your self-sufficiency is anything more than a passing phase. You've made up your mind that every word I say, if of advice, is fault-finding; my friendly words of warning as to danger ahead are an interference

Similar stories of personal efforts to meet the individual needs of ex-soldiers are not uncommon. There was the woman who met the soldier on his way to see a coveted piece of land he wished to turn into a small farm. He was wondering whether he could handle the mortgage. After a brief investigation she gave him her check to make the land his own. There was the man who left twenty scholarships at his old college to pay for the tuition of boys whose college work had been interrupted by war service. Twenty lads who might have been among the restless group, finding adjustment too difficult, were able to slip back into the old college life of sanity and youthful joys.

I do not know that any of these deeds of quiet service here noted have found their way into the newspapers. But if I have had personal knowledge of what is being done in one city, what, according to the law of probabilities, is going on in other cities all over the United States? I leave this figuring to those who love statistics more than I do. To those who wish a record of the work of the Federal Board there are the usual annual reports, and they are well worth reading. For though it is true that red tape, the usual political wrangling of a growing democracy, and the overlapping of bureaus have been evident, nevertheless an all-round look reveals an attitude of mind new in the world's history. Never before have Governments recognized and provided for the vocational training of the returned soldier. Never before has the dignity of an individual choice of the occupation that means self-expression been so widespread a possibility for so great a number. This work of the Government has affected individuals in their attitude towards the returned soldiers they casually meet. In spite of the many who may be indifferent, who perhaps have tried to "close the door on the war," the tendency is to give personal aid.

This record of personal experiences is not furnished to abet the feeling of contentment with what is being done. Not until the last soldier who fought in the war has had his chance for as complete an unfolding as his nature is capable of, may we rest assured that the debt is paid. I have set out merely to record an encouraging aspect of the great complex which we are all struggling to comprehend, the aftermath of the world war.

with your right to do as you please. Would it not be a strange railroad company that, knowing the danger ahead, would feel that folks ought to be able to take care of themselves and listen, and therefore neglected to put up signs before railroad crossings? Until you get this thought through the outer crust of your self-complacency you'll never have a channel through which an understanding of the depths of my love and devotion can flow. I don't intend to tell you that I expect to love you less—because you're part of me—but as far as outward signs are concerned it may be hard for you to realize this.

I wish you might know how gladly I have worked that you and F—— might be educated. And remember, Bill, there seems to be something well planned out in the scheme of things, whereby, when you were a baby and unable to conduct your life as you feel you are able now, I was the one big, outstanding feature of your existence. Then there comes a time when all the strength lies in you and my turn is over—I must necessarily look to you—to your love and affection, or else I am frank to confess that my life is a failure. Instead of investing in houses and other provisions for my old age I have put all of my eggs into one basket—my investment has been in futures. Not only money, but youth and strength are invested and you can give me back nothing of the last two. Think it over, but don't talk with me about it.

Lem Hooper on Bitter Bread

By Ellis Parker Butler

JUSTICE of the Peace Lemuel Hooper looked up from his newspaper and grinned at Court-officer Durfey, who was removing his uniform coat preparatory to going home.

"Well, Durfey," said the judge, "I see by this paper that the shamelessly insidious American propaganda is still going on."

"What propaganda is that, judge?" Durfey asked.

"Food. We're still sending food to Russia to feed the starving children," explained Judge Hooper. "We're a Machiavellian bunch, and we won't stop it. We're so devilish and deep, Durfey, and so headstrong in our evil ways, that we keep right on with our infernal work of putting bread in the mouths of the famine-stricken Russians. But it is bitter bread, Durfey; it is bitter bread!"

"Who says so?" Durfey asked. "Do them starving Roo-shuns say so?"

"They do not," said Judge Hooper, "but the well-fed ladies and gentlemen who call themselves The Friends of Soviet Russia say so. They have printed it out in fair type and in these words—'Governments which will not recognize the Workers' Republic and classes of men who hate it are sending bread to the Russian people. This is Bitter Bread.' We ought to try to please them and let the whole lot of Russians starve, but we're such black-hearted capitalistic fiends that we refuse. We will infamously share our bread with the starved Russian, be it bitter or sweet, while we have a loaf left.

"We're a disgusting lot of

"We're devils, Durfey. We've jammed our bitter bread down the throats of countless dying Chinese and expiring Hindoos. No doubt they gagged on it, though they forgot to mention it at the time. Like the foul miscreants we are, Durfey, we have crouched in our den year after year waiting for floods or famines or cataclysms so that we might hurl carloads and train-loads and ship-loads of bitter bread at the helpless and hungry without thought of race, religion, or previous condition of servitude. But Soviet Russia has found us out.

"The Soviet Russians have given us a just rebuke, Durfey, and we should feel abashed and humiliated. Think how the starved babes of monarchic Belgium must have writhed as they gnawed the bitter bread made of the capitalistic wheat grown by a plutocratic Minnesota Republican! See the horror on the face of the young Soviet Russian as he lifts his gaunt arm to take the cruel bread sent by a Philadelphia Quaker who may even be a bank director! It's hideous!



propagandists, as you can see, Durfey, and we ought to be thoroughly ashamed of ourselves. We're no better than Samaritans, and everyone knows they were a low grade of people who never helped a man in distress unless they thought it would get them a complimentary reading notice in the Bible. For many years we have been carrying on in this same nefarious manner, Durfey, and out of the blackness of our hearts sending bread that was no better than ipecac to empty-bellied Armenians and Persians and Syrians. And before that we forced whole cargoes of bread on earthquakeed Italians and volcanoed Martiniquans and millions of red, black, brown, white, and yellow folk—and maybe some spotted ones—in all parts of the world.

"The trouble with us, Durfey, is that we think a stomach that has had nothing in it for weeks, and nothing but grass for weeks before that, wants food and wants it quick. Like the hell-hounds we are we hurry food to it before we investigate whether it is in favor of a gold standard or paper rubles at the ratio of sixteen tons to the dollar. When we hear of a dying child we insult it by feeding it before we ask its ward boss whether it is for equal suffrage or the straight Republican ticket. When we hear of human beings dying by thousands we forget that the important point is whether we and they have the same opinion of the Einstein Theory. We think they want something to eat. That is careless of us.

"I don't know what we can do about it at this late day, Durfey. Under the hideous banner of the capitalistic system we have learned to feed the starving whether they belong to our lodge or the other one. I'm afraid the thing has gone too far to be stopped; it is hard to teach an old dog new tricks. It looks as if the Bolsheviks would have to grin and bear it.

"As far as I have heard, Durfey, Bolshevikia is the first nation to raise a flag showing a collapsed stomach refusing the food that is offered in all good will and pity. It may be a natty flag, Durfey, and stand well with the Moscow bosses, but I have a notion that a Minneapolis flour-sack on the end of a pole would get more cheers from the hollow-eyed Russians in a starvation camp, and I don't believe they would care a whoop whether the flour came from Texas or Timbuctoo.

"I have a feeling, Durfey, that the trouble is that Soviet Russia is like a man with a dog that don't like him

any too well. If I have a dog that loves me you may feed him until he is as fat as a beer keg and he will be my dog through thick and thin. If you steal him, Durfey, he will gnaw the rope and come home to me every time. But if that dog don't like me and never did care much for me, and is all the while figuring how he can get away from me and be rid of me, I don't want you to feed that dog. No, sir! Not even if he starves to death! I shouldn't wonder if Soviet Russia is just a little afraid its dog don't love it. I don't know any other reason why its friends should be so touchy. But, however that may be, Durfey, there's one thing sure—America has learned her lesson."

"You mean no more bread to the starving unless someone checks up their politics first, judge?" Durfey asked.

"Pshaw, no!" exclaimed Judge Hooper. "That wouldn't be a lesson, Durfey; that would be a crime. What we have learned is that starving men, women, and children have no politics; they have hunger."

Rocks Ahead in Ireland

By Stephen Gwynn

IF we had only our enemies to contend with! Ireland is likely to be destroyed by her devotees ministering to the needs (so they affirm) of the country's soul at the expense (as I think) of the country's body. Those who protest are cowards, traitors, blasphemers against the religion of Ireland. Ireland first, last, and all the time; even if ninety per cent. of Irish people disapprove of you, they are not Ireland.

Of course in all this there is nothing peculiar to the Irish people. It is the history of every revolution launched, as are most revolutions, by idealists. But a sickness is none the less disagreeable because other people have had it, nor less dangerous because others have died of it. The disease of disunion, of intestine strife, constantly breaks out when an enemy is on the border; and that is unfortunately our case. Moreover, Irish politics are still hampered in their conduct by possessing a double objective. Six or eight weeks ago, it looked as if this inconvenience were ended. Peace was made with Great Britain: Ireland was to be evacuated; and a new Irish government could concentrate its energies upon the still unsettled question of Ulster. Mr. de Valera, however, resists this simplification. He and his party reject the Treaty on the double ground that it does not give Ireland terms upon which she can close her account with England, and that it does give Ulster terms which destroy the unity of Ireland. What is the immediate practical result?

On the disputed border between Northern and Southern Ireland incidents occur which if they are not war at least afford a *casus belli*. Owing to the disunion among those who were directing the policy of Ireland up to December, the new Provisional Government has not sufficient authority to control the units of the Republican army which are on the frontier. Northern Ireland is entitled to say to the Imperial Government: "Our territory is threatened, send the troops which you were withdrawing from Ireland here to us in Ulster." This is done. The de Valera party, which denounces the Provisional Government as traitors to Ireland, immediately can declare that the pretended withdrawal of troops was only a blind: that they are concentrated still on Irish soil where they can join with the zealots of Ulster in a campaign of reconquest. This argument will turn some votes, may turn many votes, and if an election takes place now, the majority for the Provisional Government may be lessened, and its authority weakened. Again, the weaker the Provisional Government, the less its control on the Republican army and the more chance that in districts where the army is disaf-

fecting it may interfere to prevent freedom of elections.

How far the disaffection has spread every one wants to know, no one has means of knowing. The attitude generally taken up by the armed men is: "We are soldiers, we have no politics, we obey orders." But then, whose orders? At present there is first, Dail Eireann, of which Mr. Griffith is President. The Minister for Defence, Mr. Mulcahy, is a minister of Dail Eireann: he has replaced Cathal Brugha, as Mr. Griffith replaced Mr. de Valera. But the Provisional Government, not Dail Eireann, is governing, and Mr. Griffith is not a member of it, nor is Mr. Mulcahy. Further, there is the possible attitude, which is already taken up by some: "We are soldiers: we have no politics: but we are soldiers by the Republic: we admit no other authority."

Finally and chiefly, Mr. Griffith and Mr. Collins, in order to strengthen their position, have been obliged to represent themselves as constant to their Republican aspirations. Ulster at once says: "You ask us to join the Free State: but you are already avowing your purpose to turn the Free State into a Republic. We do not propose to join any one who wishes to break up the Empire." And so, in the effort to produce unity among his own section, Mr. Collins shatters the hope of Irish unity at large. He has to deal with an Ulster incensed by the avowal of this separatist ideal, infuriated by the violation of its border in one case and the shooting of its special constables in more than one case; and he is obliged further to exasperate these people, whom he seeks to conciliate, by pressing an extreme claim for the alteration of boundaries.

On this matter, if his team were in hand, Mr. Collins held strong cards. He was able to point out to Sir James Craig that by the terms of the Treaty the boundary must be readjusted "in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants." That, literally construed, would take from Northern Ireland its second city, Derry, and a half of four out of its six counties. But if Northern Ireland would join in a central Parliament for national services it could keep all the powers which the Northern Parliament at present possesses, and there could be no change of boundary. This might have been listened to, had there been a calmer atmosphere. As it is, Sir James Craig would probably answer that Ulster was not disposed to come under a Government which could not control its own troops and in whose area there was safety neither for life nor for property.

The latter accusation is unfortunately true. When the British troops and police were withdrawn there was bound

to be a temptation to crimes of violence in a county where few of the propertied and many of the unpropertied possessed arms. But the knowledge that a Government existed with public opinion solidly behind it, and controlling securely an armed force, would have made people think twice before law-breaking. Now every criminal is well aware of the existing weakness, and they exploit it. All this would be a transitory trouble if there were not people abroad with larger aims than loot.

Even among those who are attached to the British connection one frequently hears the opinion expressed that a Republic is bound to come, because the difference between what has been conceded and complete separation is so small that Great Britain will not fight for it. It is easy to infer that those about Mr. de Valera, who inspire his policy, take the same view, and are determined to push matters to a point at which England must either give way or undertake a reconquest of the country. They believe she will give way. This seems to involve a profound misapprehension of the facts about English feeling, and also about the military situation. England has in Ulster all the base she requires. For the rest she is able, and is probably quite ready, to operate against Ireland by blockade. Further military action, if it were desired, could begin from Ulster: and almost certainly justification could be secured by some such incidents as have already occurred on the frontier. There is little doubt that opinion in England is hardening against Ireland.

One thing at least is certain. The military possibilities will have been thought out from the point of view of England and of Ulster. Sir Henry Wilson has ceased to be Chief of General Staff: he has become candidate for representative of an Ulster constituency in the Imperial Parliament. In other words, his services and advice will be at the disposal of Ulster. His prepossessions are believed to be those of his brother, an extreme anti-Nationalist. His abilities as a soldier have always been reckoned very high; and it would not be in human nature that British professional soldiers should not desire to try conclusions seriously with the I. R. A. Professional soldiers feel that the struggle was abandoned after a challenge to war was issued and before it was taken up in good earnest. The winners—for the Irish Volunteer soldiers have in effect won, though not in a military sense—have talked at times with some arrogance. One may very well suppose that Sir Henry Wilson would not be sorry to show them what war is. One may be equally sure that he is able enough to await the moment when aggression becomes so definite that not only the Ulster volunteer levies must answer it, but also the regular troops, of whom there will shortly be seventeen battalions in Ulster.

Mr. Collins and the Provisional Government may see this coming: but if they have not control of their forces on the frontier, can they prevent it? Mr. de Valera in his devotion to the pure Republican ideal is launching a campaign to convince the country that the Provisional Government sold Ireland when they accepted the treaty, and became tools of the British Empire who should be thwarted and resisted as if they were Lloyd George in person. He will convince at least some of the young men; in the southern province, Munster, his propaganda has gained most ground. A great part of his indictment is that they have given up the unity of Ireland; to secure it, he proceeds very effectively to sap that unity by which the Free State was gained. The very fact that many troops have been withdrawn, which gives reality to the gain of the Treaty, can be converted into an argument for tearing up the treaty. When the troops were in possession of the country, it will be said, Ireland resisted successfully and maintained the claim for a Republic: now that they are gone, why should that claim be abandoned?

In Ulster, on the other hand, Mr. de Valera's whole line

of conduct has probably convinced many that sooner or later Ulster will have to fight: and it is an easy matter to argue that the time to fight is now, while the forces of Sinn Fein are divided and before the Free State has been able, as it will be later, to organize and equip its forces for modern war.

All points, in short, to a bloody collision on the Ulster border: something much more like regular war than Ireland has yet known. If Ulster were beaten, the result might be worth the cost. But that result seems far from probable; and a defeat of Southern Ireland would mean a renewal and prolongation of this ancient bitterness between colonist and native. I do not think that a reconquest of Ireland will be undertaken; Ireland will remain self-governed; but what might have been a most hopeful start is greatly menaced.


Hopeful it was, for this Government of young men brought a stir of life into many dry bones. They have not always been tactful, but they showed courage and enthusiasm and a salutary disregard for bad precedent. Especially in education, they were zealots; and Irish education has been the most anaemic thing, that could blow neither hot nor cold. They were disposed to overdo Gaelic; they were given to overdoing it, and it will make trouble; but at least a breath of enthusiasm may come into the schools. As for Mr. Collins, the acting chief, he has shown a kind of rough power and grip on essentials which stamp him as a live force. If courage and energy allied to clear vision can pull a man through, he will come out the winner, to the incalculable gain of Ireland. But assuredly no man was ever in a tighter place.

A Catalogue of Rare Books


WE have received the illustrated catalogue of "Acts and Laws of the Colony and State of New York and of the other original colonies and States constituting the collection made by Hon. Russell Benedict, Justice of the Supreme Court of New York," a beautifully executed book worthy of the unique library which it describes. Judge Benedict had succeeded in bringing together the most important collection of its kind ever owned by a private individual, exceptional not only in its completeness but also because of the large number of well preserved copies unique in their condition.

On February 27 the 479 lots comprised in this collection were sold at the American Art Association, and the lovers of Americana had a keen fight over many a rarity. The State of New York is especially well represented. There is the exceedingly rare first edition of "Horsmanden's Negro Plot," the largest and finest copy of the "Montgomery" charter extant, the only complete manuscript copy of the "Duke of York's Charter of Liberties & Privileges to the Inhabitants of New York, anno 1683" ever made from the still unprinted original manuscript volume; an exceptionally fine copy of the rare issue of the first compiled "Laws of New York," 1694; the very rare third revision of the "Colonial Laws of New York," printed by W. Bradford, the first New York printer, in 1731, etc., etc. As specimens of early American typography these documents have an additional value. Since Judge Benedict's Collection shows a remarkable array of noted names connected with the introduction of printing in America, the editors of the catalogue have thought it desirable to give a list of the printers represented, which comprises no fewer than seventy-seven names.

A large number of facsimile reproductions of title-pages, references to the whereabouts of other copies of each item, a list of reference books consulted in cataloguing the collection, and a foreword by Judge Benedict himself make this catalogue a precious volume, which collectors will prize highly.



EDITORIAL



The Great God Efficiency

IN that ceaseless movement for organized efficiency which is one of the characteristics of the present age, the foremost place was held, some ten or fifteen years ago, by the idea of "scientific management," the system developed above all by the late Frederick Taylor. No one who looked into the question could doubt that the system presented great advantages, and was capable of beneficial application in a considerable range of important instances. But the enthusiastic devotees of the Taylor idea overestimated the scope of its potentialities quite as much as the ignorant or prejudiced opponents of it underestimated them. If it had been capable of accomplishing in actual fact anything even remotely approaching what many of its advocates imagined, its progress, in spite of all opposition, would have made it by this time a dominant feature of the industrial world. Whatever may be the specific reasons why this has not happened, it is plain that vital factors which the apostles of the idea had failed to take into account imposed prohibitive limitations upon its application.

Just now it is the psychological test that holds the centre of the efficiency stage. Like every novel scheme, this of the psychological test meets with much opposition that is merely ignorant or prejudiced. Like almost every novel scheme, too, it suffers from the incompetence, the rashness, and the overzeal of some of its own practitioners. In the early days of its application in this country, instances of absurd misapplication of the tests abounded in prisons, in reformatories, even in courts; nor is the day of these ineptitudes entirely past even now. But on the other hand there has been a fine development both of the theory and the practice of the psychological test. The newly-formed Psychological Corporation, which is in the hands of a number of the foremost psychologists of America, is prepared to give to those who wish to take advantage of its facilities information that is sure to be highly useful to those who wish to test the capacity of applicants for specific positions. In schools and colleges, too, the application of psychological tests has been brought to a point where, in good hands, their results are in a high degree trustworthy.

But efficiency is not the whole of life, and it is time that serious thought were given to something that goes far beyond the question of the trustworthiness of the tests, or the immediate advantage gained by their use. If we are entering upon a régime in which children are going to be labeled and graded, not according to what they know, but according to what, by the inexorable pronouncement of a self-registering machine, they inherently *are*, what is going to be the effect of all this upon those children's outlook on life? It is true that, even as things are, every sensible child has a pretty sure consciousness of his own inferiority to

his more gifted comrades; but it is one thing to know this in a general way, and quite another to have that knowledge burned into his consciousness as a scientific and incontestable fact, to say nothing of its being stamped upon him as a fatal brand to be carried through life. Whatever precautions are taken to disguise or conceal the verdict, we may be quite sure that if, as now promises to be the case, the scheme of psychological tests is to be made a fundamental part of our educational system, its results will be no secret to the individual child most concerned, nor to those with whom he is most closely associated.

Whether the gain to be looked for, either in collective efficiency or in the efficiency and personal comfort of the individual, outweighs the loss is a question upon which it is hopeless to look for general agreement; and this not so much because of differences of opinion concerning facts as because of differences of judgment concerning values. How are you going to measure the injury inflicted upon an individual by lessening his courage, his self-esteem, his ambition, his belief—illusory, perhaps, but none the less vital and effective—that some time, somehow, he will show that there is more in him than people think, more in him than he has yet been able to prove even to himself? These qualities, these thoughts, are in themselves precious; and millions of plain people cling to them through life, in spite of all the blows of destiny. How much gain in the shape of increased success will it be necessary to secure in order to balance the loss of the consolations of failure? How much in order to justify the sacrifice of that feeling of fundamental equality which is the great sweetener of human intercourse?

To Get the Right Kind of Lawyers

IN the criminal law there is a maxim that it is better that ninety-nine guilty men should escape than that one innocent man should be unjustly punished. Critics of the Bar Associations' proposal to require college training for lawyers have apparently thought of it in the light of a parallel, though unexpressed, maxim, that it is better to admit ninety-nine unfit men to the bar than to exclude one fit man. Obviously there is no argument valid from the public point of view against excluding the ninety-nine unfit men. The concern of the critics is over the one fit man who would be a lawyer, yet has no college education.

But the critics have objected rather automatically than with reason, in the light of conditions as they are. They assert that if a college training had been required for admission to the bar, various great men and lawyers, from Marshall and Lincoln to John G. Johnson, could not have been admitted to the bar. That may or may not be true of the earlier examples. But whether true or not half a century and more ago, it is obvi-

ously not true today, and has been untrue at any time in the past twenty-five years. The real question is not whether Lincoln had a college education; but whether, if the youth Lincoln were living today, he would be unable to get the college education proposed as a requirement for entering the bar. To anyone who knows how thousands of penniless young men have secured a college training within the past twenty-five years, this question at once answers itself in the negative. Can anyone with knowledge of the colleges imagine that if a young Lincoln were to come up from Sangamon County today to the University of Illinois, or to Chicago University, he would fail to find active sympathy and decisive material encouragement in working his way through college, in preparation for the bar? Hundreds of respectable mediocrities are accomplishing that feat today. In one instance out of a thousand, special misfortunes might create an exception to the general rule that any budding legal genius of today who *wants* a college education before he studies law can get it. We have, in fact, a sneaking idea that if it had been required back in Illinois a century ago, A. Lincoln would have got it.

There remains, however, the further question, whether the requirement of a college education in preparation would actually raise the general level of legal morals and ability, though the question is predominantly one of morals. It is of the "shysters and tricksters" that Mr. Taft and Mr. Root complain. Though education does not infallibly correct moral obliquity, something corrective, even upon material of such native tendencies, can reasonably be expected to flow from the wider knowledge, the larger conceptions, which the college student can hardly avoid. Not to have a measure of faith in this process would be to adopt a theory of irremediable native depravity that would find few complete justifications.

But an even more important consideration lies in the fact that college education for the poor boy—and this is the point at issue—is under the conditions of today very largely a matter of *moral selection*. What is the first point raised, when a poor boy heads himself for college? *Character first*. Many a mental mediocrity has been helped through college because he was morally sound and serviceable to society—too "good" to be burdened with comparative ignorance. But a known "shifty character," no matter how clever, is almost never given college aid. And in the college itself, the shifty character can rarely hold a place without the backing of money advantages—not always even then. Moreover, we feel sure that the men who have worked their way through college will testify that the greatest thing they got out of it was training of character. In our judgment, the requirement of college training for the bar would be above all else an instrument of moral selection—imperfect, no doubt, but far and away the most effective at our disposal. Finally, under a system in which college education was the general requirement, it would still be possible for the State education authorities to devise an equivalent test for non-college men which would exclude those who ought to be excluded, while admitting those really fit. This consideration is important; duly attended to, it would remove the chief objection that has been raised to the Bar Associations' proposal.

Why Not Genoa?

THAT there must sooner or later be held a real and effective economic conference to devise practical measures for the rehabilitation of Europe appears self-evident. We cannot express too strongly our belief in the necessity of such a conference and in the obligation of the United States to take a leading part in it. But when such a conference is convened, it must be under conditions that give reasonable promise of success. What these prerequisite conditions are, in our opinion, we shall endeavor to make clear in the coming weeks. To do so involves an examination of many and diverse European problems which at first sight seem peculiar to those countries, but which will be found to concern this country as well.

It is natural that the interest of America in the restoration of prosperity and general well-being in Europe should grow and that the attitude of aloofness which characterized our people for a time following the disappointments of the Paris Conference should disappear. The tradition of self-sufficiency could not last in the face of the economic situation that has been developing during the past three years. All of a sudden, as a result of the great war, America has changed from a debtor nation, seeking foreign capital for her own development, into the chief creditor nation of the world, with her pockets bulging with money seeking investment elsewhere. The increased productivity of our expanded industries, now manufacturing in eight months all that we require for our own consumption in a year, and the surplus of our farm products, make it a matter of prime necessity to find markets abroad, if we are not to have a prolonged period of unemployment and business depression. But the countries of Europe cannot buy unless they can sell us goods in exchange, and they cannot send us goods until they in turn begin again to produce. This, then, is the economic problem of Europe in a nutshell—how to eliminate the factors that now stand in the way of the resumption of industrial production and how to provide the necessary co-operation of credit and capital to start it going.

The proposed Genoa Conference does not meet the conditions necessary for success and seems predestined to failure. The reason is not far to seek. With issues of such magnitude at stake the chief Powers concerned must enter the conference in practical agreement as to the general plan to be followed and the principles that are to govern. Certain political questions that sharply divide the peoples of Europe must be settled in advance, at least as far as the chief Powers are concerned. Otherwise the conference will inevitably become another Tower of Babel. Take Soviet Russia for example. If the chief Powers agree on a unified policy toward her and are prepared to present it as a settled fact, there is a chance to make it effective. But if her representatives are invited to participate on equal terms, under vague promises to behave after the manner of civilized nations, they can play one side off against the other and make capital out of conflicts of interest and opinion. Similarly it is simply folly to bring in a mass of the smaller states to air their differences and add to the general confusion.

A factor of supreme importance in the reconstruction of economic life in Europe is the problem of German reparations. At present this is a football of French

and English politics. The public in both countries have been so thoroughly fooled in regard to it that the respective Governments find themselves at a loss to make a sane settlement and at the same time retain popular support, yet it is the height of folly to undertake an economic parley in which Germany is to participate unless complete agreement on a reparations programme has previously been arrived at.

Does Mr. Lloyd George expect the proposed conference to achieve success in its avowed aims? We are inclined to doubt it. Rather it would appear that he cares little for what it does, provided the meeting serves him well in the impending general election in England, where it can be used as an argument for not rocking the Coalition boat while crossing the Channel. Furthermore, a canvass of recent discussion in Europe shows that the Genoa Conference is destined to be a political rather than an economic congress, a fact in itself making American participation undesirable.

The primary condition for a fruitful economic conference is that it be approached, as was the Washington Conference, in a new spirit of earnest endeavor, not to seek mere expedients and palliatives or to treat symptoms, but to build a lasting economic structure on firm foundations from which the corroding elements of political and racial animosities and destructive special interests have been eliminated. At this conference should assemble the representatives of the chief Powers and when they have agreed upon a unified economic programme which all are ready to support earnestly and honestly, representatives of Germany, Soviet Russia, and the lesser states should be called in to lay before the conference their special problems and have them adjusted and settled in accordance with the broad principles adopted. In such a conference of the chief Powers America could helpfully participate, and that her participation is essential to success is universally recognized. But to take part in the proposed Genoa conference, which is essentially political and which contains so many elements calculated to render it sterile, if not positively harmful, is scarcely the part of wisdom or statesmanship.

The Jailing of Strikers

“IN Kansas,” says the New York *Times*, “the Attorney General has revived the old vagrancy law, declaring that strikers who do not find other work shall go to jail. The fact is, of course, that any one in contempt of court is, like other lawbreakers, jailable—not at all the same thing as being a ‘slave.’”

Our esteemed contemporary's zeal outruns its discretion. In its eagerness to glorify the Kansas Industrial Court law, it forgets to keep its head level about law in general. The Kansas Attorney General asks the local authorities to put idle strikers in jail as vagrants, even though they have the means to pay for their living; if they are in contempt of court, why is it necessary to jail them as “vagrants”? And since when has it become part of the procedure of our courts to delegate to mayors or aldermen their authority to punish for contempt?

The Attorney General of Kansas, we fancy, committed no such absurdity as is implied in the *Times's* defence of him. He wished to ride roughshod over the fundamental rights of the men whom he desired

to send back to the mines; but we have no reason to believe that he tried to cover up the substance of what he was doing by inventing any fantastic form of justification for it. His idea was simply that since the intent of the law was to make the strikers work, he was justified in using any stick that came handy to effect that purpose. When Kansas wants coal, is her Attorney General to be bothering about a little thing like Liberty?

Soviet Capitalism

EVER since Francis McCullagh sent out a dispatch from Riga a year ago announcing Lenin's new economic policy, the world has been flooded with propaganda intended to convince the business public that the Soviet leaders had recanted their communist heresies and, with certain face-saving reservations, were prepared to reintroduce capitalism into Russia. It was shown that the right of private trade had been restored to the peasants and requisitions of food-stuffs had been replaced by taxation in kind. Furthermore it was represented that all manner of concessions would be granted to foreign capitalists who were willing to undertake the operation of various industries in Russia. All that was necessary to usher in the new era and enable business men everywhere to profit by the return of Russia to the capitalist fold was formal recognition of the Soviet Government.

One of the considerations that had a good deal of weight in business circles was that the Soviet Government and its new policy had as its representative abroad Leonid Krasin, a practical business man. It was taken for granted that he had no sympathy with communist theory. In their eagerness to take advantage of the promised Russian opportunities, they quite overlooked the fact that Krasin, in his pre-revolutionary activities, had the reputation of a sharper and trickster.

An official interview with Krasin, published in a recent issue of the New York *Call* (and therefore beyond question authentic) is calculated to give a shock to those who were inclined to believe in Lenin's change of heart and in the reality of the announced reversal of policy. Here is what Krasin believes, stated in his own words:

I believe that Europe is going slowly but surely toward catastrophe and revolution. World capitalism, despite its utmost exertion, despite its armed intervention in Russia, has not only failed to extinguish the forces of revolution, whose fires we lit, but is unable to recover its own stability.

We must recognize, therefore, that for the present we are perforce living in an environment of unfriendly capitalist States. We must be continually on the alert and must never forget that we are surrounded by enemies ready to do us an ill turn whether in trade or war. . . . And still we must work in the midst of these implacable enemies and enter into business relations with them, because without them we are unable to live and restore our agriculture. . . .

Needless to say, in our policy we never lose sight of our great purpose, the maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the maintenance of the Soviet power. . . . If we restored private ownership, the war of Russian liberation would have been fought in vain. . . .

For the peasantry and for the small industries we are deliberately making certain concessions. But in the field of large-scale industry we adhere rigidly to nationalization, to State capitalism. We are retaining transport absolutely in the hands of the State. . . . Foreign trade also we are retaining in our hands. Nationalization in these three fields, large-scale industry, transport, and foreign trade—all under the direction of the proletarian dictatorship—these are the unalterable basic principles of the Soviet State,

with which we can dispense under no circumstances. We shall defend with our last drop of blood these central pillars of our system.

This clear statement of policy by the official spokesman of the Soviet Government abroad ought to give a final quietus to those who are agitating for the recognition of that régime on the ground that it has recanted and reformed and that such recognition would open to foreign capital the flood-gates of golden opportunity.

The American "Complex"

DESPITE the clean-cut action of the Washington Conference, America to the world at large is somewhat of an enigma. She would and she wouldn't. She would be generous to mankind, but when it comes to the point of action she seems curiously inhibited. This must have been the thought of other nations as they watched preparations in the Senate to ratify the treaties and were reminded faintly of the long-drawn-out debate in the Senate two years ago.

It is not difficult to understand our plight. For consider what happened. We, a nation of doers, were suddenly called upon to be a nation of philosophers. To fight the war was easy; to explain in abstract or general terms why we fought got us badly mixed. Mr. Wilson's glowing phrases—making the world safe for democracy, self-determination, war to end war—which were serviceable as slogans, kept whirling in our heads, but were not converted into reasonable action. They were badly bruised by the Versailles Treaty and were further repressed by the protracted debate in the Senate. If Mr. Wilson on his last tour of the country had devoted himself to an elementary explanation of his programme and to concrete illustrations of the probable workings of the general concepts underlying it, the campaign of education might have resulted in clear issues which could have been voted on as such. But he did nothing of the kind. The glowing phrases were kept whirling in our heads and bosoms; and the great and solemn referendum did not yield all that was expected of it, though it plainly registered disapproval of the President's sweeping plans. Leaving out of account those whose votes were based on personal animosities or were cast on strict party lines, and the all too few who had really reasoned the thing out, there was an enormous body of persons actuated by thoroughly mixed sentiments. Those with expansive, impulsive natures opened their hearts to the thought of a new world in which all nations were to be peaceful, loving neighbors. Those in whom violent emotions terrify, unless sublimated by reason, repressed their altruistic impulses and sometimes even joined the class of "little Americans," to which they did not at all belong.

If Mr. Wilson prepared the way for international coöperation, he also left an embarrassing heritage of popular cross-purposes, mixed feelings, and high irritability to his successor. It is to be hoped that the definite programme of action set forth by Secretary Hughes may have started us towards better days. But the end is not yet. America underwent a great change, but, unlike Jane who left the village, she does not quite understand what has happened to her.

The hearty laugh of sanity is sadly missing the country over. Until it is recaptured, we may look to

a continuance of the confusion. Americans need to get their foreign arrangements adjusted and then to settle down and for a while be neighbors with themselves. These are the steps which must be taken before they can really consolidate their great experience of the war and become a normal people once more.

Bonus Flounderings

THE situation of Congress in the matter of the soldiers' bonus becomes more and more ridiculous as it flounders from one expedient to another. Had the question been faced squarely as one of principle the Solons at Washington would not now be enmeshing themselves deeper and ever deeper in airy schemes to pay something out of nothing or to appear to pay while dodging the immediate responsibility.

The latest proposal devised by Mr. Fordney, while showing some evidences of ingenuity, is perhaps the most absurd yet suggested, but we are assured that it is likely to be passed by the House. In brief, the new proposal would give certificates to the soldiers for their "adjusted compensation" in the place of cash, except to those entitled to \$50 or less. The idea is that an ex-soldier receiving one of these certificates can borrow 50 per cent. of its face value from a bank, using his certificate as collateral. In order to protect the ex-soldier from loan sharks, the certificate is to be made non-transferable.

What a truly business-like proposal! Imagine a bank lending on security that is collectible only after three years and that presents such complications in case the borrower defaults. Under the best circumstances and with the heartiest coöperation of the banks it would constitute a "freezing" of assets to a dangerous extent. If the payment is just, why should the Government not borrow the money and pass it on to the ex-soldiers instead of asking the banks to loan it at higher rates of interest? Suppose also that the soldier borrows a pittance on his certificate and then, having squandered it, as would most certainly happen in numberless cases, were unable to repay. The taxpayer would eventually have to pay the full amount, while the intended beneficiary profited little or not at all.

The bedrock of principle upon which the bonus ought to have been opposed is plain enough if one but faces the question squarely. The sacrifice which a citizen makes in simply taking the share fairly and squarely allotted to him in fighting his country's enemies it is his plain duty to endure without looking for any special material reward. Where the sacrifice goes beyond that which is entailed in the mere fact of military service, where a man suffers physical disability, impairment, or mutilation, it is right that the Government should endeavor to make up to him in material support a loss which such support, however generous, can never repair. But if the mere fact of service be regarded as a basis for a similar claim, what limit can be assigned to the demand? The country must stand on the principle that the soldier did only his duty in serving—that the nation was entitled to his service at the rate of pay fixed by law—or else surrender itself to indefinite exploitation, carried on by what is in essence political duress. The note that should have been struck is that which was sounded with such unwavering courage by Grover Cleveland. Perhaps it is not yet too late!

The Story of the Week

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

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The Domestic Budget

The President's Merchant Marine Proposals

ON February 28 the President presented in person to the House and Senate, in joint session, his programme of aid and subsidy to the American merchant marine. The following are the main features of the programme:

1. The merchant ships owned by the Government to be sold at once at world market prices.

2. In lieu of the provision of the Jones Act which prescribes reduction of tariff rates for imports arriving in American bottoms (which provision has never been put in execution), 10 per cent. of all duties on imports arriving either in American or in foreign bottoms is to be turned over to a "merchant marine fund," which fund would be increased by tonnage, etc., dues, and by amounts otherwise payable for transportation of foreign mails, except parcel post. From this merchant marine fund would be paid a direct subsidy: (a) for all vessels, one-half of 1 per cent. per each gross ton, regardless of speed, for each 100 miles traveled; (b) for vessels of a speed of 13 knots or more, additional amounts, varying with the speed, up to a maximum of 2.6 cents for each gross ton per 100 miles traveled, for vessels of 23 or more knots.

The above is the direct subsidy proposed, which might ultimately total \$30,000,000 per year. It is limited as follows: When the net operating income of a vessel exceeds 10 per cent. per annum on the investment, its subsidy ceases and 50 per cent. of such excess must be turned back into the merchant marine fund until the total amount previously received as subsidy shall have been returned. Thus, if the programme should turn out a big success, the Treasury might recover the greater part of its subsidy disbursements.

3. Not less important than the direct aid are the indirect aids proposed, as:

(a) American officials traveling on Government business at Government expense to be required to use American shipping whenever possible.

(b) The transport services of army and navy to be discontinued as far as practicable, their functions to be performed by the merchant marine.

(c) Insurance to be provided to the merchant marine at no higher rates than those paid by vessels under competing flags.

(d) American railways to be brought into coöperation with American steamship lines; preferential rail rates for through shipments via steamship and railroad. The Interstate Commerce Act to be amended so as to permit railroads to own and operate steamship lines engaged in foreign trade.

(e) Coastwise shipping laws to be extended to include the Philippines.

(f) A construction loan fund to be created from the sale of the Shipping Board vessels, from which shipbuilders may borrow at 2 per cent.

(g) Income taxes of shipping corporations to be reduced by an amount equal to 5 per cent. of the value of goods shipped.

(h) At least 50 per cent. of immigrants to be brought in American ships.

(i) A Merchant Marine Naval Reserve to be established, those therein enrolled to receive extra compensation.

Mails, except parcel post, would be carried free by vessels receiving subsidies.

Though the experiment of Government ownership and control is admitted to have been an enormous failure financially, though the Shipping Board fleet must be sold at a great loss to the Government; yet it is the belief of the President and the members of the Shipping Board that in the end, if the proposed programme is given legislative effect, the Commonwealth will be financially a gainer through

the experiment which has created so great a merchant marine.

There are two other considerations to which the President referred. One is that a great American merchant marine is expected to insure a great American seagoing class, as in the clipper days. The other is that it should insure adequate shipbuilding facilities in case of another war; trebly important in view of the effect of the new naval policy on naval shipyards.

A bill embodying the President's recommendations has been introduced in both House and Senate.

The Agricultural Bloc and the Bonus

It is said that the sales tax plan for raising the money for the bonus (though it is the one favored by the President) is dead as Cock Robin. The farm bloc are again urging use of payments on the Allied war loans. There is a likelihood that the British will begin interest payments on June 1; annual interest on the British debt would be approximately \$250,000,000. Sale of bonds redeemable from time to time on receipt of British moneys is the method proposed.

Why Worry?

It appears that there are 65,000,000 tons of bituminous coal "on the ground," that the non-union mines produce 6,000,000 tons a week when all in operation under normal conditions, that at a pinch they could produce 10,000,000, and that under present depressed conditions of industry the consumption is not above 8,000,000 tons per week. Therefore, why worry about the threat of a strike of organized bituminous miners on April 1?

The Strike at Newport, Kentucky

Newport, Kentucky, has been a scene of violence and disgrace since last July. It is impossible from press accounts to determine the precise rights and wrongs of the controversy between the independent steel interests of that town and the 2,000 steel workers who are striking under the direction of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers. Ostensibly the strike was called because the operators refused to recognize certain local lodges of unskilled workers and to grant a general wage increase of 12 per cent.; a Gary affair over again on a small scale, apparently. Each side charges the other with importing thugs and gunmen to fight its battles.



Thomas in Detroit News

Robinson Crusoe sees a footprint



International

Westminster Abbey, storied scene of so many great ceremonies, where Princess Mary was married to Viscount Lascelles on February 28

In December a semblance of order was restored by National Guardsmen, but on their departure arson, sniping, the other features *de rigueur* of a 100 per cent. American strike, became more frequent than before. On February 2 Guardsmen were again sent, and they have once more restored a semblance of order. The plants are being operated on a reduced scale.

The Guard Commander declares Newport to be "the most lawless city in the country, filled with open saloons, gambling houses, and resorts of ill-fame, all run and operated with the knowledge and full consent of the city officials"; and he has arrested the Mayor and Chief of Police for abetting the violence of the strikers.

The strike leaders say that the strikers are "not responsible for the lawlessness of gamblers and bootleggers," that they are "law-abiding American citizens who have spent their entire lives in the community helping to make the steel industry what it is," that the mill owners are "out to crush organized industry and the system of collective bargaining," and that they "may die, but will never surrender."

Governor Miller on the Proposed Industrial Relations Court

Governor Miller of New York has made the following statement regarding the Duell-Miller bill (to establish an Industrial Relations Court) and the Labor Jury Bill, now under consideration by the New York State Legislature:

I have no hesitation in saying that, from the examination which I have now been able to give to these bills, I am of the belief—and the more I study them the more my conviction grows—that they go a great deal farther in the direction of establishing State control over labor and industry than the people of this State are prepared to accept.

One of the fundamental objections to the bills, as the matter appears to me, is that they undertake to set up a judicial machinery to adjudicate on questions which I do not think are subjects of adjudication; for example, the question of wages. That is a matter of contract. It can't properly be made the matter of judicial determination, according to any settled or known principles of law.

I doubt very much that the State can undertake, for ex-

ample, to compel people to work for less wages than they are willing to work for, and I do not think that a judicial tribunal can adjudicate the kind of questions which must necessarily be left to contract.

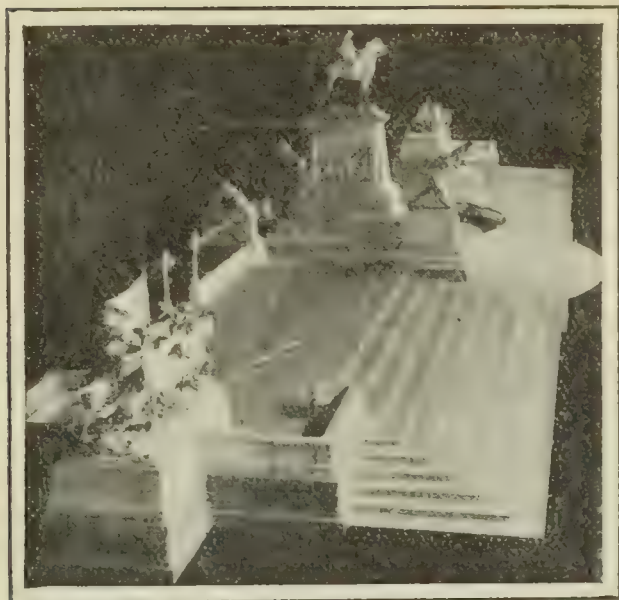
What the State can properly do, it seems to me, in the way of helping in the settlement of industrial disputes, is along the line of endeavoring to secure fair dealing to prevent abuses; to, as far as it can, set up machinery for mediation and arbitration, and I think that perhaps the greatest thing it can do is to secure exact information of the facts involved in these disputes, so that the public may know what the facts are.

The Triple Alliance

A Triple Alliance agreement was adopted at Chicago on February 22 by representatives of seventeen organizations of miners, railroad men and longshoremen (the membership of these organizations totaling about 2,000,000). The reader had best be left to form his own opinion of what's in the wind, from a perusal of the articles of agreement:

Article 1. The associated organizations represented in the transportation and mining industries of the country have been compelled to bear the brunt of unwarranted attacks upon their integrity and unjust and inequitable changes in their wages, schedules and conditions of employment. The industrial and financial interests responsible for this condition are not yet satisfied and are conducting gigantic propaganda looking toward further wage reductions and additional changes in working conditions that will be detrimental to the people employed in these industries. It, therefore, becomes necessary for the representatives of the associated organizations to assemble and take cognizance of this situation. Impelled by the necessity of effecting a coordination of our strength, we declare for closer cooperation of our forces which will operate to more effectively protect the interests of those engaged in these essential and basic industries. After mature deliberation, and with full sense of our responsibility, we declare that the mutuality of interests of the employees in these basic industries must be recognized and we assert our purpose to apply every honorable method to secure adequate standards of living.

Article 2. When it becomes apparent that any one or group of the associated organizations is made the victim of unwarranted attacks, or its integrity is jeopardized, it will become the duty of the representatives of each of the associated organizations to assemble to consider the situation. Ways and means may then be considered and applied to



International

The Grant Memorial in the Botanical Gardens at Washington, to be unveiled on April 27th. Designer and sculptor, Henry Merwin Shrady, of New York

best meet the emergency. Action taken under this section is subject to approval by each organization represented.

Article 3. To facilitate the conduct of the business of the associated organizations an executive committee is hereby created, composed of the chief executives of the associated

organizations or their specifically designated representatives. It shall be the duty of the executive committee, from time to time, to make such recommendations to the associated organizations as may in its judgment be deemed wise and to assemble the full conference of associated organizations when conditions make such action necessary.

Article 4. This plan shall become operative when ratified by the constitutional authorities of each associated organization.

Ratification by all the "constitutional authorities" is expected. President Lewis of the United Mine Workers made the interesting statement that he did not ask the railwaymen and longshoremen to strike in sympathy, should the miners strike on April 1, as is threatened.

Immigration

The House has passed a bill which would extend for one year the period of operation of the present Immigration Act, which expires June 30 next. Very properly Congress is willing to enact a permanent immigration law only after exhaustive study of that superlatively important subject. Immigrants during the past eight months have numbered only 191,000 as against 805,000 during the preceding twelve months. Moreover, the number of aliens leaving the United States during the past eight months has been almost equal to the number of immigrants, so that the net increase of our alien population during the period July 1, 1922, to June 30, 1923, will perhaps not be greater than 50,000.

* * *

The National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation, of which Dr. Sidney L. Gulick is Secretary, is backing the Sterling bill, which provides for a permanent Immigration Commission of five members, including the Secretary of Labor, which would be empowered to fix the percentage of immigrants to be admitted year by year.

The Treaties

The several Washington Conference treaties were favorably reported to the Senate by the Foreign Relations Committee; exactly as received from the President, except that to the Four-Power Treaty is attached the Brandegee reservation, as follows:

The United States understands that, under the statement in the preamble or under the terms of this treaty, there is to be no commitment to armed force, no alliance, no obligation to join in any defense.

* * *

On March 1 the Senate by a vote of 67 to 22 (i. e. seven votes in excess of the required two-thirds majority) ratified the Yap treaty without amendment or reservation.

The American Federation of Labor and Prohibition

It will be recalled that in June, 1921, the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Denver by unanimous vote resolved that the Volstead Prohibition Enforcement Act should be modified so as to permit the manufacture and sale of light beer and wines. The Executive Committee of the Federation has just issued a supplementary "declaration to the American people" on the subject. The committee have made an exhaustive investigation of the effects of the Volstead Act, and find the chief effects to be as follows:

1. A general disregard of the law among all classes of people, including those who made the law.
2. Creation of thousands of moonshiners among both country and city dwellers.
3. The creation of an army of bootleggers.
4. An amazing increase in the traffic in poisons and deadly concoctions and drugs.
5. An increased rate of insanity, blindness and crime among the users of these concoctions and drugs.
6. Increase in unemployment due to loss of employment by workers in forty-five industries directly or indirectly connected with the manufacture of liquors.
7. Increase in taxes to city, state and national Governments amounting to approximately \$1,000,000,000 per year.

The committee are of opinion that the Volstead Act is "a social and a moral failure, and that it is a dangerous breeder of discontent and of contempt for all law." It is their belief that "the Eighteenth Amendment, under a reasonable legislative interpretation, would be beneficial to the country," but that the Volstead Act is an "unjust and fanatical interpretation."

The declaration ends thus:

We urge, therefore, that all citizens in every walk of life demand from their Representatives and Senators in Washington immediate relief from the unwarranted restriction contained in the Volstead act; and we likewise suggest to the citizenship of our country the wisdom and advisability of bearing in mind the attitude toward this issue of officeholders and aspirants to office in coming elections in order that there may be restored to the people the lawful use of wholesome beer and light wines, which, under the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment, can and should be rightfully declared as non-intoxicating beverages.

Hirshfield's Second Hearing on History

A second hearing on history was granted by Commissioner of Accounts Hirshfield of New York City in his office on February 28. It ended in a free-for-all fight; for good reason. Some one made the treasonable allegation that the music of "The Star Spangled Banner" was originally composed for a British drinking song; the reply was an upper-cut directed by the President of the Star-Spangled Banner Association. Other statements (such as that Washington when running for a seat in the Virginia House of Burgesses bribed the voters with rum punch) were similarly answered. It is yet to be decided whether, for the greater educational effect, future hearings will be held in Madison Square Garden, under the joint presidency of Commissioner Hirshfield and the Marquess of Queensberry.

The British Empire

Whack for the Diddle o' the Dido Dey!

THE true genius of the Irish people suddenly lit up the Ard Fheis on the closing day of its session last week. The great body of delegates (between 2,000 and 3,000) had been waiting quietly for more than an hour for the leaders to appear (the latter seem to have been delayed over details of their agreement). Suddenly some one began to sing the "Soldier's Song." The whole convention joined, standing and uncovered, and followed with "Wrap the Green Flag Round Me." Then some genius of fun stood on his chair and sang the following irresistible ditty:

Whack for the diddle o' the dido dey,
So we say, hip, hooray!
Father, listen, while we pray,
Whack for the diddle o' the dido dey!

The assembly took up the song at once in holiday mood. Irish genius for nonsense calls for almost any reward. The Irish deserve to have the treaty go through and to continue (with the Scotch) to rule the British Empire.

"A Declaration to Egypt"

In a speech to the Commons on February 28, Lloyd George announced termination of the British protectorate over Egypt and acknowledgment by the British Government of Egypt as an independent sovereign State; effective upon signature by a responsible Egyptian Government of an agreement with the British Government covering satisfactorily the following points: (a) security of British Empire communications; (b) defense of Egypt against all "foreign aggression and interference, direct or indirect"; (c) protection of foreign interests in Egypt and protection of minorities; (d) guarantees for British interests in the Sudan.

Lloyd George's following remarks are important enough to be quoted in full:

We are prepared to make agreements with the Egyptian Government on those matters in a spirit of mutual accommodation, but until such agreement satisfactory both to ourselves and the Egyptian Government is concluded the status quo will remain intact.

I must make another point clear. We regard the special relations between ourselves and Egypt defined in this clause as a matter concerning only ourselves and the Government of Egypt. Foreign powers are not concerned, and we purpose to state this unmistakably when the termination of the protectorate is notified to them. The welfare and integrity of Egypt are necessary to the peace and safety of the British Empire, which will therefore always maintain as an essential British interest the special relations between itself and Egypt long recognized by other Governments. The definition of these special relations is an essential part of the declaration recognizing Egypt as an independent sovereign State. His Majesty's Government have laid them down as matters in which the rights and interests of the British Empire are vitally involved and they cannot permit them to be questioned by any other power.

In pursuance of this principle they would regard as an unfriendly act any attempt at interference in the affairs of Egypt by another Power and they would consider any aggression against the territory of Egypt as an act to be repelled by all means at their command.

On the other hand, we, of course, accept the protection of foreign interests and minorities in Egypt as a responsibility inseparable from the special position which we claim in the country.

The combined efforts of Great Britain and Egypt were needed to rescue that vast country, the Sudan, from the devastation and ruin into which the Mahdi's movement had plunged it. His Majesty's Government will never allow the progress which already has been made and the greater promise of the future years to be jeopardized, nor can His Majesty's Government agree to any change in the status of that country which would in the slightest degree diminish security for the many millions of British capital which already have been invested in its development. Egypt, on the other hand, has an undeniable right to the most ample guarantees that the development of the Sudan shall never threaten or interfere with her existing water supply or with that which she may require in order to bring her own territory under full cultivation. Such guarantees His Majesty's Government will be ready to afford and there is no reason why they should in any way hamper or retard the progress of the Sudan.

"A Declaration to Egypt" has been printed as a White

Paper. This is presumably a notice to Egypt that the offer made in November last (with perhaps some trifling additional concessions) is renewed (that November offer not greatly differing from the Milner recommendations quoted in last week's issue of this journal). Egypt may take it or leave it.

Lloyd George's statement is of significance as a firm "hands-off" notice to other Powers, and as a discovery (hitherto lacking) of British intentions regarding the Sudan.

A New Italian Cabinet

SIGNOR FASTA has formed a new Italian Cabinet. Signor Schanzer, who headed the Italian delegation at the Washington Conference, is the Foreign Minister. One wishes Signor Fasta good luck, but, such is the present complexion of Italian politics, one is not too sanguine of his success.

Giolitti was personally unacceptable to the Catholic Party and so failed to form a Ministry, but the success of Fasta is regarded as a partial victory for Giolitti's policies, as Fasta is one of Giolitti's old henchmen.

Stone Age Humor in Tokyo

THERE was a great popular demonstration in Tokyo the other day in favor of universal suffrage, as proposed in a bill under consideration by the Diet; not without exchange of amenities between the police and the populace. While the populace was demonstrating, debate in the Diet was fast and furious. Some one dropped a live snake from the gallery. Why this should have caused so tremendous a rumpus as it did, does not appear from dispatches; Stone Age or American freshman humor, one might call it at a venture. The Japanese are getting on.

The bill was rejected by the Diet by a vote of 243 to 147.

Lloyd George and Poincaré at Boulogne

LOYD GEORGE and Poincaré met at Boulogne on Saturday, February 25. The following is the official communiqué on the meeting

(somewhat amazing after the recent talk about Franco-British relations):

Mr. Lloyd George and M. Poincaré met today at Boulogne in the Sub-Prefecture and had a conversation of more than three hours, in the course of which they examined in most cordial spirit a certain number of problems at present before the Allies.

The two Prime Ministers have been particularly concerned with the conference at Genoa. They entirely agree on the political guarantees to be secured in order to avoid any encroachment either on the rights of the League of Nations or upon the treaties signed in France since the peace or upon the rights of the Allies with regard to reparations.

Experts will meet in London in a very short time to examine economic and technical questions. The Italian Government will be asked to convene the Genoa conference April 10.

Mr. Lloyd George and M. Poincaré have very amicably come to an understanding on all the points they have discussed and have both carried away with them after their conversation the certainty that the entente between France



Kadel & Herbert

Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary

and Great Britain in all international questions can be confidently expected to produce most fruitful results. They feel particularly convinced that no differences of a political character will stand in the way of the two nations working together in full mutual confidence for the economic reconstruction of Europe and the consolidation of peace.

It is reported (but confirmation is required) that the Premiers agreed to use the secretariat machinery of the League for the conduct of the conference; that the question whether the League should be asked to execute the decisions of the Conference was left undecided (Poincaré is understood to desire the latter); and that Lloyd George consented that, should the Muscovites present, against French claims upon the account of pre-Bolshevist Russian debts, counter-claims upon the account of indemnities for Allied support of Kolchak and others, such counter-claims should be ruled out.

Lloyd George is reported to have told a correspondent that the Anglo-French compact would be ready for signature within a few days, and to have made the following statement to another correspondent:

I am more than satisfied with the day's conference on the question of Russia. The fact that Russia has accepted our invitation to the conference does not imply recognition of the Soviet by any means. Everything depends upon the guarantees and safeguards which Russia can give at Genoa. If these are satisfactory, then recognition may follow, perhaps immediately, but I shall certainly not press for recognition of the Soviet Government if the guarantees forthcoming at Genoa are not satisfactory. I wouldn't do that under any consideration. France and England are in agreement upon that question.

It was, indeed, an important meeting.

Lord Grey on the Genoa Conference

LORD GREY, whose opinion on that subject deserves as much respect as that of any man in the world, has the following to say concerning the proposed Genoa Conference:

I am not at all favorably impressed by the proposal to hold a conference. I may be wrong and I may have to revise my opinion later on, but at present I am not favorably impressed. For one thing, too much limelight is thrown upon it. I always distrust limelight. I find great difficulty in facing a flashlight photograph. One of the objects of this conference is to be the restoration of Russia, a most desirable thing. I do not believe it is going to be done by means of what I call political finance.

The League Disarmament Commission

THE Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations met in Paris on February 20. Its members feel much heartened by the work of the Washington Conference. They have been giving particular attention to the question of control of manufacture of munitions and armaments. The most satisfactory solution, they think, would be the signing by all important Governments of the St. Germain convention, which deals with that question. But the United States is not signing any treaties these days except those made in the U. S.; and even those most haltingly.

The Hague Courts

Opening of the Court of Justice

THE Permanent Court of Justice at The Hague was opened in style on February 15, the Queen of the Netherlands, the Queen Mother, and the Prince Consort gracing with their presence the inaugural session.

The judges wear black velvet robes with ermine-trimmed collars, and black velvet berettas.

The Court of Justice and the Court of Arbitration

It should not be forgotten that, besides the new League of Nations Court (the "Permanent Court of Justice"), The Hague Peace Palace houses the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

The former, unlike the latter, is a truly judicial institution; it will base its decisions on international law (treaties, conventions, etc.) and the customary law of nations, *i. e.*, customs which have acquired the effect of law through long usage and recognition. The new court must, as our Supreme Court did, slowly build its prestige and influence. Its sphere will, though important, be limited. Nations will prefer to submit large political questions to an arbitral tribunal or to war.

Doom of the Federation of Central American Republics

THE project of a Federation of Central American Republics has "gone fluey," as the saying is. A provisional Federal Council sat for some time at Tegucigalpa (a Federal District of Tegucigalpa had been set apart by



Underwood & Underwood

Plan of the memorial which the Masons of the United States propose to erect in honor of Washington the Mason, on a ridge commanding a splendid view of the Washington country

the constituent republics of the Federation) trying to organize a government. The Council finally proclaimed its failure to do so, and the constituent republics will doubtless resume the sovereign powers surrendered by them to the Federation, if they have not by this time done so. The members of the Federation were Honduras, Guatemala, and San Salvador; but last December the Herrera régime in Guatemala was overthrown and the new Government repudiated the old Government's adhesion to the new Federation. Had things gone smoothly, the constitutional Government of the Federation would have been formally installed on February 1. Now, presumably, it will be the same thing over and over again in Central America, à la O. Henry.

Sundry Matters

THE most charming of the marriage presents to the Princess Mary was the deed, in trust, by a Washington lady, of Foxlease Park (home and grounds) for use by Girl Guide officers as a training center.

* * *

Radicalism is so rampant in Ireland that some apprehend an attempt to form a Red Republic.

* * *

The Atlantic seas run mountain high, but the commander of the White Star *Homer* (bound westward on her maiden trip), in the full glory of battle with a terrific storm, wirelessly New York: "Some ship, this."

* * *

The most recent Government proposals contemplate a total French army strength of 690,000: 478,000 French-born, 107,000 North Africans, 100,000 black and yellow Colonials, and 10,000 in the Foreign Legion.

The Future of Opera in Chicago

By Charles Henry Meltzer

*Souvent femme varie,
Fol qui s'y fie.*

THE lines recur to one, with other jingles, as one reads the announcement of Miss Garden's resignation from the directorship of the Chicago Opera Company. To outsiders the news came as a surprise. But by insiders it had been foreseen. Miss Garden has done wisely, although tardily, in laying down a burden that she could not bear. Yet if one looks back two years or so to the time when Maëstro Marinuzzi dropped his baton at the Chicago Auditorium and walked out forever, it may seem strange that she attempted the impossible.

To some it would be easy—or at least not very hard—to direct "grand" opera in this rich and eager city. I can imagine Col. Savage, for example, making opera pay here. He has a firm will, great experience, and enthusiasm. I can imagine that, at all events artistically, a conductor like Maëstro Polacco might do admirable things as the successor to the temperamental Mary. It may be hoped that one or other of those two well-fitted operatic lights will be invited to take up Miss Garden's task. A combination of the two would be ideal. We may be sure that Col. Savage would not tolerate the wicked waste and turmoil of the past few months. And it is certain that in Maëstro Polacco he would find the musical assistance he might need. Or, should the man who for long years was so successful as an operatic manager have worn out his ambition, Maëstro Polacco might do very well alone—or with the coöperation of an honest business henchman.

You know, of course, that for six weeks and more vain efforts had been made by Mr. Samuel Insull and an energetic committee to induce Chicagoans to subscribe the second half of the half million dollar yearly guarantee, for five more years, required (according to the estimates of supposed experts) to make opera possible here. Not profitable. For it was assumed that even with this guarantee a heavy annual loss would be inevitable. With all submission to the wisdom of those "experts," I fail to see why any loss should have been feared. By cutting down the quite absurdly high fees paid to some singers; by getting rid of "graft" and stark dishonesty; by limiting the list of singers, as is done always at the New York Metropolitan; and by judiciously omitting a few worn-out and unnecessary works in the repertory; "grand" opera in Chicago could, I have no doubt at all, be changed to a safe enterprise.

Meanwhile it is of interest to note that as a consequence presumably of the determination of Miss Garden to confine herself in the future to interpreting great rôles as she alone, perhaps, is now able to do, subscriptions are beginning to roll in to Mr. Insull's treasury. Moreover, the hostility of various very influential backers of "grand" opera in this city has been turned into something much like active sympathy. The "Friends of Opera"—a society of opera-goers which had been bitterly opposed, at least in part, to the broad-minded and enthusiastic woman who, more than anyone, had made opera possible here, have drawn their horns in. A threatened conflict has, it seems, now been averted. And before long the needed guarantee may be secured.

Much may depend, however, on whether the new heads of the Chicago organization persist in sticking in the old foreign ruts, and running opera in the interests of Italian, French, Russian, and German singers, composers, and publishers, or do what some very important "friends of opera" wish, by giving more liberal opportunities to American singers and composers, and by including—in a big and

generous way—works sung in English in the repertory.

A fight, which grows in bitterness, has for about a year been raging with these points as issues. Mrs. Edith Rockefeller McCormick and some other well-known leaders of society have come out openly in favor of the gradual recognition of our own tongue by the Chicago company. Miss Garden, on the other hand, has said that she thinks English speech "ridiculous" in opera. Another case of "*Souvent femme varie*." For, a few years ago, she joined—at my petition—the New York "Society for the Promotion of Grand Opera in English" and wrote a very charming letter, also at my petition, pledging her to do everything she could to aid "the cause." She has herself proved that our language can be sung well, with expression and fit clearness, by her interpretation of the title-part in "Natoma." Why she has changed her mind she may—or she may not—know well. Miss Farrar, Mr. Riccardo Martin, Mr. Scotti, and more singers of repute have always been enemies of our vernacular. When I once asked Miss Farrar why she refused to sing English at the Metropolitan, she answered, merrily but also rather flippantly, "because I haven't got to."

There are three reasons and three reasons only for excluding English from the languages employed in opera. One is fashionable snobbery, an inheritance and a bad, foolish habit. One is the badness of most so-called English versions of the standard foreign librettos. The last is the unwillingness, and present inability, of most singers to enunciate and pronounce our language plainly. All these objections could be overcome, and may be, before very many years—or months—if the appeals of certain persons in Chicago are not wasted on dull, apathetic ears.

As a first step toward the end on which a very large proportion of Americans have set their hearts, a librettist (not unknown to you) has been commissioned to attempt the arduous task of making a new series of sane, singable, and, wherever possible, poetic English equivalents of the foreign text-books. The next, a most important, step should be the insertion in all contracts signed with singers of a stringent clause, compelling those spoilt darlings of the public to "sing English when required."

Toward the end of his career at the Manhattan, the late Oscar Hammerstein had begun to insert that English clause in many, if not all, of his contracts. And later, as you may not have forgotten, he had planned an all-English opera undertaking. The opposition of the directorate (not including Mr. Kahn, as I was once told by that gentleman himself) prevented Mr. Hammerstein from carrying out his plan. But, even hampered though he was by wretched text-books, Col. Savage had given "Parsifal" and "Die Walküre" in English very well. What he did may, more easily and more effectively, be done by others. And it is probable, or, to avoid excess, it is quite possible, that the experiment will be made here in Chicago.

A society, known as "The Opera in Our Language Foundation," headed by Mrs. Eleanor Everest Freer, herself a writer of rare songs, is now encouraging American composers to submit operas to a jury with a view to production. Two works have been selected for performance, and ten more seem to have a good chance of at least a hearing.

So, as you see, the world does move—though slowly. And some day the American composer may not have to go a-begging at the Metropolitan.

Chicago, February 21

New Books and Old

PERHAPS the most amusing and enjoyable book to own which has appeared this winter is H. M. Bateman's "A Book of Drawings." Mr. Bateman is the man who draws the pop-eyed colonels and apopleptic admirals in *Punch*; he has revived the art of the long-continued series of comic pictures—the adventures which stretch over a page or two pages or even three or four pages of the weekly. His series (in a recent *Punch*) of the man who lived for the sole purpose of playing one note in the orchestra, was four pages long, and there was not one picture too many. Heroically I bought and paid for, with money earned by my good right hand, two copies of this book, and gave them away, and not a single copy of it has come my way. Let me not seem to hint. But the Henry Holt Company did a good deed in making it easy for Americans to own this gem of a book, by bringing out an American edition. Why should they not have the inspiration to publish over here the two books by *Punch*'s other great comic artist, George Morrow?

Those who enjoy the diary of a traveler of the eighteenth century will take especial delight in the "Journal of a Lady of Quality" (Yale University Press), edited by Evangeline and Charles McLean Andrews. The lady was Janet Schaw of Edinburgh, and she sailed from Scotland to Antigua in the West Indies the latter part of the year 1774. She visited various other islands, sailed for North Carolina, where she stayed for nearly a year, then crossed the ocean again to spend some time in Lisbon. Her journal is written with skill and humor, it is admirably explained and annotated by the editors, and presented in a volume which is a model of typographical good taste.

From Katharine Morse's book of poems, "A Gate of Cedar" (Macmillan):

CROW

A Gentleman, sedate, severe,
In black habiliments monastic,
Of sombre mien and speech austere—
To dub him robber were fantastic!

Indeed his solemn cawings say:
Nine flies and five fat slugs each day
Suffice for my ascetic diet:—
What did I hear you mutter? Corn!
I will not trouble to deny it!
Such slanders best are met with scorn!

Pax tecum, friend, I must be flying;
The hour grows late. What's that you say?
The Blacksmith's old white mare is dying?
The Deacon's early garden's sprouting?
Thanks, I'll be going by that way;
Caaa caw! We'll settle this past doubting.

A pleasant, curious, and entertaining book, with appropriate wood-engravings, is William J. Phillips's "Carols, Their Origin, Music, and Connection with Mystery-Plays" (Dutton). The origin of carols, their connection

with dancing, the carols of the Virgin, the spring carols, the wassails, are each given chapters. That on mystery-plays is excellent, with its accounts for the cost of production of some of the medieval plays:

Paid for making 3 worlds..... 3 pence
Two yards and a half of buckram
for the Holy Ghost's coat..... 2s. 1d.

With some companions William Beebe was sitting on a bench, watching the moon, in British Guiana, talking of possible former life on the moon, of Conan Doyle's "Lost World," the scene of which is less than two hundred miles from the spot where they sat, and of the rumor that he had discovered a pterodactyl. Beebe, not Doyle. A little English girl had heard the rumor, and had written to him for a description of it. As he examined the moon, with field-glasses (the story is in "Edge of the Jungle," published by Holt), a huge, shapeless creature flapped across his field of vision. It was not a bird, it did not fly like a bat. The wings were skinny, the body large and of a pale, ashen hue. For a moment he was disturbed. Was there anything in the pterodactyl story? Professor Challenger, of Conan Doyle's novel, had captured one and taken it to England, to silence scoffers. But presently he realized that it was a giant fruit bat which had flown across the path of the moon; he had seen them last in Ceylon, and had forgotten that they existed in Guiana. He was "wholly unprepared for the sight of bats a yard across, with a heron's flight, passing high over the Mazaruni in the moonlight."

Compton Mackenzie's "Rich Relatives" (Harper) seems to go on in his usual galloping style, a sort of devil-may-care frolic, introducing dozens of characters, dropping them, and taking up more. No end of larks—eh, what? There is Uncle Eneas and Aunt Cuckoo. There is Vibert making love to Jasmine: "Don't you like being called a darling little girl?" he asked with a sigh of relief. "Well, I promise you I won't ever call you that again. I assure you that it took a lot to work myself up to the scratch and get off that term of endearment. But, Jasmine, I love you. Look here, murmur something pleasant for goodness sake. I'm feeling an awful ass now I've said it. . . . The point I want to get at is this, do you or do you not care for me?" "I like you very much," Jasmine admitted politely. "Yes, well, that sounds rather as if I was a mutton chop."

Lieutenant-Colonel Repington, undismayed by the lamentations of the "Gentleman with a Duster" who held him and Mrs. Asquith up for universal sorrow, has written a diary called "After the War" (Houghton Mifflin). He has visited, in the past twelve or fifteen months, Rome and Athens and Paris and Prague and Vienna and Buda-Pest and Berlin, and other

places, including Bucharest, ending with Washington, where he reported the Conference for the *Daily Telegraph*. Unconsciously a little condescending, his comments upon prime ministers and generals and presidents and kings and newspaper men are shrewd and entertaining. He ends with a cordial word about Washington and the Conference. He prefers Washington to any European capital for a conference. "We have found the Americans to be absolutely sincere and entirely devoid of any intention of stealing a march upon us. We hope that they trust us. We are sure that we trust them."

Having known a number of the editors of that more than century-old newspaper, the *Newburyport Herald*, unfortunately published no more, and having once nearly been of their company, I wonder which it was who had a friend and correspondent in Dickinson, Dakota. In the 1880's he wrote to the *Herald* of life in Dakota. He had discovered a peculiar character out there, a sheriff. "To illustrate what manner of men we need, I will relate an incident which is to the point. I presume you are all acquainted, through the newspapers, with the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, who is quite prominent in New York politics and society. He owns a ranch on the Little Missouri . . . and created quite a stir last Sunday by bringing to town three horse-thieves whom he had captured with the help of two of his 'cow-men.' . . . When I saw him, Mr. Roosevelt had been on the trail for three weeks, and wore a cowboy's hat, corduroy jacket, flannel shirt, and heavy shoes, but was in excellent health and spirits. Said he, 'I don't know how I look, but I feel first-rate!'" And this is from that entertaining book "Roosevelt in the Bad Lands" (Houghton Mifflin) by Hermann Hagedorn.

Albany de Fonblanque began his work on English government, "How We Are Governed," with a chapter on the Constitution; the next was on the Sovereign. He wrote fifty or sixty years ago. The Right Hon. C. F. G. Masterman, author of "How England is Governed" (Knopf) hardly seems to mention the sovereign at all. You can find an important section of his book on city government, one on the government of the nation, one on the courts. But he realizes that the average citizen does not come into contact, except in the most theoretical way, with the theoretical and ceremonial head of the nation. He is writing about a democracy, and he does not hesitate to say that he thinks it a more complete democracy than the United States, which elects a "Dictator" for a fixed term of four years. The book is brief, simple in expression, and by no means a competitor with the longer and more exhaustive works by Sir Sidney Low and President Lowell.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

“Main Street” and “Silas Marner”

Classics in the Light of Modern
Conditions

By Frederick Houk Law

I.

“MAIN STREET,” an expression drawn from a recent satirical novel, is a cynical phrase that includes every village in the United States—and even every city. It implies that much of American life is stagnant, narrow-minded, gossip-loving, vulgar, tawdry, lacking in art, ridiculously conceited about self and native place, and so utterly unwilling to recognize new worth that it has lost all healthy power of growth. Those who accept the “Main Street” idea apparently see in American village life—if not in all American life—only material for satire.

Many others object, and say that village life in the United States, as elsewhere, is like all life—both good and bad—a mixture of what Matthew Arnold called “Culture” and “Anarchy,” a blending of sunset shadows and sunrise glories.

Crass young realists deride the “Pollyanna” school of fiction, saying it is false to life. At the very time when they ridicule the “Pollyanna” writers for being blind to all that is evil, they themselves fix their entire attention on morbid and disgusting conditions, as though the world were wholly unclean. Their so-called “realism” is just as distorted, just as untrue, as is the saccharine work of the “Pollyannists.” Is not life both good and bad? Is not every person a combination of saint and devil? Is not every village partly a cultured Athens, and partly a sink of iniquity? Literature can be true—and therefore great—only when it presents life as both good and bad.

One of the most irritating features of the “Main Street” conception of American life is its derision of womanhood. That conception scorns women’s real interests, laughs at women’s societies, and pictures women’s work for social uplift as misguided and silly. The “Main Street” idea has no place for religion, and hopes for little from the power of love. However popular such beliefs may appear they are most offensive; for they misrepresent not only American life but all human life.

In 1861, when our Civil War was beginning, an English writer, Mary Ann Evans—better known as “George Eliot”—painted a more truthful picture of “Main Street.” In her novel “Silas Marner” she showed that she saw enough of the dark side of village life. She showed how a negligent village squire allowed his two sons to lead unguarded careers that floated them at last into open sin. One son, Dunstan Cass, associated with low companions, drank to excess, robbed his father, blackmailed his brother, became con-



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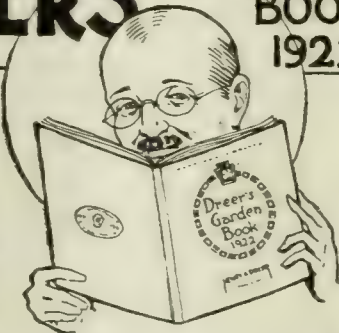
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temptible enough to steal all the sav-
ings of a recluse half-crazed by false
friendship and injustice, and met
death by stumbling blindly into the
water of an abandoned quarry. The
other son, Godfrey Cass, secretly mar-
ried a barmaid, and then grossly neg-
lected her and his baby daughter while
he openly made love to a beautiful
heiress. When the barmaid wife
groped through the snow to attack her
husband at a fashionable dance, and
fell and died, Godfrey was not man
enough to grieve, nor even to acknowl-
edge the little child who had crept into
the sordid home of the recluse. He
married the heiress, kept his secret,
and for sixteen years left his daugh-
ter to poverty.

Commenting on all these events is
a circle of ignorant, conceited, and
superstitious villagers.

Those who believe in what we now
call "Main Street" would have seen no
more than this pool of disgust. They
would have emphasized the misery, the
sordidness, the evil, and the contempti-
ble qualities that make one despise
mankind. George Eliot went further,
and looked at the other side of the
shield—the side that we should like to
find in modern books.

The one really great thing in the
true "Main Street," George Eliot
shows, is the redeeming power of love.
Silas Marner, a friendly, happy, igno-
rant weaver, falsely accused and
treacherously treated, flings off all
love—love for man, for woman, for
society, and even for God. Deliber-
ately, he makes himself an outcast. In
this world, George Eliot shows, a man
cannot possibly escape the power of
love. Silas loves the money that he
saves—and the money is stolen; he
loves an old pitcher—and the pitcher
breaks; he loves the child, Eppie, the
unrecognized daughter of Godfrey
Cass—and Eppie grows up and mar-
ries: but all this love that he gave so
unthinkingly, brought love in return—
the love of a child, the love of neigh-
bors, and realization of the love of
God.

George Eliot shows that evil may
prosper in "Main Street," but also
that it brings its own wretchedness—
death to Dunstan Cass, and years of
self-condemnation to Godfrey.

"Main Street," in "Silas Marner,"
is not a place where all wrongs are set
right. Silas Marner never regained
his lost sweetheart; he never reestab-
lished himself in the eyes of his former
friends; he never regained the hours
wrecked by misery. Life does have its
hardships, but it also has its blessings.
The world is full of good-hearted
women like Mrs. Winthrop; there are
many blundering but kindly men like
Mr. Macy; there are always children
to lead one as if by the hands of angels.

In the real "Main Street" the forces
of good are exceedingly strong, and
there are in the world such powers as
love and spiritual hope—even if both
be blind.

George Eliot's English Raveloe is
more like an American village than is

the American Gopher Prairie. Her picture of "Main Street" is far nearer the truth than is the crude caricature that recently gave rise to the pessimistic, contemptuous expression, "Main Street!"

Drama

Articles de Paris

THE NEST. By Paul G raldy. Forty-eighth Street Theatre.

MADAME PIERRE. By Eug ne Brieux. Ritz Theatre.

THE FRENCH DOLL. By Paul Armont and Marcel Gerbidon. Lyceum Theatre.

O less than seventeen plays from the French, we are informed, have been produced this season in New York. The delicate problem of transplantation is in certain cases effected by the freest adaptation into the vernacular of Broadway; in other cases by the most literal, or even illiterate, of translations. The finished and exhibited products expose the most conflicting and varying misconceptions of French life, language, and manners. The chasm between Anglo-Saxon and Gallic *m urs*, that great barrier between the American point of view and the French, renders this task of translation and adaptation almost impossible. The original "values" are debased in transposition. Frankness too often becomes obscenity. That probing, ceaselessly analytical, and ironical quality of *l'esprit gaulois* is converted into unpleasant and cruel cynicism. The process, in short, is not unlike the reproduction of an oil painting by the half-tone process: by which the brilliant reds and golds of the original may be converted into the dirty grays of a London fog. The greatest subtlety and delicacy is necessary to effect this transposition; the greatest erudition in the choice of a translatable or adaptable piece. For, on the whole, contemporary French drama has fallen into the clutches of convention; it has been bound and gagged by the formula of the boulevards. The seventeen samples offered to us this season in New York seem to have been chosen in the most haphazard fashion. And it is an illuminating commentary on the directors of the American theatre that, while they have gone in so extensively for French drama, there has been no public recognition of the tercentenary of Moli re's birth. Yet who among the moderns offers so much as Moli re in the opportunity for spectacular effect in the way of visual beauty? Who offers the actor so great opportunities, and who, withal, loses so little or gives so much in translation? Who, after all, remains more piquantly modern? None, at any rate, of these authors of our seventeen specimens of contemporary French drama.

Yet, of these, two of the most recent productions, Brieux's "Les Hannetons" and Paul G raldy's "Les Noces d'Argent," are respectable, amusing, and often impressive specimens of the



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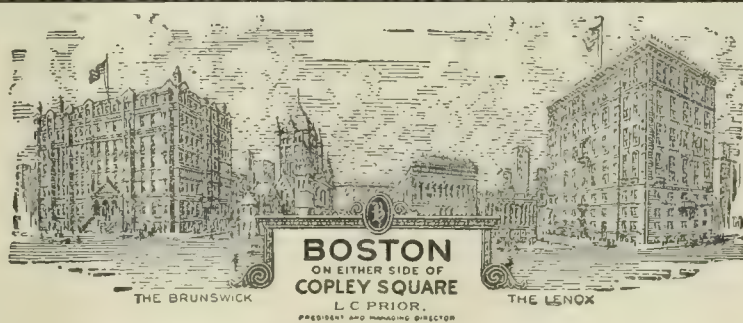
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French theatre. Miss Grace George's translation of the Géraudy piece is amateurish and in spots clumsy enough; but it possesses the merit of fidelity to the original, which is, moreover, well worth production on the American stage. One might name by the dozen French plays dealing with the dramatic aspects of family life that are more important than "The Nest." But that should not prevent us from appreciating the expert craftsmanship of M. Géraudy, his ability to create a series of situations, and to face them unflinchingly and with fidelity to the fundamental truths of human nature. It is not the picture of any individual family he presents us, but a sort of abstract and archetypal family. Marie Hamelin represents every mother called upon, by inevitable conditions of human life, to give up her sons and daughters, to face old age alone, tolerated, even loved, but bereft of any integral rôle in the life of the younger generation. Life is like this, M. Géraudy makes us admit at the end of his play; and even the most casual of Broadway playgoers has been led into something more than a superficial view of this tragic aspect of life. With all its shortcomings, its sentimentalities, its conventions, and formalisms, "The Nest" is infinitely more impressive than the ordinary concoction of plot, character, and situation which offers a mere temporary escape from real life. It impresses in spite of a carelessly directed and often listlessly acted production. It rests mainly upon the competent shoulders of Miss Lucille Watson, who played the mother, Marie Hamelin, with intelligence, humor, and power. Miss Watson made it convincing, compelling, where another actress would have led the piece into the slough of sentimentality. Here is one of the finest artists of the American stage, a true comedienne who is seldom given an adequate opportunity because of the dearth nowadays of true comedy.

Arthur Hornblow, Jr., has made an effective version of Brieux's earlier play, "Les Hanneçons," and William Harris, Jr., has produced it as "Madame Pierre." Interpreted by Roland Young and Estelle Winwood, this tragi-comedy of maladjusted lives becomes more human than those later doctrinaire and often wooden documents put forth by one of the most pretentious and least effective of contemporary French dramatists. Despite his *réclame*, despite even the professed admiration of George Bernard Shaw, Eugène Brieux is a dealer in pompous and sententious platitudes, heavy-handed and obvious in reciting his fable and, with the efficiency of a shopkeeper, wrapping up and delivering in a neat package his inevitable moral. By talent and intelligence Mr. Young and Miss Winwood are both splendidly adapted to sharpen and accentuate this cruel comedy of "free love," written before M. Brieux had discovered his celebrated formula for problem plays. One suspects, in truth, that

these interpreters make this so-called "comedy" even more effective than it was in the original manuscript. Pierre Cottrel, a young scientist, erudite in cryptograms, is strangely spineless in dealing with his young mistress Charlotte, played by Miss Winwood. Trite and banal enough is the central idea of the play: that the so-called "free union" is far more enslaving and deadening to the human spirit than the bonds of matrimony. The present interpreters lift the comedy out of that banality and make of it something rather more cruelly devastating, the tragedy of maladaptation, maladjustment, insoluble and inevitable misunderstanding, of a man and woman attempting to live together without love, without mental or physical harmony. It is again Dante's Paolo and Francesca chained eternally together. But instead of divine comedy, this one becomes positively inhuman. We have to laugh at these poor puppets; but we are none the less a bit ashamed of ourselves for doing so. Where a Duse might have softened and humanized and thus dignified the antics of the poor girl who sought to reinstate herself in the modest apartment of that poor distraught Pierre, Miss Winwood relentlessly and cruelly accentuated the intention. The task in this rôle was rather to humanize, if not to sentimentalize, the character of this woman so incompletely and so unsympathetically drawn by the dramatist. But to this spectator Miss Winwood seemed only too willing to overstress traits in Charlotte that had already been over-accentuated. The result was "comedy," comedy that produced laughter enough, even guffaws. But it is to be doubted whether such laughter may be accepted as the outcome of true sophistication or true civilization.

In much lighter vein is "The French Doll," which merely serves as a vehicle for the vivacity and verve of Irene Bordoni, her songs and her costumes. As her performance in Sacha Guitry's "Sleeping Partners" two or three seasons ago indicated, Miss Bordoni possesses powers that deserve a better medium than ordinary machine-made comedy. In the present case, we are confronted with an almost identical repetition of "Bluebeard's Eighth Wife," presented earlier in the year. The same penniless though aristocratic French family, the same charming daughter placed on the marriage market, the same uncouth American millionaire, the same young and charming rival, the same mercenary motives on the part of the heroine transmuted by the essential goodness of the girl into true love for this dominating American male—it was all there, as it has been a dozen times before and will be a dozen times more. In such pieces we are apt to lose sight of such definite and positive talents as Miss Bordoni's, who has appeared in vaudeville, revue, and musical comedy; but who is by no means for this reason not thoroughly equipped for true comedy.

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AMERICAN CAR AND FOUNDRY COMPANY New York, March 1, 1922. COMMON CAPITAL STOCK DIVIDEND NO. 78

A quarterly dividend of three per cent. (3%) on the Common Stock of this Company has this day been declared, payable Saturday, April 1, 1922, to stockholders of record at the close of business Wednesday, March 15, 1922. Checks will be mailed by the Guaranty Trust Company of New York. H. C. WICK, Secretary. S. S. DeLANO, Treasurer.

AMERICAN CAR AND FOUNDRY COMPANY New York, March 1, 1922. PREFERRED CAPITAL STOCK DIVIDEND NO. 92

A dividend of one and three-quarters per cent. (1 3/4%) on the Preferred Stock of this Company has this day been declared payable Saturday, April 1, 1922, to stockholders of record at the close of business Wednesday, March 15, 1922. Checks will be mailed by the Guaranty Trust Company of New York. H. C. WICK, Secretary. S. S. DeLANO, Treasurer.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY 130TH DIVIDEND.

The regular quarterly dividend of Two Dollars and twenty-five cents per share will be paid on Saturday, April 15, 1922, to stockholders of record at the close of business on Friday, March 17, 1922. On account of the Annual Meeting of the stockholders, the transfer books will be closed at the close of business on Friday, March 17, 1922, and reopened at 10:00 A. M. on March 29, 1922. H. BLAIR-SMITH, Treasurer.

THE ELECTRIC STORAGE BATTERY CO. Alleghany Ave. & 19th St., Philadelphia, March 1, 1922.

The Directors have declared a dividend of Three Dollars (\$3.00) per share from the accumulated surplus of the Company on both common and preferred stocks, payable April 1st, 1922, to stockholders of record at the close of business on March 13th, 1922. Checks will be mailed. WALTER G. HENDERSON, Treasurer.

AMERICAN CAN CO.

A quarterly dividend of one and three-quarters per cent. has been declared on the Preferred Stock of this Company, payable April 1st, 1922, to Stockholders of record at the close of business March 15th, 1922. Transfer Books will remain open. Checks mailed. R. H. ISMON, Secretary and Treasurer.

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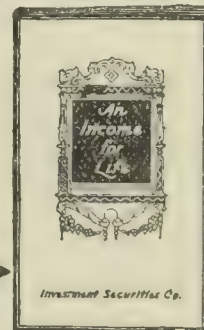
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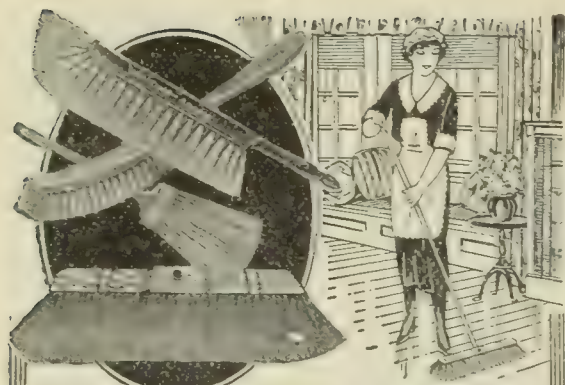
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DIVIDENDS (Continued)

MERGENTHALER LINOTYPE COMPANY Brooklyn, N. Y., February 21, 1922. DIVIDEND 105

A regular quarterly dividend of 2 1/2 per cent. on the capital stock of Mergenthaler Linotype Company will be paid on March 31, 1922, to the stockholders of record as they appear at the close of business on March 4, 1922. The Transfer Books will not be closed. JOS. T. MACKEY, Treasurer.



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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. "Main Street" and "Silas Marner."

1. What is the "Main Street" conception of American life? If you have read "Main Street" tell incidents from the novel that will illustrate what is said in the first paragraph of the article.
2. What conception of life differs from the "Main Street" conception? Tell incidents, selected from any novel, old or new, in illustration of what you say.
3. What is the "Pollyanna" school of fiction? In what respects are the "Main Street" conception and the "Pollyanna" conception equally false?
4. What treatment of American womanhood will be satisfactory in modern novel-writing?
5. Tell the story of "Silas Marner" as a modern "realist" might tell it. What would the story lose by that method of telling?
6. What great truth does George Eliot emphasize?
7. How does George Eliot avoid the "Pollyanna" method of treatment?
8. What makes "Silas Marner" a great book?
9. Write a criticism of any novel that you have read recently.

II. Drama.

1. Seventeen French plays have been produced in New York this season. Find, by consulting a good encyclopedia, how French play-writing affected English play-writing in various periods.
2. Explain the difference between an adaptation and a translation.
3. Prepare a report on the plays of Molière. What characteristics of Molière's work make it reasonable to celebrate the tercentenary of Molière's birth?
4. The article says that an actress made a play "convincing and compelling" where a less able actress would have made it merely sentimental. Tell how an actress should play the part of Portia in "The Merchant of Venice."

III. New Books and Old.

1. Define the following words that appear in "Crow": sedate, habiliments, monastic, sombre, mien, austere, dub, fantastic, suffice, ascetic, *pax tecum*.
2. The poem indicates the presence and the words of some one else than the crow. Tell who is present and give the other part of the conversation. Then read the poem aloud, reading it with proper inflections.
3. Write an original short story founded on the anecdote of Theodore Roosevelt.

IV. Will Boys Ever Understand?

1. Imagine that you received the letter that is printed. Think just what your emotions and your wishes would be. Then write an answer, as if to your own mother. Give your mother the opportunity to read your letter.

V. Lem Hooper on Bitter Bread.

1. The article indicates many reasons for being proud of the work of the United States. Point out the details, and explain some of them.
2. What does the article satirize?

VI. What Are We Doing for the Soldiers?

1. Use the following sentence as a topic sentence, and write a paragraph in which you illustrate it by giving specific instances: "We are all inclined to take the emotional rather than the scientific attitude."
2. Prove the truth or the falsehood of the following general statement: "In practice we draw our conclusions from accidental contacts and casual happenings."
3. Make a list of the ways in which the United States is caring for its soldiers? Explain what new methods of treatment are being employed.

VII. The Future of Opera in Chicago.

1. Ask your teacher to give you a word for word, strictly literal, translation of the lines in French, giving the words in the order in which they are printed. By using synonyms, and by changing the word order, make a free literary translation.

VIII. To Get the Right Kind of Lawyers.

1. Summarize what the article says about the benefits given by education.
2. Draw from this, and from other editorial articles, suitable questions for debate.

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. Why Not Genoa? Lloyd George and Poincaré at Boulogne.

1. What is the editor's opinion on the conditions necessary for the success of an economic conference "for the rehabilitation of Europe"?
2. Make a list of the problems that should come before such a conference and show what is the problem to be solved in each case.
3. Show why "it is natural that the interest of America in the restoration of prosperity and well-being in Europe should grow."
4. On the other hand show why Europe is extremely anxious for us to participate in such a conference.
5. Why does the editor think that the United States should not participate in this Genoa Conference?
6. Summarize the agreements of Lloyd George and Poincaré at Boulogne and show their bearing on the Genoa Conference.

II. The President's Merchant Marine Proposals.

1. Show how each of the proposals of this summary would aid (a) the merchant marine, (b) ship-building, (c) or security in national defense.
2. Look up the history of (a) the American merchant marine, (b) American ship-building, and account for both the periods of growth and of decline in each case. How closely do the periods of growth and decline in each case coincide? Account for your conclusion.
3. Discuss as many aspects of the Government ownership and control of the merchant marine as you can investigate.
4. Reviewing the coastwise shipping laws, show their relation to (a) the merchant marine, (b) the discussion of policy in relation to the Panama Canal, and the Philippines.
5. Describe the "clipper days."
6. As the fundamental question of the subsidy will be discussed next week, prepare for it by studying the practice of foreign Governments and the history of the question in America.

III. Immigration.

1. What are the provisions of "the present Immigration Act"?
2. Explain the considerations which led to its passage. Debate the question of the advisability of making the present law permanent.
3. What could be said for and against the passage of the Sterling Bill?

IV. The Treaties.

1. What do you think would be the effect of passing the Brandegee reservation in connection with the Four-Power Treaty?
2. Why were the benefits of the Four-Power Treaty extended to The Netherlands and Portugal? State from memory what those benefits are.

V. A Declaration to Egypt.

1. Describe the history of English relations with Egypt.
2. What is a protectorate? Why did England establish this relation to Egypt?
3. From a map show the relations of Egypt to the communications of the British Empire which must be secured.
4. What "foreign aggression" does England have any cause to fear in Egypt?
5. Explain the important features in the history of the Sudan and show why guarantees for British interests are asked.
6. How has English influence benefited Egypt?

VI. Soviet Capitalism.

1. State the present economic policy of Soviet Russia.
2. Explain the conditions which led to the adoption of this modification of communism.
3. Describe the efforts of the Soviet Government for recognition by foreign Governments. State the present attitude of England, France, Italy, and the United States on formal recognition.

VII. For questions on the Hague Courts and on the Doom of the Federation of Central American Republics see the issue of Feb. 25 from which the items were crowded out at the last moment.

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

March 18, 1922



Must American Literature Defy Its Traditions?

By James F. Muirhead

D OUBTLESS there is a certain trend in the newer American literature that has a suggestion, or more than a suggestion, of an abrupt break with accepted tradition. What is its significance? How much of truth is there in the following passages from recent American periodicals?

The last century of American literature might be diagrammed as a progression away from London. This new interest in French prose and poetry almost completes the progression, for intellectually no city is so far from London as is Paris (Mr. Malcolm Cowley, in the *Literary Review* of the N. Y. Evening Post).

[The situation in American Literature] is an instinctive resistance to what looks, and often is, a deliberate revolt against Anglo-Saxon traditions. . . . The fact, however, remains that something like a national literature, an American, as distinct from an Anglo-Saxon, tradition is being built up in this country.

We of Britain are of course willing to admit that, just as the United States is politically and socially a blend of the most various racial elements, so it would be quite unreasonable to demand that her literary development should be merely one branch of the great English tree. There is here no question of jealousy at the growth of a truly "American" literature. Nay, our feeling would be one of disappointment if American authors showed no characteristic features. Just as we welcome the best part of America's racy modifications of the English language, so we have welcomed many of the most national literary products of American soil. We admire Howells as well as James; we should admire Longfellow more if he were not so scrupulously orthodox and European in his methods and traditions; we enjoy Mark Twain and O. Henry.

But it isn't writers like Howells and Mark Twain who illustrate the "progression away from London" in the sense intended above.

The progression asserted and championed by the writers quoted above is really a progression away from Boston and New York as much as away from London. Mr. Mencken, the high priest of the movement, pours indiscriminate scorn on practically all the earlier writers of America, and considers what we may still perhaps call "orthodox" literary America "a mere milch-cow of England." He admits frankly that most of the men he respects are foreigners. A list of names of recent prominent American writers certainly reveals an extraordinary percentage that are not English. The following suggest themselves at once: Dreiser, Hergesheimer, Ben

Hecht, Mencken, Untermeyer, Sandburg, Oppenheim, Neihardt, Nathan, Hunecker, Weyl, Lippmann, Fuessle, Dos Passos. Some of these writers we should recognize—and with considerable respect—as true carriers on of an "American" tradition. Others, however, make us doubt whether they do not represent a "Euramerican" tendency, neither American nor European but combining some of the least desirable features of both. We of Britain see a marked breaking away from what we have hitherto regarded as true culture; we are not so sure that we see anything that really smacks of a true national Americanism. The "detachment" is as much from the American as from the Old World background. Can this be a symptom of the passing of the great Nordic race?

Even those of us who sincerely admire Mr. Mencken's undeniable gifts and go far in sympathy with his attack on the smuggler elements of American literature, cannot but feel that he is exaggerated and indiscriminate in his assaults, and too often throws away the baby along with the dirty bath-water. It is impossible for us to feel that Poe and Whitman are alone worthy of note among American authors of the past, and that we must scrap Hawthorne and Irving, Howells and James, Whittier and Bryant and Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Mary Wilkins, along with E. P. Roe and the author of "The Wide Wide World," Mrs. Sigourney and Hamilton Mabie, Lew Wallace and Winston Churchill.

It is true that no great literature (at least among present-day nations) is wholly autochthonous, wholly unmodified by foreign influences. But I venture to think that these outside influences have hitherto flowed in gently and imperceptibly, and that they have not usually been coupled with indiscriminate anathemas of past national effort. Milton and Shakespeare, for all their classical lore and adroit borrowing, are fundamentally "national." Writers did not cry: "Go to; Puritan literature is all wrong, we must model ourselves deliberately on that of Laputa." This is why one is inclined to look with a very dubious eye on a movement which professes to see nothing in Hawthorne or Longfellow, and everything in Baudelaire, Rémy de Gourmont, Huysmans, and Flaubert—which regards Howells as merely "a maker of pretty waxen groups."

Americans are (possibly) apt to lay more stress on apparatus and machinery, and less on men and material, than most other peoples. They do not fully realize that

Man must be Master of the Machine as well as of the Sabbath. The short stories that have of late years been appearing in some of the leading American monthlies are often almost impeccable in their technique; but they do not live, they hardly interest, there's nothing inside the clothes, they are very nearly form *et praeterea nihil*, they are not vital literature.

From another point of view the emergence of this new young school of American writers (almost all of its members the offspring of journalism) may be described as individualistic revolt against the genial sociability of their country. If such a book as, for example, "Erik Dorn," by Ben Hecht, could be looked upon as really typical of American life, one would be tempted to gloomy forecasts for America's future. Intelligent students of Russian literature felt (long before the Revolution) that if Russian fiction gave a true picture of Russian society, that society could not possibly continue to cohere. So readers of the American novels of which "Erik Dorn" may be taken as a sample must feel that any society of

which this is a real photograph contains the seeds of its own dissolution. In spite of their noisy reverberation in the press, the friendly British student of America cannot accept these books as really or permanently characteristic. It cannot be that the national vein has been exhausted, that a literature of inherent Americanism is no longer possible. We do not insist on Buffalo-Billism in pen and ink; but are we wrong in hoping for something that will suggest America first and not France, something that seems to have sprung naturally from the soil, something that, however cultured or cultivated, is yet not exotic? And are we wrong in failing to see how this can be produced by the deliberate and self-conscious adoption and imitation of foreign models, the deliberate depreciation of practically all antecedent American work?

This is carrying the avoidance of patriotic shortsightedness too far. I, for one, believe that America is strong enough to stand alone, and that there is no reason to doubt that her literature, her spontaneous literature, will one day hold its own in any company. *Sed non tali auxilio.*

The Economic Outlook in Germany

By John Firman Coar

WHAT the war and the Treaty of Versailles did to Germany economically may be inferred at a glance from the following comparative statistics:

	1913	1920
German merchant marine:		
Number of ships.....	2,368	1,032
Registered tonnage (gross)...	5,459,296	715,368
German railways:		
Number of serviceable freight cars (est.)	700,000	460,000
Number of serviceable locomotives (est.)	22,590	16,600
German coal production (million tons)	190.1	130.9
German iron production (million tons)	19.3	4.9
German metal production:		
Lead, copper, nickel, zinc, tin (tons),	502,000	172,000
German foodstuffs:		
Grains, vegetable (billion calories)	206.9	133.4
Animal (billion calories).....	22	9
Sugar beet (million tons)....	2.7	0.7

All the enumerated items are basic in Germany's industrial life, even the dye industry. With the gradual restoration of the soil to its pre-war fertility and the further reclamation of some waste lands, Germany will be able to increase the annual production of foodstuffs. The loss of nearly five million hectares (12 million acres) of the best agricultural lands is irreparable. A new merchant marine may be built. It can hardly equal the great commerce carrier of former years. Rolling stock may be replenished. The railways will always be crippled by the loss of important industrial territory, the exclusion of Luxembourg from the German tariff zone, and the Polish "corridor." German industry was built up on coal and iron. Of the available annual coal supply about 20 per cent. (maximum 28 million tons) must go, for some years to come, to France and other nations as reparation deliveries; about 25 per cent. (33 million tons) has been lost to Poland through the Upper Silesian award, and the balance of the 131 million tons now available (about 70 million tons) is the equivalent of only 60 million tons of the pre-war standard. Accordingly, Germany's greatest natural asset has been reduced over two-thirds. Other natural assets, like iron and zinc, have met a similar fate. To close our eyes to facts like these is to avoid the fundamental elements of the problem.

The widely heralded recovery of Germany's foreign trade (1920) was not sound. In the spring and summer of 1921 Germany's export trade began to suffer heavy losses, in some branches as high as 65 per cent.; the number of bankruptcies quintupled. The outlook is dark. Yet Germany has invisible assets with which every far-sighted German reckons and which we, too, should take into account. German work, German system, German coöperation will count heavily. Given a reasonable chance by the Allied Powers and America, the Germans will assuredly rebuild, bit by bit, their national prosperity.

The German word *Arbeitslust* has no exact equivalent in the English language. It means desire to work and pleasure in work. It also means the duty to work, and in recent years it has come to mean, in addition, the material reward of work. Perhaps the third connotation is still dominant. Work is a kind of categorical imperative for the Germans, as though they said to themselves, "Work as though that which you produce set the norm of productive efficiency." As long as work was only a duty, we Americans looked askance at German labor. We could not appreciate the incentive behind it; we looked only at the status in which we found it, and called it "cheap." That adjective, at any rate, is appropriate no longer. German labor is anything but cheap. Relatively it is as dear today as American labor.

It ought to be self-evident that a German wage-earner's remuneration cannot be estimated fairly in dollars as long as the mark fluctuates violently. Take, for example, a mason's pay. In August, 1921, it was seven marks per hour, the equivalent of 8¼ cents at the prevailing exchange rate. A few weeks later it was still seven marks, and had approximately the same purchasing power in Germany. In America, however, we were told that the German mason was working for 5⅓ cents the hour. German prices and wages simply cannot rise and fall with the foreign exchange barometer. They do so, relatively, in the long run, but just now Americans do not seem to take this into account.

From an index figure of 100, in 1914, wages in general rose to the index figure of 420 in January, 1920, and to the index figure of 1,103 in July, 1921. It is not possible to estimate as accurately the rising cost of living, i. e., the depreciation of the mark in Germany. But—and I mention the following facts with a very definite purpose—the

rising cost of living did not keep pace with the rising cost of labor. Since January, 1920, wages have risen (July, 1921) about 245 per cent. If we average the greatly varying estimates of five leading German statisticians (Kuczinski, Silbergleit, Mannheim, Elsass, Calwer), we find that the cost of living rose only 70 per cent. Whatever the explanation (a sentimental confidence in the mark, restriction of imports, Government control of necessities both as to price and consumption), manifestly in July, 1921, the German workingman drew a wage three times as great in actual purchasing power as in 1913-14. At that time he received not quite $\frac{1}{2}$ mark per hour or about 12 cents. His seven marks in July, 1921, were worth to him, therefore, not $8\frac{1}{4}$ cents, but 36 cents. At eight hours a day he received a wage equivalent in purchasing power to \$2.50, against a wage in 1913-14 of about \$1.20 for a ten-hour day.

Facts like the foregoing are too easily overlooked by a foreign observer. Yet they are determining. German industry has a prosperous appearance, but its actual condition is precarious, more so now than a year ago. In 1921, rehabilitation could be postponed no longer unless Germany were to suffer a dangerous impairment of its vitality, physical as well as economic. But if a people is hampered in its reconstructive efforts and is, in addition, obliged to discount at an usurious rate its economic future, then a grave danger arises.

To date Germany's payments on reparation account have liquidated no debt, nor will payments made in the coming months liquidate any debt. Apart from the fact that they have been responsible indirectly for some of the actual increase of Germany's debt, nothing has taken place except a change in the *form* of the debt. The German nation's debt to other *nations* is merely changing into a debt owed either by the German nation or by German firms to foreign firms and individuals. This policy of robbing Peter to pay Paul cannot continue for long, chiefly because it means a relentlessly increasing debt. It was a sound policy to fix a reparation total. There we should have stopped. For when we attempted to prescribe methods of payment, we imposed conditions on German industry that left it no longer free. When industry is not free, labor is not free. We knew that. For we said, "Let German labor get busy, work longer hours, be content with smaller returns!" It sounded well, but it simply cannot be done. And just here German "work" enters into the argument. In Germany, quite as much as in America, the days of all work and no play have gone. Labor can neither be cajoled nor forced back into its old status. Allied troops may occupy Germany from the Rhine to the Oder, but the German workingman will not surrender what he has won, especially because he has won it so recently at a tremendous sacrifice. His conception of *Arbeitslust* has been enlarged to include work's material reward, and though he is willing to see a portion of his surplus production devoted to reparations (*Wiedergutmachung*), he will not surrender all. Today he is convinced that the ultimatum and attendant conditions are causing his entire surplus to be poured relentlessly into the hopper of annual payments, and just as long as he retains this conviction, in which I am not so sure that he is mistaken, he will not produce a surplus.

The second factor in Germany's economic outlook is her distinctive industrial system.

Before the war German industry developed three systematic forms, namely the cartels, the syndicates, and the trusts. All of these form combined industries of the same kind. They are now known as *horizontal* trusts. The coördination of industrial production as a whole or of different kinds of industries, especially in the field of international competition, was left to Government agencies (imperial, state, municipal). But even in the days before the

war political coördination of industries proved inadequate. There came into existence a fourth form of industrial combination, notably in the electro-technical and the chemical industries. The Siemens-Schuckert Konzern, the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft and the Chemical Trust (dyes, explosives, fertilizers, etc.) were outstanding examples. They were known as "concerns" and their function was to bring into operative combinations interdependent industries however different in their productive objective. Accordingly they are now called *vertical* trusts. It is the "concern" system that is being brought to perfection now. Logically it is taking over the former co-ordinating function of the Government. Its development is associated in the popular imagination with the name of Stinnes. For in practice, though not in theory, Hugo Stinnes has done more than any other German to prove its efficiency. In the Stinnes *Konzern* German system is supremely potent.

It is this principle of industrial unity that makes Germany's economic outlook less hopeless than appears justified by the economic actualities. Once in operation it will effect not only enormous savings but also remarkable gains. Both will imply a prosperous Germany even under the reparation debt.

The third factor in Germany's present economic outlook will determine the soundness of the German people's future prosperity. "Coöperation"—I refer to the coöperation of wage-takers and wage-givers—is not yet assured, but if the principle of the mutuality of capital and labor, laid down in Article 165 of the new German Constitution, can be worked out, it is altogether likely that "work" and "system" will achieve industrial democracy as time progresses. The Constitution contemplates a so-called *Reichswirtschaftsrat* or Economic Council of the Empire, which is to take the place of the *Reichswirtschaftsministerium* or the old political ministry of commerce. Thus far only the first step has been taken in the establishment of the new economic order, namely the institution of the *Betriebsräte* or shop councils after the Whitley pattern. The completed organization will correspond to the following scheme:

- (1) Shop Labor Councils coöperating with employer.
- (2) District Labor Councils, consisting of representatives chosen, on the principle of proportional representation, by the operatives of related industries, and coöperating with representatives of the employers in the district through
- (3) District Economic Councils, representative of all callings in proportion to their economic and social importance.
- (4) Imperial Labor Councils, consisting of representatives chosen by the operatives entitled to representation in the District Labor Councils, in proportion to the size of each Council, and coöperating with employers through
- (5) The Economic Council of the Empire, representative of all callings of the empire in proportion to their economic and social importance.

Provision is made for representation of the general public both in (3) and in (5).

The Economic Council of the Empire will, therefore, be a non-political body, and its function will be to regulate and to develop harmoniously all the productive energies of the German people.

It is a coöperative scheme of grandiose proportions and the Germans are going about it in their carefully systematic way, testing it out step by step. Thus far only the shop councils (obligatory in plants employing twenty or more operatives) have been established and they have proved a success. If the scheme can be carried through, who can question Germany's economic progress? Unhappily its propitious expansion is predicated on the non-interference of other nations in Germany's internal affairs, and to expect the Allies to abstain from interference of this kind is, I confess, a rather large order.



EDITORIAL



The Hope of the Treaty

DAY by day the news that comes from Washington gives one color or another to the outlook for the Four-Power Treaty. Rumors are followed by counter-rumors, assertions by denials. In the midst of this confusion of voices, those who realize how appalling a disaster the failure of the Treaty would be must ask themselves whether there are any solid grounds upon which to rest a confident expectation of success. That there are such grounds, we are sincerely convinced.

Among those grounds, one is tempted to place first of all the fact that failure would be so shocking to the hopes and wishes entertained with practical unanimity throughout the world, and especially throughout our own country. It is almost literally true that the defeat of the treaty would give joy to nobody, and that its adoption would give to everybody satisfaction and hope. The day the treaty was defeated would witness a manifestation of disappointment and depression such as it takes but little imagination to prefigure, and such as no man will gladly make himself responsible for bringing about. Outside the Senate itself, there is no indication of any feeling adverse to the Treaty that is worth so much as a passing mention. Leading newspapers which are bitter opponents of the Republican majority, and feel profound resentment for the way in which President Wilson's policy was defeated, are as uncompromisingly for the Treaty as are the most ardent supporters of the Administration. Those who should make themselves responsible for its defeat would not only fly in the face of the sentiment of an overwhelming majority of the people, but would do so without the moral support of any notable element in the minority.

As against this basis of hope, it may be urged that something of the same kind was thought to be true of the League of Nations proposal embodied in the Versailles Treaty. But whether it was true or not at the outset, there entered into that situation an element that is wholly lacking in the present case. It would be futile now to discuss the merits of the League of Nations proposal, or even of the strategy adopted by its opponents. The point is that, however great those merits may have been, and however reprehensible that strategy, there was something very big, something capable of most effective popular exploitation, in the issue raised by the opposition. Right or wrong, wise or unwise, Quixotic or practical, whatever else the League of Nations was, it was certainly a tremendous new departure in our nation's policy. Against that new departure, a number of thinkers and publicists of the first quality, men whose sincerity and whose ability were alike beyond question, arrayed themselves with all the emphasis and energy they could command. As time went on, and no settlement was arrived at, it turned out—whether rightly or wrongly is not here

the question—that what had originally been a small though determined minority gathered to itself an ever-increasing volume of public opinion. Month by month, the forces behind the League diminished and the forces opposed to it increased. The splendid enthusiasm inspired by the prospect of a "parliament of man" gradually waned, and the fears—whether justified or not—of a futile entanglement with European Powers waxed. The final outcome—though of course Mr. Harding's 7,000,000 majority is by no means to be ascribed solely to this cause—was the crushing defeat of the Democratic party in the election of 1920.

To all this the present situation furnishes nothing in the remotest degree similar. The Four-Power Treaty commits us to no new structure of international relations. It is only by an extreme stretch of fantastic solicitude that its engagements can be regarded as involving any obligation of action whatsoever—any obligation whatsoever beyond timely conference when danger of international trouble in the Pacific presents itself. What the treaty binds us to is incomparably less than what the Covenant would have bound us to even if the most extreme of the proposed reservations had been tacked to it. We do not say that it is impossible to find a basis for objection; we do say that it is impossible to find a basis that can be made to appeal to the common sense of the average American. Senatorial opposition is carried on *in vacuo*; it awakens no reverberations in the body of the nation. With a cause intrinsically bad—so bad that it finds almost no advocacy in the influential press of the country, of whatever party leaning—and with absolutely no "cry" upon which to go to the country, it seems impossible that partisan perversity in the Senate can hold out against the imperious need of the country and the world.

In so far as there is anything like substantial motive for sincere opposition, it springs from two sources. Irreconcilables of the Borah type object to *any* international understanding whatever of the conference type; to them, little as the Four-Power Treaty has in common with the League Covenant, that little is too much. The Senators who take this view are hardly more than two or three. A far more important body are those who go to the opposite extreme—who object to the Treaty because, being the undertaking of a special group of Powers, it does not conform to the League of Nations scheme. But the great nations which are heartily anxious to effect the Treaty are themselves the backbone of the League; they have no idea that the League will be hindered by this beneficent factor operating concurrently with it. However sincere some of the objectors along this line may be, they cannot, if they have any sense of proportion, regard this fine-drawn theoretical drawback to the adoption of the Treaty as outweighing the calamitous, the desolating, effects which would be brought upon the world by its defeat.

America Sends Regrets—and Hopes

ONCE more America has reason to be proud of the statesmanship of Secretary Hughes. With suavity and with firmness he has declined the invitation to participate in the Conference at Genoa, and in doing so has not only put his finger directly on the weak spots in the proposal but has delicately warned the Powers concerned against a line of policy which was apparently one of the principal objects for which the Conference was summoned. We may be pardoned for expressing the satisfaction we feel that the views set forth in these columns concerning the issues involved, and the wise policy for our Government to follow, have been in such complete harmony with the reply which Mr. Hughes has now made.

That the proposed Conference was to be political rather than economic has been evident from the beginning. Manifestly if certain political questions are not settled in advance they must intervene to complicate and impede the settlement of economic problems, and America cannot afford to be drawn into these squabbles. The spectacle of all the little states of Europe, to say nothing of Germany and Soviet Russia, meeting together to air their difficulties and give expression to their grievances and animosities, might furnish the material for an interesting movie film, but it could hardly lead to a solution of the real problems of European economic reconstruction. From their standpoint it might be desirable to get a rich and sympathetic bystander enmeshed and compromised in their quarrels, but we can see no good to come from it.

The reiteration of American policy toward Russia is timely. Attention is once more called to the obstacles that stand in the way of Russia's restoration to productivity and prosperity, obstacles that are now generally recognized. There is nothing in the agenda of the Conference to indicate that efforts would be made to remove these basic obstacles; rather the invitation to the Soviet Government would tend to prolong and strengthen them. More evident was the intention to use the Conference as a means of obtaining opportunities for exploiting the present difficulties of the Russian people. The note of warning struck by Mr. Hughes will cause the schemers to hesitate. They will say, of course, that the reason for this is that America does not wish to be deprived of her share of the plunder, but they know that this is not true.

The fact is that the first condition for the success of an economic conference in Europe is that it must be approached in a spirit of high endeavor, free from narrow and short-sighted selfish aims. Otherwise it must degenerate into a bargaining for economic advantage and Europe be left worse off than before. Something of the spirit that characterized the Washington Conference must be brought into it. The participants must be ready to forego special advantages in the interest of the common welfare of all.

In his concluding paragraph Secretary Hughes expresses the hope that the Genoa Conference may prepare the way for such a meeting. There is no desire on the part of this country to stand aloof or play the dog in the manger. Our sympathy is deep and real. All that we need is to be assured that such a meeting is

called under conditions that give reasonable promise of success. In such a conference we can take part wholeheartedly, and contribute our share toward the task of building up a new and sounder economic structure.

“Trusts” and Government

THE decree lately entered against the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' Union in the Federal District Court of New York City is a highly interesting sign of what the Federal Government can do regarding certain of the country's problems when the responsible officials bestir themselves, or are adequately stirred by others. This decree, in the form of an injunction consented to by the officials of the unions involved, was one of the consequences of the Lockwood Committee's disclosures regarding conspiracies between the unions and various employers' associations in the building industry.

The decree is a straight-out application of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to an International labor union and its locals; and many must have thought it a wholly novel and pioneering course of action. It turns out to be not so novel. It has a precedent in the case of the United States against the Workingmen's Amalgamated Council of New Orleans, 'way back in 1893, when a sympathetic strike of longshoremen which tied up the shipping of the port was successfully enjoined as a violation of the Sherman Law, then only three years old. The comparative antiquity of this precedent detracts nothing from the merit of the present action under the authority of the Attorney-General. But the fact certainly strengthens the conviction that our troubles are due far less to the lack of appropriate law than to general administrative failure to apply the law we have.

That the administrative failure is the most serious feature of the New York City building situation is pretty strongly borne out by Mr. Untermeyer, counsel for the Lockwood Committee, in his declaration that it is a hopeless undertaking to prosecute the almost innumerable combinations of employers and manufacturers which are conspiring against the public; and that the only way out he can see is to give all the offenders immunity on condition that in future they will submit to public regulation. Admittedly, some temporary changes in the State laws will help the local situation in New York City; but the mess as a whole is plainly due to the failure of the public prosecutors, State and national, to enforce the almost superabundance of corrective law that was all the time at their disposal.

By and large, we have law enough and to spare: the greater trouble is that prosecutors and judges (in the matter of trust offences) do not so administer the law protecting broad public rights as to make it effective and respected. The few jail sentences recently imposed have been weakened in their effect by the release of one of the offenders. The action of some of the judges in imposing fines instead of jail sentences on men convicted is another aspect of the general administrative weakness. In the trade itself these fines are laughingly referred to as among the unavoidable costs of doing business. A judge having a choice of penalties to impose should impose that penalty which public policy demands as necessary. It ought not to

be a question of whether a particular man is "sufficiently punished" (whatever that may mean); but a question of whether the penalty actually imposed will effectively deter him and others from committing the offence in the future. Yet from the administrative weakness that arises out of the discretion of judges in the fixing of penalties there is no escape except in a toning up of standards; to prescribe a rigid penalty by law would probably result in frequent failure of juries to convict. The remedy, if there is any, seems to lie in stirring up a public opinion that will galvanize our elected "servants" into more lively and adequate action.

The Uneasy Crown of Empire

THE enforced resignation of Edwin S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and the arrest of Mohandas K. Gandhi, are the sensational features of the past week in the critical situation of Britain's Indian Empire, quite probably to be followed by the retirement of the Viceroy, Lord Reading. It is indicated that the Liberal policy which aimed at the rapid increase of native participation in government, which has so signally failed to bring peace and quiet to the swarming millions under the British *raj*, is to be replaced by stern measures of repression.

In all this we have only another illustration of the tragic results of the conflict between the more or less obtuse realists in colonial administration and the so-called idealists—or better doctrinaires—who, at a distance of thousands of miles and with little or no knowledge of the actualities of the problem, counsel a programme based on a wholly fictitious estimate of a backward people, their capacities and aspirations.

In India there are approximately 300,000,000 people. Of these it is estimated that some 220,000,000 are Hindus and 60,000,000 Mohammedans, while the remainder are divided among a number of distinct tribes and races, all speaking strange languages. Probably not less than 95 per cent. are illiterate, densely ignorant and steeped in superstition. As a by-product of educational effort, there has arisen a class of *babus*, like Kipling's Wali Dad, "suffering from an overdose of education of the English variety." From these, unfitted for practical work and feeling keenly their social inferiority, has grown a myriad of professional agitators, who prate loudly of Indian nationalism—which is non-existent—and spare no lies to spread sedition for their own purpose. There is, in fact, no such thing as an Indian nation, and only the strong hand of the British *raj* has kept the Mohammedans from the throats of the Hindus, whom they loathe. Now the agitators, to embarrass the Government, have patched up a temporary truce between these traditional enemies, and a reflex of this is seen in the demand of the Mohammedans for a revision of the Treaty of Sèvres and a restoration of power and territory to the Sultan as Caliph. It was the publication of this demand by Montagu without consulting his colleagues in the Cabinet, a bold course evidently taken by him as a last resort to force the adoption of the course advocated by Lord Reading, that brought about his resignation and precipitated the present crisis.

Trouble has been brewing in India for a long time

and the Liberal policy of which Lord Reading was the exponent was not calculated to allay it. Yet such a crisis as the present would not have arisen but for the intervention of heavily subsidized Bolshevik propaganda. It is their hand that is to be seen in the present outbreaks and turmoil, just as in the agitation for Indian "freedom" in America. Any club is good enough to hit the British with. That it will gravely complicate the settlement of the difficult problems of the Near East is added grist to their mill.

The big tragedy in the situation is that the welfare of all these millions of human beings, who ask only to be allowed to live in their accustomed way, is jeopardized. England's task of administration is made well-nigh impossible. Yet if England withdraws, not only does this teeming land fall back into the barbarism of the Middle Ages but there will ensue such horrors as we have not known in modern times, even in Soviet Russia. A liberal and enlightened world, accustomed to the slogans of democracy, shrinks from the application of force to dependent peoples, but here is a choice between that and appalling anarchy and chaos. England must now pay for the concessions mistakenly made to maudlin sentimentalism.

Farmers and Financiers

WE seem to be within reach of that untrammelled pursuit of happiness foreglimpsed in our Declaration of Independence: we are learning to encourage each to do that for which he has the least previous training. To Congressmen and Senators from certain agricultural districts the whole joy of life appears to be wrapped up in one thing—the writing of financial legislation unhindered by mere financiers. But let the financier not despair; he also is to pursue happiness, for is he not to write all laws relating to agriculture?

Here is a secret. In the early career of *The Weekly Review* a conference was called of men prominent in the business world, and of the editors and literary friends of the *Review*, to consider the problem of financing the new journal. It was a delightful occasion, according to the true principle of human happiness: the financiers all talked about how to edit a paper, and the editors and writers talked about how to finance one!

After that experience we somehow felt at home in Washington. We seemed to understand a situation that has been a cause of wonder to so many. These men are merely pursuing happiness—and the "national sentiment." For there is another curious thing. Whenever the simple-minded becomes restive at the idea of Mid-Western agriculturists preparing our financial legislation or of gentlemen from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia making things right for the farmer, he is at once pronounced wanting in "national sentiment."

This troubles us, for we believe that there is such a thing as national sentiment. Of course, even geographically, East and Middle West are not the whole of the United States. There remain those far shores to which Mr. McAdoo has flown or, shall we say, flitted. And there is that other region, the chosen home of another émigré, William Jennings Bryan. Also, there is the

District of Columbia, where the people may not vote except by retaining a legal residence elsewhere, and where Mr. Wilson has determined to reside. From each of these regions, as well as from those now so vociferous, we may expect in time to hear. But even so, we somehow doubt that the result will be a national sentiment—which is not at all a geographical matter.

The only thing that seems fairly certain about national sentiment is that a majority of all the people may usually be depended on to back the fair thing as against any sectional view. And it is just possible that both East and Middle West may be thoroughly national (because intelligently just) in their ideas on those subjects which each knows best, while there is nothing particularly "national" in the ideas of either section on the subjects with which they have less acquaintance. President Harding, himself a Middle Westerner with strong affiliations with the East, not to speak of his instinct for harmony, seems to have a clear comprehension of this fact.

What Next in France?

THE resignation of M. Briand, on January 12, came as a surprise to most observers. The Premier had recently returned from America and had been received with acclaim. At Cannes he had had a successful conference with Lloyd George which had resulted in the drafting of an Anglo-British agreement assuring protection against future German aggression. He appeared before the Chamber and made one of the most eloquent speeches of his career, winning a vote of confidence. Why, then, at this moment, did he seize the opportunity to tender his resignation?

The explanation touches the very heart of post-war politics, and more particularly the politics of the reparations question. The Treaty of Versailles was framed to satisfy the popular demand based upon the promises made during the war. The French people had been led to believe that if only they would endure to the end and victory resulted, Germany could be forced to pay the cost of their great sacrifices. The statesmen knew, or speedily learned, that this was an impossibility. They saw that the destruction of war had been so great, and the economic dislocation so general, that it would be years before Germany could get back to a position where she could produce a surplus of twice her budget in normal times; that payments could not come in time to relieve the financial situation; that such enormous payments must be made in goods and not in gold; and that France could not accept vast quantities of goods without ruining her own industries. But no one wanted to assume the ungrateful task of telling the people the truth. It is not the way to court popularity.

Briand might have done so had he controlled a large majority in the Chamber. But his hold was precarious, and such is the nature of the *blocs* and political combinations in France that he could not count on the loyal and steadfast support of a party. His reasoning, therefore, was simple. Disillusion must come, and with it indignation. At that time it would be far better to be outside the Government than in it. His opponents were pledged to the policy of making the Germans pay to the last pfennig; let them take the responsibility, and bear the brunt when the exposure

came. His time would come in the revulsion of feeling that would follow.

That this revulsion of feeling is in prospect seems exceedingly likely. M. Poincaré has succeeded to a forlorn hope. The old slogans will not avail in the face of hard actualities. Had M. Briand and Mr. Lloyd George both remained in power, backed by substantial majorities, they might have gone on with the fascinating game of gradually adjusting policy to realities, shifting step by step from each position to the next, until normal conditions returned. But M. Poincaré's platform does not permit of any such manoeuvring.

The present situation cannot continue indefinitely. France has forty million people, thrifty, industrious, brave. She is essentially an agricultural nation and her industries were dealt a terrible blow by the Germans in their wanton invasion. Opposite stands Germany, with sixty million people and her industrial plant and organization intact. Relations since the war have been so handled as to increase rather than allay the German spirit of revenge. At present France trusts in her army, or in an alliance, to safeguard her future against this menace; yet the upkeep of her army is increasing the disparity between her own strength and that of Germany, and alliances are not always long-lived. There is a growing feeling that the only way out of the dilemma is to find some basis on which she can resume good relations with the Germans.

The hope lies in the emergence of a better Germany, in the encouragement of those elements that are making for democracy and that do not sympathize with the old imperialism. That those elements are there we are assured by the most competent observers; if they are not there then the case for the future of European civilization is wellnigh hopeless.

That some influential Frenchmen are thinking along these lines is a hopeful sign. It is particularly noticeable outside of Paris, where the atmosphere is less contaminated by political intrigue. Note the following quotation from the *Dépêche de Toulouse*, the most influential journal outside the capital. It may be significant that one of the owners is M. Albert Sarraut, a delegate to the Washington Conference who perhaps gained more from his experience there than did any other of the French representatives, and who controls a group of seventy-five deputies in the Chamber:

It is to our highest interest to recognize the German forces making for peace and to weigh their strength with that of the forces making for war. The German war parties are noisy and arrogant, and the large Parisian journals, whether more nationalistic or less, tell us only of them. We thus are led to believe that the entire German nation remains bellicose, which is just as great an error as to suppose that the entire German nation has become pacifist. In reality there are two Germanys. It is our duty to know both, in order to encourage the Germany which wants peace and democracy against the Germany which wants an emperor and war.

As for the political situation, it seems unlikely that Briand will succeed Poincaré when the latter has to give way. Conditions point rather to an outburst of feeling that will sweep away most of the old crowd of politicians. There may be a recurrence of *Cail-lotisme*; not that Caillaux himself is likely to regain power or that the blot on his name can be removed, but possibly there may be a great swing toward a policy of reconciliation and coöperation with the Germans. In such an orientation there are possibilities of disarmament and peace, and of economic recovery. But of French politics it is rash to prophesy.

The Story of the Week

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

The Domestic Budget

The Bonus Bill Is Reported

THE Ways and Means Committee has reported to the House the bonus bill adorned by the twenty-year certificate provision, which Secretary Mellon calls the worst of all plans suggested for finding the bonus money.

The "adjusted service certificate" would have a face value equal to the sum of (1) the adjusted service credit of the veteran increased by 25 per centum thereof, and (2) interest thereon for twenty years at the rate of 4½ per centum per annum, compounded annually (the total being approximately equal to three times the adjusted service credit). The certificate is to be dated, and rights conferred under it are to take effect as of, October 1, 1922.

Between October 1, 1922, and September 30, 1925, a veteran beneficiary could borrow from a bank, on his promissory note secured by his adjusted service certificate, any amount not in excess of 50 per centum of the following loan basis: the amount of his adjusted service credit, plus compound interest thereon at 4½ per centum from October 1, 1922, to the date of the loan. All these loans are to mature on or before September 30, 1925. Should the veteran default on his loan, the Secretary of the Treasury would pay to the bank the amount due it, and to the veteran the difference between 80 per centum of the loan basis of the certificate at the time of its presentation to him by the bank and the amount paid to the bank.

Between October 1, 1925, and September 30, 1928, the veteran holding a certificate may borrow from the Treasury 85 per centum of the sum of (1) his adjusted service credit, and (2) compound interest thereon at 4½ per centum from October 1, 1922, to the date of the loan. Between October 1, 1928, and September 30, 1942, the veteran may borrow from the Treasury 70 per centum of the sum of (1) his adjusted service credit increased by 25 per centum thereof, and (2) interest thereon at 4½ per centum from October 1, 1922, to the date of the loan. The veteran is required to repay his Treasury loan by a fixed number of annual instalments. Should he default, his certificate will be forfeited. If he has borrowed less than the maximum

authorized, the Treasury will pay him 80 per centum of the difference between the amount he borrowed and the amount he was authorized to borrow.

The bill, as reported, makes no provision for raising the funds required to pay the banks the defaulted loans, likely to

total approximately \$2,000,000,000; nor for the costs of the options of vocational training, farm and home aid, and land settlement aid, though it is estimated that \$400,000,000 may be required in the first year for these costs; nor for the \$16,000,000 or so required for immediate payment to those entitled to a bonus of not more than \$50.

The adjusted service credit is computed by allowing for each day of overseas active service between April 5, 1917, and June 30, 1919, \$1.25, and for each day of home active service \$1. But a limit of \$625 is set for those who performed overseas service, and of \$500 for those who did not.

The chief objection urged against the plan described is that for three years some \$2,000,000,000 of bank credits, so badly needed by farmers and others, will be "frozen."

The General Air Service

A company known as The General Air Service has been incorporated, whose object is thus stated by its guiding genius, Mr. Benedict Crowell:

Our aim is to provide rigid airship service to America first, and, as time goes on, link this continent with the rest of the world by aerial routes; a service supplementing existing methods of transportation, one which will traverse space in a minimum of time and supply a means of travel both safe and comfortable.

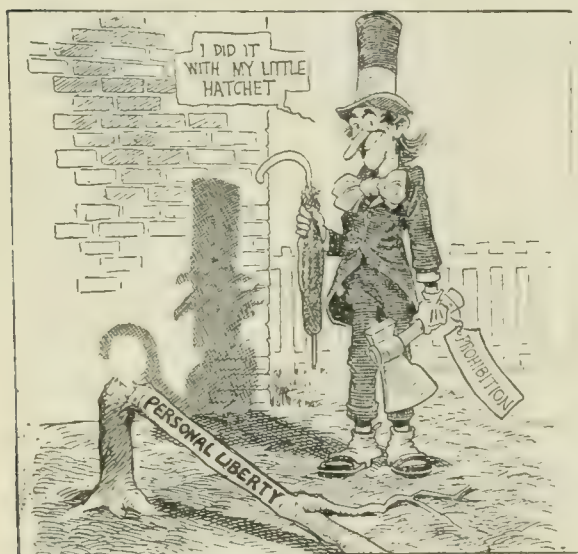
The first dirigibles to be used will be made in Germany and will, like the latest German types used in the war, combine the best points of the Zeppelin and Schuette patents. Dr. Schuette, of the Schuette-Lanz Airship Company of Germany, is associated with the new corporation. Mr. Benedict Crowell will probably be its president. He was formerly Assistant Secretary of War and is president of the Aero Club of America. It is expected that service between New York and Chicago will be established before the end of 1923 with the first two ships, each designed to carry one hundred passengers and thirty tons of mail and express matter. It is proposed to use helium gas and some fuel other than gasoline. In course of time (probably a short time) new shipping will be American-built.

The Port of New York Authority Plan

The Governors of New York and New Jersey have signed similar bills approving the Port of New York Authority plan and authorizing the Commission to proceed to execution of their programme of port development. The programme contemplates: A "middle belt line," with a tunnel from Greenville, N. J., to Bay Ridge, Brooklyn; "various marginal railroads to serve each section of the port"; and an "outer belt line" to run from Piermont, N. Y., on the west side of the Hudson, to Perth Amboy, N. J. It contemplates, also, an electric underground railway for freight service to Manhattan, and a system of trunk-line highways for motor trucks through the various sections of the Port District.

The North German Lloyd Resumes

The arrival in New York Harbor, on February 27, of the steamship "Seydlitz," marked resumption, after eight years, of North German Lloyd service between Germany and the United States. An enthusiastic little crowd with a band went down to Quarantine in the police boat "John



Wahl in the Sacramento Bee

Fate of the Tree George Washington Planted



International

Clubhouse of the Congressional Country Club, on which work is to be begun at once. The club is to have three golf courses.

F. Hylan" to meet the "Seydlitz," and there was another crowd at Pier 8, Hoboken, when she tied up.

Alaska

Secretary Fall says that, if Alaska were properly "developed," the Government could pay not merely the cost of the proposed bonus, but even the entire war debt out of the returns. It is his idea that the Government should not part with the title to its estate in Alaska, but should lease the public's lands. "From the royalties from coal, oil, and other minerals, the Government would eventually receive \$12,000,000,000," he said. There is in Alaska an oil field which may prove to be one of the greatest in the world; there is a seam of cannel coal 600 miles long, 125 miles wide, and of undetermined depth; there is the greatest copper mine in the world; new mineral riches are being constantly discovered. But, to attract capital, "the laws must be liberalized. Business men are not going to accept a return of 6 per cent."

But there is another side to the question. A lot of old fogies think that we should not be in a hurry to open up, to "develop," our ultimate treasure. They think we should intensively develop and reclaim what has already been opened up and should leave something for future generations to open up and develop.

The population of Alaska decreased from 64,000 in 1910 to 55,000 in 1921.

Oil

The 125th meeting of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers opened at the Engineering Societies' Building in New York on the 20th and lasted for three days. The most important subject of discussion was the world's oil supply. One startling report submitted to the gathering alleges that the Japanese have been deceiving the world; that they actually possess (outside Manchuria or Siberia or the northern part of Sakhalin) enough oil to last them 300 years. That report is probably several kilometers short of accuracy.

Prohibition as Mohammedanism

The Rev. W. A. Crawford-Frost, of the Episcopal Church, seems not to be in favor of prohibition. He says:

Mahomet believed that alcoholic beverages were a curse to humanity, that they were of the devil and not of God, and he absolutely prohibited their use by his people. The first public act of Jesus was to make wine and His last to order its use forever by His followers. Which was right? They cannot both be right, because they directly contradict each other by word and deed. If Jesus is right, Mahomet is wrong; if Mahomet is right, Jesus is wrong. There is no

possible escape from this conclusion. Some think that if Jesus were alive in the present day He would act differently, but this is to admit that He did not know the future and provide for it.

Alcoholic beverages are of God and not of the devil, although by giving greater oxygen to the brain they enable both God and the devil to suggest ideas that otherwise could not be received and understood. But for every evil idea that the devil is able to suggest by the improper use God is able to suggest ten good ideas by the proper use. This is why Jesus began His public work by making wine and ended His teaching by commanding it to be used. If it had not been an instrument of God and helpful to God in human evolution, Jesus would not have done what He did.

New Trees for New York Parks

Park Commissioner Gallatin of Manhattan hopes to plant thirteen hundred new trees in Central Park this spring, mostly oaks, maples, elms, and planes, from 4½ to 5½ inches in diameter. He is making a vigorous effort to restore the New York parks, so long neglected, to their former beauty. Not only Central Park, but Riverside Park, Union, Washington, and Madison Squares will receive attention.

Church Membership

Church membership statistics are given out by Dr. E. O. Watson, secretary of the Federal Churches of Christ in America. The figures, compared with those of 1916, show an increase of 4,070,345 for the last five years. It is estimated that during that period an average of 2,173 persons joined the Church, three congregations were organized, and four and a half new ministers took up their work, each day. The present total membership is reported as 45,997,199, and the total number of clergymen as 200,090.

"The total religious constituency of the country," according to Dr. Watson's report, is (including all members and adherents) 95,858,096 persons. It is divided as follows:

"Protestants, 74,795,226; Roman Catholics, 17,855,646; Jews, 1,120,000; Eastern Orthodox (Greek and Russian), 411,054; Latter Day Saints (Mormons), 1,646,170.

"For the first time the Baptists have passed the Methodists in total membership, now having 7,835,250 members, against a Methodist membership of 7,797,991. The Lutheran bodies stand third, with a membership of 2,446,645 persons, and the Presbyterians fourth, with 2,384,683 members."

The Protestant Episcopal Church has a membership of 1,104,029.

The Salvation Army, with a membership of 35,969, shows an increase of only sixty-five persons over the membership in 1916.

He Laughs Best Who Laughs Last

He laughs best who laughs last. Dr. John Roach Straton seemed to have caught a Tartar when he caught Manager Brady. The latter taunted him in his own church with the charge that there are more "clergymen" than actors behind bars. Dr. Straton seemed "flabbergasted" at the time, but now he comes back with statistics. He says that the census of 1920 showed only 78 clergymen in jail as against 665 actors; that, moreover, if clergymen had been as wicked as actors, there would have been (considering the relative numbers of clergymen and actors) 2,832 of the clergy in jail.

It is an edifying controversy.

Brief Items

There is a project, still somewhat in the vague, of a system of parks through Westchester County to Anthony's Nose (whence a bridge is to be spanned across the Hudson to Bear Mountain Park) which should partially restore to Pan that loveliest of regions.

* * *

The Rhode Island textile strike continues with little change. Seventeen thousand or more workers are on strike. All but a very few mills are closed, some few being in partial operation.

* * *

Voting on the question of whether there shall be a strike on April 1 is now taking place among the bituminous coal miners of the central competitive field. Early returns justify the prediction that the total vote will be overwhelmingly in favor of a strike.

* * *

The Rockefeller Foundation has given \$6,000,000 to Johns Hopkins University, as an endowment and building fund for the School of Hygiene and Public Health.

Chile and Peru

THE telegraphic correspondence begun some months ago between the Chilean and Peruvian Foreign Offices ended with no accomplishment. Chile first proposed that the two Governments get together with a view to settlement of the old Tacna-Arica controversy. Both Governments were willing to send plenipotentiaries to Washington to confer with that goal in view. But they were at cross-purposes concerning the machinery of a settlement. Chile proposed that the plenipotentiaries discuss only points in dispute concerning the conditions which should govern a plebiscite in the provinces of Tacna and Arica; a plebiscite to determine whether these provinces, provisionally held by Chile since her victory over Peru in the war of 1879-1883, shall become permanently Chilean or be returned to Peru. Chile was willing to refer to arbitration (preferably that of a member or members of the United States Government) the dispute upon the said conditions, should the plenipotentiaries fail to agree. But Peru professed to consider those provisions of the Treaty of Ancon which call for a plebiscite as having lapsed; she wished to

have the plenipotentiaries consider the general question of the disposition of Tacna and Arica, and wished, in case the plenipotentiaries should not agree, to refer that general question to arbitration. The two Governments failing to agree on the machinery for essaying a settlement, the situation became again what it was before the correspondence.

But it did not so remain. President Harding was greatly disappointed by the "fizzling out" of the above-mentioned correspondence, and at his instance Secretary Hughes dispatched the following note to the Governments of Chile and Peru:

The Government of the United States, through the courtesy of the Ambassadors of Chile and Peru in Washington, has been kept informed of the progress of the recent negotiations, carried on directly by telegram between the Governments of Chile and Peru looking toward a settlement of the long-standing controversy with respect to the unfulfilled provisions of the treaty of Ancon.

It has noted with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction the lofty spirit of conciliation which has animated the two Governments and that as a result of the direct exchanges of views the idea of arbitration of the pending difficulties is acceptable in principle to both. It has also taken note of the suggestion that representatives of the two Governments be named to meet in Washington with a view to finding the means of settling the difficulties which have divided the two countries.

Desiring, in the interest of American peace and concord, to assist in a manner agreeable to both Governments concerned in finding a way to ending this long-standing controversy, the President of the United States would be pleased to welcome in Washington the representatives which the Governments of Chile and Peru may see fit to appoint to the end that such representatives may settle, if happily it may be, the existing difficulties, or may arrange for the settlement of them by arbitration.

The President's invitation was accepted, and at the least representatives of the two

southern nations will meet for discussion (in April) under the kindest auspices.

The British Empire

An Irish Mutiny

SEVERAL hundred troops of the Irish Republican Army, from Counties Cork, Tipperary, and Clare, entered Limerick City in motor cars on the 5th, commandeered the principal hotels, and announced their intention "to uphold the proclamation recently issued by the ranking officers of the Mid-Limerick Brigade," who therein pronounced the officers of the Provisional Government traitors. "We," reads the proclamation, "declare we no longer recognize the authority of the present head of the army, and renew our allegiance to the existing Irish Republic."

The British garrison (of what size does not appear in the dispatches) has not yet been evacuated from Limerick. There are also in the town troops loyal to the Provisional Government; in what number the dispatches do not make clear. Since the arrival of the mutinous troops, the British have been patrolling the streets in armored cars, to avert a fight between the Republican and Free State Irish.



Kadel & Herbert

Man o' War and that incomparable Steed's First-Born.

Is this a purely local affair, or is a considerable portion of the Republican army in sympathy with the mutineers and ready to follow their example?

* * *

The above was the situation on Sunday, the 5th. On Monday it had not materially changed, except that more mutineers had arrived. Apparently the British Government wishes to leave that situation to be dealt with by the Free State Provisional Government. Whether the British garrison can avoid being compromised, remains to be seen.

* * *

On the 7th, Richard Mulcahy, Minister of Defense of the Provisional Free State Government, visited Limerick, and entered into parley with the commander of the insurgent troops. It is said they have agreed to a provisional truce. Rumor has it that a considerable force of troops presumably loyal to the Provisional Government have been moved to the vicinity of Limerick. The scantiness of news indicates a partial censorship. One correspondent telegraphs not inaptly: "There is a suggestion of censorship about the situation." There is a certain resemblance between the shows now playing in Limerick and in Fiume.

Meantime the sniping and the bombing continue in Belfast.

Lloyd George Stays On

The British political crisis (if there really was one) is past. Lloyd George has decided not to resign (if indeed he ever thought of resigning). The Conservative leaders (except Sir George Younger) have rallied to him, *en effet* declaring him indispensable as Premier. It does not appear that Sir George, leader of the Die-Hards, has occupied the penitential bench, but the great body of Conservatives have declared him and his following to be a discredited minority. Once more that irrepressible person, Lloyd George, wins. The Coalition is safe. The Chequers weekend of golf and philosophic speculation is undisturbed by vulgar politics.

It seems probable, just now, that there will be a general election in the fall, and that the Coalition party will then be still existent.

There has, however, been a good deal of talk lately of forming a new Centre Party which should draw to itself the moderates of all parties, and should be headed by Lloyd George; *i. e.*, a new Coalition of a cleaner complexion.

Bye-Elections

Labor has recently won two Parliamentary seats and the Independent Liberals one, in bye-elections. Eighty per cent. of the electors voted. Since the present Coalition Government came into power, it has in bye-elections retained 33 seats, lost 19, and gained 2. The Labor Party has retained 6, lost 2, and gained 11. The Independent Liberals have retained 2, lost 1, and gained 5. Non-partisan candidates (on an economy platform) have retained 2 seats and gained 3.

Canadian Ex-Soldiers Turn Farmers

Twenty-seven thousand Canadian ex-soldiers have been settled on farm-land by the Canadian Government, and some \$85,000,000 has been lent to these men. The full purchase price of the land and up to \$3,000 for buildings, stock, and equipment, has been advanced. Already \$10,000,000 has been returned to the Treasury, more than 90 per cent. of the payments required to date having been made. Only 7 per cent. of the men thus aided have abandoned their ventures. Last year's crops from these lands were valued at \$15,000,000. They do some things better in Canada than in this country.

Gandhi: Saint or Hypocrite?

That old-fashioned soldier, that dealer in hard knocks, actual and verbal, General O'Dwyer, expresses his mind

even more bluntly than usual on the Indian situation in the February *Fortnightly*. To him Gandhi is not (as so many Americans are apt to regard him) a Saint; *au contraire*. To the General, Gandhi is "a man who conceals the cunning of an unscrupulous politician, the race-hatred of a Nana Sahib, and the charlatanism of a Cagliostro, under the ascetic pose of a benevolent Mahatma." He quotes a patriotic Indian to the effect that "Gandhi never believed what he said and preached. He was by no means such a fool as not to know that the 'non-violent non-coöperation' which he so glibly preached was absolutely impracticable, and the only inference is that he was actually leading to violence and rebellion."

O'Dwyer asks how long Gandhi is to be allowed "to continue his campaigns of crime, each succeeded by mock penitence." He attributes the progress of the Gandhi cult in Britain (he might have added the United States) to the prevalent Anglo-Saxon hypocrisy and cant.

He conceives some hope of Lord Reading, who has at last suppressed the terrorist Volunteer associations and has brought to justice many of the most prominent agitators, Mohammedan and Hindu. But he sees little hope for the British Raj unless that "arch-criminal" Gandhi is clapped in quod. His views are shared by a great many informed and fair-minded Britons.

Is Gandhi, as Mr. Montagu, late Secretary of State for India, still seems to regard him, a saint, or is he a fanatical hypocrite?

The Delhi Telegram

Discussion must be postponed of that extraordinary telegram from the Government of India to Mr. Montagu, British Secretary of State for India, which recommended virtual restoration of the ante-bellum status of Turkey; and of the still more extraordinary fact that the Delhi Government made public the telegram, thus appealing above the head of the British Government to the empire—it might be said, to the world; and of the yet more extraordinary fact that Mr. Montagu, British Secretary of State for India, without consulting Lloyd George, granted authority for the publication. Very properly, Lloyd George at once demanded Mr. Montagu's resignation; which has been tendered. That telegram is likely to have most important consequences.

French and German Birth Rates

IN the first half of 1921 there was an excess of births over deaths in France of 73,000. In the same period the excess of births in Germany was 359,000. The population of France is about 37,000,000; that of Germany about 64,000,000. Is or is not France justified in making security against German aggression the cornerstone of her foreign policy?

Another interesting item is that in the first half of 1921 births in France numbered only 421,000, as against 1,000,000 for the year 1865.

Again, is not France rightly apprehensive?



Morris in the George Matthew Adams Service

If Saint Patrick Came Back!

Fiume Again in Turmoil

THE new Fiume development may or may not fatally disturb the friendly relations between Italy and Jugoslavia supposed to have been firmly established by signature of the Treaty of Rapallo. The Treaty of Rapallo was indeed signed by representatives of both nations, but it has not been ratified; ratification apparently awaiting agreement on the machinery of execution, which was left to further negotiation not yet completed. It is rumored that the Yugoslav Government has broken off the negotiation on account of the Fascismo revolution in Fiume.

These Fascisti demand union with Italy, and to that cry millions of Italian hearts respond as of old. But who are these Fascisti? Most of them, one ventures to say, are not native Fiumans, but pestilent agitators from Italian towns, chiefly Trieste.

It would seem that the Italian Government is in honor bound, in the spirit of the Treaty of Rapallo, not only to prevent further aid to the Fascismo movement in Fiume (*i. e.*, a repetition of the d'Annunzio folly), but also to clear the town of Italian Fascisti. No doubt the Italian Government has the proper disposition, but, for reasons that should be familiar, it is seriously embarrassed as to its mode of action. And think of the embarrassment of the commander of the considerable body of Italian carabinieri who still remain in Fiume for "police" duty!

Of course, the situation cannot be entirely the fault of that element in Fiume, native or imported, which favors annexation to Italy. The constitutional Government of the city, just deposed, drew a large part of its strength from the Croat element of the population, and, perhaps, like the Fascisti, recruited its strength from outside.

A big new row between the Italian and Yugoslav Governments would greatly prejudice the prospects of the Genoa Conference.

* * *

Previous Italian Governments have shown real humor in dealing with Fiume. Will the Comic Spirit guide the counsels of both Rome and Belgrade in this new development?

* * *

D'Annunzio has sent congratulations to the revolutionary Government (to be exact, the "Committee of National Defense"). "What has been conquered should be held," says he. Why not "must"? Is not "should" a sure sign of a falling-off in that hero?

* * *

"The city is placarded with manifestos urging calm." The Italian tricolor is flown on all public buildings. The Committee of National Defense "has delegated the maintenance of public security to the Carabinieri and other Italian troops," who, incidentally, have been reinforced. The Committee heads its communications: "Fiume, Italy."

Says the French press: "Now, if only the League of Nations had the federal force we advocated and still advocate, it could handle the situation so neatly."

* * *

The Yugoslav Government has notified the Allied Governments that it will send a note of protest concerning the Fiume situation to the Italian Government, and that it has decided "to adopt measures to protect Yugoslav interests," whatever the latter may mean.

It seems from dispatches of March 7 that the Italian Government is taking the course suggested above as "indicated." According to these dispatches, an Italian Commissioner has been sent to Fiume, who has orders to evacuate from that city all the revolutionists and all suspicious strangers; and Fiume has virtually been blockaded.

Russia

A Patriotic Adventure

A GROUP of one hundred and fifty men who were born in Russia, but who for many years have been engaged in farming or stock-raising in the United States or Canada, sailed for Russia this week on the steamship "Esthonia." They have been persuaded to this adventure and organized by the Society for Technical Aid to Russia. They expect to obtain from the Moscow Government an allotment of 3,000 acres of good land whereon to establish a model farming community. Each engages to invest not less than \$2,500, should the Moscow Government "come across." The group includes the blacksmiths, carpenters, and other artificers required, and a physician, a school teacher, and a tailor. They are taking with them an abundance of farm machinery and seeds, and a six months' supply of food and medicines. They make no doubt

that the Moscow Government (which has promised land, livestock, and farm buildings) will act in good faith, and that, though they will not receive permanent title to the land, they will be allowed to hold it indefinitely on condition of faithfully working it. Their primary object is to supply to Russia an object lesson in American farming methods.

Russian Debts

A British authority estimates the pre-war external debt of Russia as £738,000,000; an estimate which excludes certain semi-public

items amounting to £186,000,000, for which in equity the Government should be held accountable. Russia's external war debt is £350,000,000. These statistics acquire fresh interest from the fact that the Supreme Council, in its resolution calling for a European economic and financial conference, to include Russian representatives, names as the chief condition of recognition of the Moscow Government recognition by it of the "public debts and obligations" of previous régimes.

Sundry Matters

IN 1915 the Parliament of Iceland passed a drastic prohibition law. The law is unpopular; so much so that the Premier has been forced to resign because he is a Prohibitionist. It is predicted that the next Premier, to hold his job, must procure revocation of the offensive law.

The Italian Government has notified the Governments invited to participate in the Genoa Conference that the date of opening will be April 10. The United States Government has declined to participate.

Professor Onelli, Director of the Buenos Aires Zoölogical Gardens, is convinced by reports that in a lake of Patagonia there lives a Plesiosaurus or at any rate a "plesiosaurian monster," with a swan-shaped neck and crocodile-like body. Patagonia sends us little news; but when she do, she do.



Underwood & Underwood

Rio de Janeiro with its new waterfront boulevard. New York, take notice!

Music

"Loreley" at the Metropolitan—Mahler's Third Symphony

By W. J. Henderson

IT might be instructive to obtain trustworthy information as to the motives which lie behind some of the productions in the world of music. For example, many opera-goers would surely like to know what concentrated the mind of Giulio Gatti-Casazza on Catalani's opera "Loreley." The work had been given here by the Chicago Opera Company at the Lexington Theater several seasons ago and had sunk beneath its own waters. True, the production lacked the gorgeous trappings which are always forthcoming at the Metropolitan. But it was tolerably sung and intelligently directed. The name of Catalani, however, exerts over Italians some mystic spell quite incomprehensible to northern observers.

At any rate, the impresario of the Metropolitan brought forth this neglected opera on the afternoon of March 4, when it was received with rhapsodic demonstrations by the thousand Italians standing behind the orchestra rail and with moderate pleasure by the subscribers. The story of the opera is, of course, based on the old Rhine legend about the young woman who, when disappointed in love, threw herself into the waters and became the siren of the Lorelei-berg. The librettists endeavored to account for her transformation by informing us that when, in despair, she went to the river, the Rhine daughters and other immortals told her that if she would become the bride of Alberich, the lord of the river, she would be able to tear her lover away from her rival, an anæmic light soprano named Anna. She accepts the suggestion and, when Walter is about to enter the church with his fiancée for the wedding, Loreley appears and draws him away. In the last scene the siren is about to yield to his embraces when the Rhine denizens remind her that she is Alberich's consort. She returns to the river's depths, and Walter, who plunges into the waters, is drowned.

The opera is well supplied with stock devices, some of which bear questionable resemblance to inventions of Wagner. The wedding celebration looks much like that in "Lohengrin." The funeral of Anna, who dies of grief, recalls that of the equally innocent Elizabeth in "Tannhäuser." The Rhine maidens, however, have one great superiority to those of Wagner. They have legs and can therefore dance a ballet, which they do with much benefit to the lame and impotent final scene. Of course, there is also a ballet in the interrupted wedding scene.

Catalani's music is well made, but it lacks one essential element of artistic importance, namely, ideas. There is a good solo for the tenor. The baritone, the unsuccessful lover of Anna, declaims emotionally, but without point. There is a really effective, if unoriginal, duet for Walter and Loreley, and another rather pretty one for him and Anna. The choral treatment of the wedding scene illustrates again the value of writing for large masses of voices in unison. But the commentator who sets out to analyze this score speedily finds himself at a loss for material. There is nothing worth talking about.

The best that can be said is that the opera has been brilliantly mounted at the Metropolitan. Scenery, costumes and accessories we have always with us. The performance, too, is good. The best singing is that of Mr. Danise as Hermann, the rejected lover, but the character is unessential. It is thrust into the opera because a baritone part is desired. Miss Muzio is a fine, upstanding figure of a siren, robed in red and wearing a very expensive blonde wig. She sang her music with warmth and energy, if not always with finish, at the first performance. Mr. Gigli imperson-

nated the bewitched Walter as one whom the spells of the Loreley had afflicted with a form of sleeping sickness. Mme. Sundelius walked placidly through the woes of Anna and Mr. Mardones permitted himself to appear as the lay figure, her uncle. In the wedding scene ballet Rosina Galli danced and when she does that, many other things may be overlooked.

The other musical incident of significance was the production of Gustave Mahler's third symphony by the Philharmonic Society under Willem Mengelberg at the Metropolitan Opera House on February 28. The work was repeated at the Carnegie Hall concerts of the society on the following Thursday and Friday and was transported to Brooklyn for a Sunday presentation. The persistent performance of the compositions of Mahler may be credited to a small, but energetic, party of which the centre might be sought in Vienna. The reasons for the activity of this party are not apparent. But there must be something to be gained by forcing upon the attention of patient music lovers the ponderous structures reared in agony of spirit by one of the most pathetic personages in the history of music.

Mahler's third symphony has been described by the latest authorities as an embodiment of the composer's emotional reaction to the fellowship of man. It seems, however, that he first meant it to be regarded as a sort of picture of his own mental rise and progress from a contemplation of Pan and pagan nature to that of Christianity. At any rate, the musician imposed a formidable burden upon his art, and invited mere concert-goers to assist at a tragic confession. The first movement of the symphony doggedly refuses to associate itself with the fellowship of man idea and revels in the awakening of Pan and the ensuing bacchanalian procession. In the next two movements Mahler listens to the messages of the flowers and the beasts. In the following section he hears man and after him the angels. The finale sings of love. The utterance of man calls for a contralto voice, which in the angelic section unites with a choir of women and boys. There are moments of beauty in this huge symphony, which takes two hours to perform. But there are wearisome prolixity, interminable repetitions, pages of empty chord successions, and always proof that the composer is beating the wings of his ambition in vain against the bars of his narrow imagination.

Mary Garden and her company of operatic interpreters departed for the West after closing their season here on February 25. Doubtless they had a pleasant stay in the metropolis of the East, but there was no large profit in it either for them or the public. They gave thirty-five performances in which they produced twenty-four operas and two ballets. In the whole season nothing excelled the time-honored presentation of "Pelléas et Melisande." The Russian wonder, "The Love for the Three Oranges," served to astonish the juvenile minds. Those whose hearts were made sore by the world's opposition to the progress of Germany found much comfort in the *echt Deutsch* performances of "Tristan und Isolde" and "Tannhäuser," which were almost the worst within the memory of living men.

Albert Coates, the British conductor, who was brought here to direct the Symphony Society while Walter Damrosch took a rest, finished his season on February 26. He left behind him a fatigued public. Mr. Coates's ceaseless vigor of method and the strenuous speed of most of his tempi were a little more than Mr. Damrosch's conservative subscribers could well bear. The Briton has been invited to return next season and for the same number of concerts.

Lone Wolf

Indian Painter of Indians

By William M. van der Weyde

FIRED with an ardent passion to view with his own eyes the marvelous city the white man has built on the little island of Manhattan, purchased from the Indians for twenty-four dollars three hundred years ago, Lone Wolf, a Blackfoot Indian from Northern Montana,



"The Snow Storm"

young, athletic, six feet three, with a record as cow-puncher, broncho-buster, painter of Indian scenes and life in the West, came to New York.

His first impressions of the great city were staggering.

"I heard so much about this big and rich city on the island bought from the Indians for twenty-four dollars' worth of beads and trinkets that I couldn't stay away any longer," he told me. "I might as well tell you right off—I'm disappointed! The noises of the city, the hunted looks of men and women on the streets, the automobiles chasing the people up and down the long trails, the big buildings all length and no width—well, it all scares me; honest, it does. I went up in an elevator yesterday and the boy running the machine piled on the speed. I thought my stomach had been ripped open. I sat on the floor till we reached the top—and all the folks in the car laughed. Go to Montana and tell the boys that ride with me on the plains that at last I've hit something that scares me. They won't believe you, but tell 'em anyway."

I asked Lone Wolf if he had ridden in New York's underground railroad. "My adventures," he replied, "have always been right on top of the earth and I intend to stick to the surface. Traveling under the earth is all right for prairie dogs, but a wolf is satisfied with the upper crust of the world."

Lone Wolf brought East with him some remarkably

clever paintings he has made, which depict Indian scenes and cowboy life on the plains. One of these canvases pictures a blinding snow-storm, through which staggers, almost hopelessly, a weary wind-blown horse, valiantly seeking the lost trail. Astride the groping horse is huddled an Indian squaw, and lashed on the dragging poles, on either side of the horse, is a pack that doubtless holds a well-protected papoose. The colors employed in this picture are blue and white only. The atmospheric effect is extraordinary. So vivid is the handling of the subject by this Indian painter that the spectator poignantly feels the bitterness of the cold shown on the flat surface of the canvas. Lone Wolf has handled his subject in masterly fashion. A painting that can make me physically feel the actual suffering of the subjects portrayed is art indeed, and I have no hesitation in asserting that Lone Wolf will be recognized as one of the most capable native painters of the Northwest. He is young, courageous, and loves both his art and his race. We shall hear more of Lone Wolf.

The painter told me that he very distinctly remembers, as a child, being carried by his mother, Masowatan, mounted on a horse, through just such a blinding snow-storm as he has pictured.

Other paintings by Lone Wolf are "Breaking Camp," an Indian scene; "A Critical Moment," showing a fallen horse and rider, a cow-puncher, attacked by the animal pursued; and the "Wild Horse Hunter," a scene on Montana plains.

One day in the Grand Canyon he was so fortunate as to meet Thomas Moran, one of the most illustrious of the famous Moran family of painters. For several winters the Indian and the famous Eastern painter met in the Grand Canyon in mid-winter, and worked together. That is the only instruction in painting Lone Wolf has had.



Lone Wolf



"Breaking Camp"

New Books and Old

Books of the Week

SHE BLOWS! AND SPARM AT THAT! by William John Hopkins. Houghton Mifflin.

A long story of a whaling voyage, so circumstantial and so well done that it seems more like a narrative of fact than like fiction.

SONGS OF THE GLENS OF ANTRIM, AND MORE SONGS, by Moira O'Neill. Macmillan.

Some of these poems have long been well known and well liked by American readers.

WANDERERS, by Knut Hamsun. Knopf.

Novel by the author of "Hunger" and "Growth of the Soil."

AMERICAN PORTRAITS, by Gamaliel Bradford. Houghton Mifflin.

Biographical studies of Mark Twain, Henry Adams, Whistler, Blaine, Cleveland, and others.

LABOUR, THE GIANT WITH THE FEET OF CLAY, by Shaw Desmond. Scribners.

An indictment of labour by a Socialist and member of the English Labour Party.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, by James Bryce. Macmillan.

The lectures at Williams College last August.

Though I seen poor Denny's daughter
white an' stiff upon her bed,
Yet I be to think there's sunlight fallin'
somewhere on her head:
She'll be singin' *Ave Mary* where the
flowers never wilt,
She, the girl my own hands covered
wi' the narrow daisy-quilt . . .

For the love of her,

The love of her

That would not be my wife:

And the loss of her,

The loss of her,

Has left me lone for life.

—From Moira O'Neill's "Songs of the Glens of Antrim" (Macmillan).

"I am told that Mr. Swinburne is the best poet in my dominions." This is Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone—according to report. The Poet Laureate, Lord Tennyson, was dead, and the Prime Minister was consulting his Sovereign about a successor. The remark does not show the Queen as the prude and frump which some of her modern critics used to like to think her. (Lionel Strachey's biography has rather spiked their guns.) Still, there is no certainty that the Queen was familiar with Mr. Swinburne's poems. What Mr. Gladstone said is not recorded; Mr. Swinburne had written a bitter attack upon the statesman. And another upon the Russian Emperor, and many upon the late Emperor of the French, and some disrespectful verses about the Church. It is doubted that "The Triumph of Time" and "Laus Veneris" and "Ave atque Vale" outweighed these in the mind of Mr. Gladstone. He was not one of those young men who had walked through the quadrangles of Oxford or Cambridge chanting aloud the luxurious stanzas of "Dolores." They did not do that in Mr. Gladstone's time—at least, not in his set. So they appointed nobody; Mr. Gladstone passed the buck to Lord Rosebery, the next premier, and he was too busy in his brief reign; so he passed it on to Lord Salisbury, in whose hands the laureateship tapered down to Mr. Alfred Austin. This, or something like it, may be found in "The Laureateship" (Clarendon Press) by Edmund Kemper Broadus—a study of the office of poet laureate in England, with some account of the poets. It begins with "the king's poet" in early Anglo-Saxon days, and Anglo-Saxon attitudes, traces the development of the idea of a laurel-crowned poet, dwells upon such great figures as John Dryden, touches upon such others as Nahum Tate, and closes its scholarly and interesting study with a review of the work of the present laureate, Dr. Bridges.

Queen Victoria would hardly rest at ease, in the mausoleum at Frogmore, if she knew how her literary men were turning her into a great comic figure. I am puzzled to discover just how much satire is intended in Laurence Housman's "Angels and Ministers" (Harcourt). The little play called "The Queen: God Bless Her!"

in which the characters are the Queen, Mr. John Brown, and Lord Beaconsfield, is indeed delicious. So is the one about Lord Beaconsfield and the origin of the primrose legend. So is the imaginary talk between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. John Morley, with Mr. Gladstone's sermon upon the history of backgammon.

On the strength of his constant sense and love of laughter, writes Mr. Gamaliel Bradford, in "American Portraits" (Houghton Mifflin), many have maintained that Mark Twain was one of the great world humorists, that he ranks with Cervantes and Sterne and the Shakespeare of "As You Like It" and "Twelfth Night" . . . "With this view I cannot wholly agree . . ." On a lack of depth in thinking and feeling "I base my reluctance to class Mark with the greatest comic writers of the world. His thought was bitter because it was shallow. . . In this he resembles Molière, whose Scapins are as far from reflection as are his Tartuffes from gayety. And Mark's place is rather with the bitter satirists, Molière, Ben Jonson, Swift, than with the great, broad, sunshiny laughers, Lamb, Cervantes, and the golden comedy of Shakespeare."

A "yellow-backed French novel" used to be the last word of reproach when our good deacons and deaconesses, thirty or forty years ago, wished to sum up all that was wicked in literature. The worthy Mr. John Crerar of Chicago took a fling at them, and took pains to found the library named after him so that none of these evil things could get into it. The yellow-backs somehow added to the rascality, just as it is well known that it is the paper which makes cigarettes so deadly. And now, in the two strongholds of Anglo-Saxon virtue, England and America, Mr. D. H. Lawrence, with his novels of sexual riot, is one of the leaders, Mr. Hergesheimer's "Cytherea" is increasing its popularity every day, while one of the best-sellers in France is "Maria Chapdelaine"—a story of the utmost delicacy, as chaste as ice, as pure as the snows amid which its scenes are laid. (The American edition, translated by W. H. Blake, is published by The Macmillan Company. It was published in Montreal in 1916, with illustrations by A. Suzor-Côté. The Canadian translators were Mr. Blake and Sir Andrew Macphail.)

"Rosinante to the Road Again" (Doran) is a book of sketches of travel in Spain by John Dos Passos. No such disagreeable people did he find in all Spain as he discovered so easily in the American Expeditionary Force and chronicled in "Three Soldiers." Perhaps that is because this book did not "have to be written" as he is quoted saying of his earlier one; because he went at it like a good-tempered young man, not with the knitted brows and acid stomach of the Earnest Young Intellectual.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

BEFORE I had read ten pages I had looked back three times to the title. "There is some mistake," I thought, "this is a novel by E. Phillips Oppenheim, and a blamed good one." But no; the title remained as I had read it the first time: "Red Dusk and the Morrow" (Doubleday), by Sir Paul Dukes. This gentleman, you will remember, was chief of the British Secret Service in Soviet Russia, and this is the story of his adventures. You will have seen pictures of him in his black-bearded and unwashed condition, passing as a Bolshevik. But the pages in which he describes the offices of the secret service in London make me think that life has been taking its cue once more from fiction, and that Mr. Oppenheim organized the whole thing. As the old lady said when she saw a bouquet of garden flowers: "How natural the Lord does make things!"

DENNY'S DAUGHTER

Denny's daughter stood a minute in
the field I be to pass,
All as quiet as her shadow lyin' by her
on the grass;

In her hand a switch o' hazel from the
nut tree's crooked root,
Well I mind the crown o' clover
crumpled undher one bare foot.

For the look of her,

The look of her

Comes back on me today—

Wi' the eyes of her,

The eyes of her

That took me on the way.

Book Reviews

The Magic of French Words

PROPOS D'ANATOLE FRANCE RECUEILLIS
PAR PAUL GSELL. Paris: Bernard
Grasset.

WE who are not of the trade feel in literature like boys and girls of Tanagra who hear that "Attick tongues" lisp early songs of their countrywoman Corinna

—and want

To know what magic there can be
In words that urge some eyes to dance
While others as in holy trance
Look up to heaven.

Neither French nor foreign eyes perhaps look up to heaven because of Anatole France's words, but the Nobel Prize has been awarded him in accordance with its foundation for "most remarkable literary work in the sense of Idealism." Nobody can deny that the magic of his words urges to a dance of the Ideal and that, even as he is the *doyen* or dean, so his is the unique voice of French letters today.

The Swedish Commission that does the preliminary reporting on candidates for the Nobel Prize is said to have tagged to the name of Anatole France "unworthy," which the Swedish Academy when it voted had the good sense to disregard. Was it a tag of French immorals? or for his revival of French revolution? Truly, his voice has long been as much out of tune with Main Street in Sweden and in France itself as across seas. Quite as surely, he was never a realist in any of his four seasons—not in his early time when he indulged his Pity for the "Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard"; not when he assured his readers of "Literary Life" in the respectable Paris newspaper, *Le Temps*, that Zola had as well not been born as live to write of French peasants as he did; not when he uttered his more than Attic Irony through mouths like Jérôme Coignard or Monsieur Bergeret; and not when his "Gods Are Athirst" for the French Revolution or when he plays with his Anarchist Penguins or smiles at the "Fall of Angels." All were reconcilable with the National Defence to which Anatole France gave himself up when war came to threaten the life of the French people, although that other French Nobel Prizeman, Romain Rolland, isolated himself from his countrymen "above the mêlée."

Anatole France is the Nobel Prize-man of the year because he has become the unique representative of the *Génie Latin*—that Latin Mind which has had its being and movement in French souls from the First Renaissance of the spirit of Greece and Rome, in Villon and Rabelais, in Ronsard and Montaigne, in Racine of the Grand Monarque's Augustan age, in Voltaire of the skeptical and refining eighteenth century, and in gently despairing

Renan of the smiling and dilettante nineteenth. Anatole France has persisted in living, but he has not gone beyond nineteenth-century thought, and the magic of his words is of the past French centuries. Its uniqueness is in that fulness of enchantment which men call Style. Now Style, the only true, the perfect, the permanent, is in the adequation of Thought and Language, and he who has attained to this adequate utterance may hold his place forever in Humanity's march, like the singers and flute-players who forever round the Borghese Vase "pipe to the spirit ditties of slow Time."

Style with Anatole France is not literary mastery but life itself to a degree little felt in any English literature. Perhaps the nearest English approach to it is found in Newman's casual utterance, for he kept always before his regenerate mind that Literature would not have been without Original Sin. Pater had the true ambition, but his output was too conscious of its aim and too narrow even to utter a National mind. Anatole France himself is far from the universal soul, but, like Newman, he has attained the power of uttering such thought as he may have in fully and solely adequate words. One of Huxley's disciples, in-comprehensive of Aristotle's thought and language, translated literally: "Socrates is in the nature of things." It is in the nature of things and men that the Masters of Style shall not come with observation either of themselves or of others. And it is this which lends chief interest to the free and easy talk of Anatole France in the *matinées* of his Villa Said, where a very French and frank Boswell—Paul Gsell—has listened and taken notes among informal friends and somewhat awe-stricken visitors.

The Australian professor who was "savant and solid" is particularly helpful here by drawing out the kindly Master's answer to his insistent questioning on the "secret of literary genius." For young Raymond Escholier, whose first book has won one of the year's prizes, Anatole France explained further:

Victor Hugo passes for a wonderful innovator. But reflect—he borrowed from others ninety-nine hundredths of his genius. Did he invent his language? We do not think enough of the men of genius who imagined the representation of sounds by signs. Yet it was they who made possible the giddy brain gymnastics of us Westerners. And they who hammered our languages together—is it not they who furnish us the very web of our reasonings? The mind's habits are under the command of grammatical constructions. Thus we cannot escape the imprint of those who, before us, spoke French and moulded it and made it illustrious. With their words, their syntax, their rhythms we inherit their thought which we barely enrich. I was wrong in saying that Victor Hugo owed to others ninety-nine hundredths of his genius—it was nine hundred and ninety-nine thousands I should have said.

To a captain who tried to force on his attention the claims of Esperanto, Anatole France answered:

Come, come! How can the work of a grammarian, no matter how learned he is, match a living language to which millions and millions of men have brought their longings and cries, in which you hear at one and the same time the people's panting and the chirping of parlor linnets, in which all trades hum and every tumult growls, and where there is the death rattle of all despair and the murmur of every dream. How beautiful are the words round which the memory of long use has woven its aureole! For me, I wish my ideas to rest on words in which the feelings of all our dead are palpitating.

The Captain. But then you have to condemn all translations.

Anatole France. Surely not. Other languages, too, are real women (he had spoken of Esperanto as a doll) and I have no great repugnance to entrust my thought to them. "Yet, I love better my love, *O gué!* I prefer my dear French language. I am happy, too happy if, having received it very limpid and very luminous, I have been able to reflect from it here and there a new sheen.

As with Boswell's giant interviews, there is a little of everything in the scant 300 large-print pages of Paul Gsell's "Talk of Anatole France." A single fling at what may be called the *Vers-libriste* party can be cited:

No, rhyme is not mere child's play. For our language in which the difference of long and short syllables is so little felt, rhyme is the only natural means of marking strongly the cadence. The same sound returning cuts up the sentences into a fixed number of syllables and so makes the rhythm better felt.

It is a pity that in the usual English and American attention to French writers there should be so little discrimination of Style. In France gusts of doctrine which are oftenest not purely literary stir up a dust of *Cénacles* and schools and new writers that mostly fleet and pass. One of the leaders of the Young French thought which sways backward to an evolution more consistent with the French past, Henri Massis, has been moved by these familiar talks of the Master, from whom his own divergence is antipodal, to words on the "inhuman Humanism" of Anatole France and his acknowledged place in French letters:

For more than twenty years the name of Anatole France has represented among foreigners all that is most exquisite and refined in our language, and no one has done so much to win back Europe to our spiritual influence. It is no less certain that, over the intellectual life of several generations, this man and his work held a post of the very first rank—he has all but enjoyed the prestige which Voltaire had over his contemporaries.

Writers who were twenty about 1885 seem particularly thankful to him for saving them from "the poverty-stricken abjectness of the schools then reigning" (this must mean Zola's Naturalism and the rest) and for making them love, "in spite of that literature of the unlettered the sovereign genius of language and art." While they agreed there was much to be said about his "moral acidity and metaphysical bitterness," they hailed in him "the guardian and priest of that speech whose sovereign sweetness has been outraged for three quarters of a century."

No one will dream of disputing the taste of Anatole France and his sentences with their cadence full of special enchantments

will always enrapture the grammarian, the friend of the rhetoric which is the groundwork for every lettered Frenchman.

I cannot verify these side quotations of Henri Massis, but there is no doubt he has not exaggerated the influence in recent French literature of the magic of Anatole France's words.

STODDARD DEWEY

Paris, France

What the War Did

WAY OF REVELATION. *A Novel of Five Years.* By Wilfrid Ewart. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

THE LONELY WARRIOR. By Claude C. Washburn. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.

THESE stories both have, as it were, the same heart-line. In both instances the "love-interest" concerns a youth who goes to the war engaged to the wrong girl, a girl of the lady-vamp type, and returns to marry, after suitable maneuvering, the right girl, who in both cases is the widow of his dearest friend; death having previously removed the siren from our scene. This is mere coincidence. The books have nothing else in common; except that in both of them the war has a more important part than as the kind of fulcrum or runway or knot-cutter for the plot which has become almost its accepted rôle in recent fiction. Their attitudes toward the war-experience and its fruits, especially its influence of character, are indeed totally different. Mr. Ewart's is the more conventional mood, at least among novelists. His Adrian is an aristocrat, an accomplished young London trifle. Roused by the call of patriotism, he goes early to the war and "sees it through"; learning something to his advantage on the way, and coming out, on the whole, much the better for his trouble. The war has "made a man of him," though he has passed through terrible and disillusioning experiences, without making a hero of himself under any official label.

Stacey, Mr. Washburn's "lonely warrior," is the battered side of the coin. He does not need the call of patriotism to send him to war. The outrage of Belgium calls him, and he cannot endure neutrality for himself even for a time. By nature he is emotionally responsive to the summons of a great cause. He enlists with ardor in the English army. Five years later he returns to America, to his midland city, a captain, a D. S. O. and D. S. C.; and a thoroughly disillusioned and embittered human being. All the war part of the action is disposed of in the brief prologue. The story proper has to do with Stacey's painful and partial "comeback." In short, we have in these two novels the two prevalent views of the war and its effect on the individual warrior: that, on the whole, it was a good war and good for him; and that it was an inexcusable war and made a mess of him. Since there is no such person as *the* individual warrior, both views may be said to be equally partial and equally senti-

mental. This war, like all wars, was good in some ways and bad in others. It "made men of" a considerable number of good-for-nothings, or good-for-nothing-in-particulars, and made God-forsaken pessimists of a considerable number of sentimentalists and dreamers. It is pleasanter to dwell on the spectacle of the made men than on that of the unmade rainbow-chasers. But it is salutary to have the case for the minority put as vigorously as Mr. Washburn puts it in "The Lonely Warrior." I wish he could have permitted, or even contrived for, his Stacey a more satisfying cure. Stacey returns to his country, his family, his job, his girl, without the faintest interest in any of them. Every instinct of his sensitive and emotional nature has been outraged by the fact of war. He has taken refuge in a cold apathy, which he guards jealously as his only safe asylum from the nightmare of life. But it is an apathy which cannot be made to embrace the past; and his fury against the past, especially against the fact and methods of war, is a secret pre-occupation and obsession. He has moods in which he could willingly destroy a world capable of permitting a war to destroy his faith in human nature! That is what it really comes to: he is furious at the destruction of his spiritual and mental comfort. He cried out in the name of idealism when it is the war's ruthless exposure of his sentimentalism that he profoundly (that is, to the depths of his nature) deplores and resents.

This is not a type or a mood that we can dismiss with contempt; but let us recognize it for what it is. It is the sentimentalism which leads us, as a nation, to be always hitching our wagon to some grand phrase, and to be always cursing society or our neighbors when it turns out to be nothing but a phrase. Stacey can't take his medicine. That is sadly like the rest of us. But surely the Stacey of a story might be permitted to make some better demonstration of his supposed cure than a ridiculous gesture of blackmail? We think well enough of Stacey, feel enough implicated in him, to deprecate the relatively feeble and inconclusive ending of a story which contains so much that is good in conception and detail.

"The Way of Revelation," we have said, presents the more familiar picture of the man who finds himself through, or by way of, his experience in the war. The book has a somewhat belated character, or effect, because perhaps half the book is taken up with actual life at "the front"; with squalid or bloody scenes in the trenches and among the barbed-wire and corpses of No-Man's Land. It really is an old story for us now, and there seems to be no new way of putting it; though it may yet be summed up and sublimated in some single work of genius. This is not a work of genius, and therefore Parts 2 and 3 might be greatly condensed or even cut out without great loss to the tale. H. W. BOYNTON

A Daughter of the Middle Border

A DAUGHTER OF THE MIDDLE BORDER. By Hamlin Garland. New York: The Macmillan Company.

TO apply the method of imaginative realism to the materials of autobiography is a feat which the world always honors with remembrance. Montaigne and Pepys, Rousseau and Cellini and Boswell, are immortal because they applied to the process of self-interpretation all the skill and all the disinterestedness which most men can employ only upon objects outside themselves. Our earliest American classic is Franklin's Autobiography; and our latest decade may well be marked in history as having produced "The Education of Henry Adams" and Hamlin Garland's two autobiographical narratives.

They are really parts of one narrative. "A Son of the Middle Border" told the story of the Garlands and McClintocks, inveterate pioneers, through "the period of prairie conquest" of the mid-nineteenth century, up to the borders of our own time. The earlier narrative ended at the moment when Hamlin Garland brought back his aging parents to the little village of Salem, Wis., from which they had started on their westward migration many years before. The writing son, somewhat to the bewilderment of his elders, thus achieved for them a security which their own heart-breaking toil had failed to win. Hamlin Garland senior was, I say, an inveterate pioneer, the type of the father in "Maria Chapdelaine"; a man whose function and irresistible instinct is for breaking new soil, clearing virgin forests, stepping forward first on the unknown trail. He is a somewhat pathetic figure in Salem, Wis., and for some time clings to his latest prairie farm far to westward, tries to farm it at long distance, and scorns the little garden patch that his son finds interest in. But it is really on his mother's account that the son has by main force brought about her return from ranch life to village life. Mr. Garland has, it seems, an almost morbid rancor against the physical hardships of farm life. He cannot forgive a mode of living which entails the endless hours of labor, the total lack of luxuries and "conveniences," the isolation and monotony of the life he recalls on the prairie farms of youthful experience. He sees his father as a hapless devotee, his mother as an innocent and only half-willing victim on the altar of that strange religion. He resents the memory of his own early toil—the cows milked, the acres plowed, the unpleasant sights and smells of the barnyard. Yet he has a glowing and eloquent memory of the morning beauty of the prairies, the perfumes and the bird notes and the sky-colors with which the rigors of labor were at least mitigated. He is the son of a pioneer, able to admire and exalt the pioneer spirit, but himself happier in the most crowd-



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ed nook of the biggest city, than in open country anywhere.

The strangeness of this contrast and even conflict in temperament or character is the most striking impression I carry away from the linked narratives. This interpreter of the pioneer spirit has never been at ease anywhere but in New York City. He has never been able to work happily except in a crowded place, and in contact with people of his own trade and interests. All his life he has moved by preference among clubs and cliques of artists, chiefly "authors," like himself. West Salem, Wis., was a good place to settle down in—for the old people. He always returned to it while they were alive, with interest and pleasure. For a time, while his children were young, he even succeeded in living there. He likes to use the word homestead of it. But he was never really at home there; he never attempted, as he confesses, to mingle on free and equal terms with his fellow-villagers. He was frankly glad to get away to Chicago; and gladder, at last, to get away to New York, and to stay there in his seventh-story flat—his home.

Yet his middle years, as "A Daughter of the Middle Border" shows, were largely given to adventure, often hard physical adventure—to the Klondyke in the gold rush, or on remote Indian trails in the Western mountain country. Mr. Garland remarks somewhere in this narrative that people were in the habit of asking him why he didn't write more "Main-Travelled Roads." The reason, he says, is that he had said his say; that the midland farms of his early observation supplied only limited material for his imagination. In "Main-Travelled Roads" and "Rose of Dutcher's Coolly" he had shot his bolt—so far as that target was concerned. The prairie had spoken his word to him; thereafter it was the farther west of range and trail and mining-camp which aroused his fancy. Aroused, but I, for one, feel, never quite inspired. "The Captain of the Gray Horse Troop," and "Her Mountain Lover," and the rest of his later novels are good stories well told. But none of them touches the plane of imaginative realism where lie the prairie roads and coulees of the writer's youth.

But "A Daughter of the Middle Border," like its predecessor, does lie on or near that plane. It is a narrative of absolute sincerity, of a candor sometimes disconcerting: the reader feels, "Why, he oughtn't to have told me that!" or "What need of admitting this?" Mr. Garland is literally justified in saying in his foreword: "The tale is as true as my memory will permit—it is constructed only by leaving things out." Its charm and its abiding merit lie in the fact that the things it leaves in, the intimate confidences, the childlike admissions, the unaffected egotism, the records of domestic experience, of enthusiasms, and friendships, and infelicities—are the price-less ingredients of autobiography.

H. W. BOYNTON

Spring Books

THE American publishers offer long lists of attractive books for spring publication. Many of the titles announced have already appeared, and the others will follow during the next six or eight weeks. It is possible to name here only a few representative titles. Some of the specially interesting announcements which we have seen (or in some instances, the books themselves) are the following:

Among the novels and books of short stories are: J. C. Snaith's "The Van Roon," Edith Wharton's "Glimpses of the Moon," both published by D. Appleton & Co.; the Japanese story called "Kimono," by John Paris, and Waldo Frank's "Rahab," from Boni & Liveright; "The Bridge," by M. L. C. Pickthall, from the Century Co.; "Midnight," by Octavius Ray Cohen, published by Dodd, Mead & Co.

Arnold Bennett's new novel is called "Mr. Prohack," and it comes from the George H. Doran Co., as does E. F. Benson's "Peter," Irvin S. Cobb's "J. Poindexter, Colored," and George A. Birmingham's "Lady Bountiful." On Doubleday, Page & Co.'s list are "Gentle Julia," by Booth Tarkington; "Merton of the Movies," by Harry Leon Wilson; "Where the Blue Begins," by Christopher Morley, and "The Command," by William McFee. Richard Washburn Child's new novel, "The Hands of Nara," is published by E. P. Dutton & Co., who also announce "The Red House Mystery," a detective story by A. A. Milne; "One Man's View," by Leonard Merrick, and "His Serene Highness," by H. C. Bailey.

Two new novels published by Harcourt, Brace & Co. are "The Lonely Warrior," by Claude Washburn, and "The Road," by Elias Tobenkin. Margaret Deland's "The Vehement Flame," is published by Harper & Brothers, together with Zane Grey's "To the Last Man," and Rupert Hughes's "Souls for Sale." After a long silence Henry Sydnor Harrison, the author of "Queed," has written "Saint Teresa," published by Houghton Mifflin & Co. From the same house come Anne Douglas Sedgwick's "Adrienne Toner," and Eugene M. Rhodes's "Copper Streak Trails." Among the fiction titles announced by Alfred A. Knopf are J. S. Fletcher's "Scarhaven Keep," Edwin Björkman's "The Soul of a Child," and John V. A. Weaver's "Margery Wins the Game." The new novel of E. Phillips Oppenheim, "The Great Prince Shan," is published by Little, Brown & Co., who will also bring out Mary Johnston's "Silver Cross." Four notable novels to be published by the Macmillan Co. are "The Secret Places of the Heart," by H. G. Wells; "Children of the Market Place," by Edgar Lee Masters; "The Veneerings," by Sir Harry Johnston, and "The House of Rimmon," by Mary S. Watts.

Harold Begbie is the author of "The Ways of Laughter," published by G. P. Putnam & Sons. The same firm will publish William Caine's "Mendoza and

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a Little Lady." Mr. Caine will be remembered as the author of some remarkably interesting and humorous novels of English life. On the list of new books from Charles Scribner's Sons are James B. Connolly's "Tide Rips," Scott Fitzgerald's "The Beautiful and Damned," and Meredith Nicholson's "Stories." Thomas Seltzer announces for publication a new novel by D. H. Lawrence, "Aaron's Rod," and a humorous novel by Hamilton Fyfe called "The Widow's Cruse." Marie Van Vorst has written "The Queen of Karmania," to be published by Small, Maynard & Co. Other titles on their fiction list are Edgar Wallace's "The Angel of Terror," and one of Edward J. O'Brien's popular and excellent collections, "The Best Short Stories of 1921." Frances Hodgson Burnett's new novel, "The Head of the House of Coombe," is published by Frederick A. Stokes Co., and so is Gertrude Atherton's "Sleeping Fires."

In classes other than fiction, there are Stephen Graham's "Europe—Whither Bound?" and Margaret Munsterberg's life of her father, Hugo Munsterberg, both published by Appleton. Boni & Liveright offer Ludwig Lewisohn's autobiography, "Up Stream," and Clare Sheridan's "My American Diary" among other interesting titles. Brentano's publish Margaret Sanger's "The Pivot of Civilization," and Walter Lehman's "Mexican Art." A Mark Twain item is to be published by Nicholas L. Brown: "Abroad with Mark Twain and Eugene Field," by Henry W. Fisher.

E. L. Bouvier's "The Psychic Life of Insects" comes from the Century Co., with ex-Governor Harrison's "My Seven Years in the Philippines," and W. F. Alder's story of cannibal isles: "The Isle of Vanishing Men." The long-awaited book by G. K. Chesterton about his visit to this country is "American Impressions," published by Dodd, Mead & Co. The non-fiction in George H. Doran's list includes Lord Rosebery's "Miscellanies," Benjamin Kidd's "A Philosopher with Nature," Havelock Ellis's "Little Essays of Love and Virtue," and General Ian Hamilton's "The Soul and Body of an Army." From Doubleday, Page & Co. come Henry Ford's "Annals of a Working Life," Don Marquis's "Sonnets to a Red Haired Lady," and John Burroughs's "My Boyhood."

A provoking title among the books published by E. P. Dutton & Co. is "Moonlight Schools," by Cora W. Stewart. The same firm publish Elisha Friedman's "International Finance," and, as a lighter relief, Houdini's "Paper Tricks."

Harcourt, Brace & Co. have published John Maynard Keynes's "A Revision of the Treaty," and announce Walter Lippmann's "Public Opinion," and Carl Sandburg's "Slabs of the Sunburnt West." Harper & Brothers have, among a dozen or more interesting titles, "My Trip Abroad," by Charlie Chaplin; "The Latest Thing," a book of essays by Alexander Black, and

"Working with the Working Woman," by Cornelia Stratton Parker. A biography of William De Morgan and his wife, by A. M. W. Stirling, comes from Henry Holt & Co., with Walter de la Mare's book of poems, "The Veil." A life of E. H. Harriman by George Kennan, Ernest W. Longfellow's "Random Memories," Charles S. Sargent's "Manual of Trees," and Richardson Wright's "My House and Garden," are among the books on the list of the Houghton Mifflin Co.

Alfred A. Knopf offers Bohun Lynch's critical work, "Max Beer-bohm in Perspective," Hilaire Belloc's hilarious "Cautionary Tales for Bad Children," W. H. Hudson's "Afoot in England," Paul Gsell's "The Opinions of Anatole France," and Bert Leston Taylor's "The So-Called Human Race." Several legal works come from Little, Brown & Co.—Charles Wane's "The Supreme Court in United States History," T. J. Norton's "The Constitution of the United States," and Charles C. Hyde's "International Law."

James Bryce's "International Relations" is one of the important titles in the Macmillan Co.'s list; there are also Laurence Binyon's "Selected Poems," Ida M. Tarbell's "Peacemakers—Blessed and Otherwise," and Carl Van Doren's "Contemporary American Novelists." A play by Lord Dunsany, "If," is one of the new books from G. P. Putnam's Sons. Also from them comes "Painted Windows," by "A Gentleman with a Duster."

Chauncey M. Depew's "My Memories of Eighty Years," is one of the important biographical works to appear from Charles Scribner's Sons; there is also a life of Donald G. Mitchell by Waldo Dunn, and one of George Westinghouse by H. G. Prout. "Success," by Lord Beaverbrook, is from Small, Maynard & Co., with "The Modern Ku Klux Klan," by Henry P. Fry—a timely book. Alfred Noyes's "Watchers of the Sky" is announced by Frederick A. Stokes Co., with the third and fourth volumes of "Mr. Punch's History of Modern England." The Yale University Press announces a book by Chief Justice Taft, "Liberty Under Law"; another of theirs is "Poems from the Yale Record."

Random Book Notes

Charles Hitchcock Sherrill has been talking with the public men of all the leading countries, with the cabinet ministers of Japan, with Mr. Lloyd George, with Herr Stinnes of Germany, and with the statesmen of Eastern Europe. He describes his impressions in "Prime Ministers and Presidents" (Doran, \$2.50).

Three studies of Dante, published in commemoration of the 600th anniversary of his death, are contained in Jefferson B. Fletcher's "Symbolism of the Divine Comedy" (Columbia University Press).

Dr. Frank Haigh Dixon has written "Railroads and Government" (Scrib-



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ners, \$2.25). It is a study of relations between government and railroads in the United States from 1910 to 1921. He takes up the period of Federal regulation up to 1916, then the period of the war and finally the return to private operation.

A general study of government is given in Westel W. Willoughby and Lindsay Rogers's "An Introduction to the Problem of Government" (Doubleday).

Dr. Hutton Webster, professor in the University of Nebraska, has written a text-book on the history of mankind from the prehistoric period to the end of the World War. It is called "World History" (Heath).

The use of pageants in teaching sacred stories is described in "Pageantry and Dramatics in Religious Education" (Abingdon Press) by William V. Meredith.

John Roscoe Turner is the author of "The Ricardian Rent Theory in Early American Economics" (New York University Press).

A readable work on psychology has been prepared by Dr. Robert S. Woodworth, Professor of Psychology in Columbia University, with the title "Psychology; a Study of Mental Life" (Holt).

Gilbert Murray's "Tradition and Progress" (Houghton Mifflin, \$3.00) contains his "Religio Grammatici," his "Aristophanes and the War Party" and other essays or addresses on the classics, or on other literary topics.

Stuart P. Sherman has edited "Essays and Poems of Emerson" (Harcourt) with over twenty of the essays, and the chief poems.

The first of a series called the Social Welfare Library is Edward T. Devine's "Social Work" (Macmillan, \$3.00) for use in the class room and for the general reader.

Clemence Dane's play about Shakespeare has already been produced in London. The title is "Will Shakespeare; an Invention in Four Acts" (Macmillan, \$1.75).

A text-book in civics is Howard Copeland Hill's "Community Life and Civic Problems" (Ginn, \$1.40). It is a thoroughly modern type of text-book with good illustrations.

A handsome edition of Rostand's plays, in English translation, is "Plays of Edmond Rostand" (Macmillan, \$10.50) in two volumes. The English version is by Henderson Daingerfield Norman. There are two volumes, with the following plays: Volume I, "Romantics," "The Princess Far Away," "The Woman of Samaria," "Cyrano de Bergerac"; Volume II, "The Eaglet," "Chanticleer."

The second volume is at hand of William H. Spencer's "Law and Business" (University of Chicago Press, \$4.50). This volume deals with law and the market, and law and finance.

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II

TWO strong forces, neither organized into a unity, now antagonize each other in the United States. To one force belong those people who believe that men should be free to choose between right and wrong; to the other those who think that they can bring about righteousness through the passage of prohibitive laws.

Without question the most far-sweeping sudden change in the United States since Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and the close of the Civil War was the passage of the Constitutional Amendment that brought about national prohibition of the manufacture, sale or transportation of alcoholic drinks. In several States there are laws against the sale and even of the smoking of cigarettes. Certain earnest people have proposed to prohibit tobacco altogether. Throughout the country countless prohibitive laws aim to make man a right-living being.

Against these laws rises the clamor of people who love the things that are prohibited, or who wish to make money through their sale and distribution. Numbered with such people are some who are frank in saying that all men should be permitted to open gambling establishments, to manage public betting on horse races, to conduct public liquor saloons, and to carry concealed weapons. Numbered with them also are those who believe in absolute and unrestrained freedom of speech, and almost of act.

It is probably true that two different waves of conduct have fallen upon the United States in these days. The result is pictured by the cartoonists who draw, on the one hand, a long, lean, lank, cadaverous, solemn Puritan, with high black hat and heavy glasses, frowning on every pleasure; on the other hand, a drunken thug whose smoking revolver has just shot down an innocent citizen; or a flashily dressed man-beast trampling on women and children in his greed for profit.

There are many in the United States to whom neither type of picture is attractive. Such people do not believe that mere prohibition will make men good, nor that license and liberty are the same thing.

In 1634 young John Milton, twenty-six years old, sat down in the quiet of his beautiful country place at Horton, in England, and wrote a play called "Comus," in which he discussed the two attitudes toward conduct that are now so strongly before the United States; for, in his time, they were before the people of England.

About the middle of the seventeenth century there had developed in Eng-



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land great numbers of people whose belief in right conduct made them abhor the acts of others who lived without restraint. On one side there came to be the Puritans, narrow-minded zealots who closed the theatres and endeavored, as some said, to prohibit all amusement; on the other, the Cavaliers, lovers of wine and drunken debauchery, and intense haters of bigotry.

John Milton belonged with the Puritans, but they must have looked upon him with grave doubts. The extremists would have no music in the church, but Milton wrote: "Let the pealing organ blow, to the full-voiced quire below, in service high and anthems clear." The Puritans frowned on dancing, but Milton wrote: "Come, and trip it, as ye go, on the light fantastic toe," and told of "Many a youth, and many a maid, dancing in the chequered shade." The extremists scowled at revelry, but Milton wrote: "Come, and trip it, as revelry, with mask, and antique pageantry."

Lord Macaulay, in his Essay on Milton, says of Milton: "He was under the influence of all the feelings by which the gallant Cavaliers were misled. But of those feelings he was the master, and not the slave. . . . He tasted the cup of Circe; but he bore about him a sure antidote."

In "Comus" young Milton showed the evils of drink, that cup of Circe that changes men into the "brutish form of wolf or bear, or ounce or tiger, hog or bearded goat." He wrote with contempt of those who "Roll with pleasure in a sensual sty."

In the words of Comus, a foul enchanter who tries to enchain one who is emblematical of any person lost in the wood of this world, Milton gives the arguments of the party of license: "Wherefore did Nature pour her bounties forth! . . . If all the world should, in a pet of temperance, feed on pulse, drink the clear stream, and nothing wear but frieze, the All-giver would be unthanked."

The one who is tempted answers: "Do not charge most innocent Nature, as if she would her children should be riotous with her abundance: she, good cateress, means her provision only to the good, that live according to her sober laws. . . . Swinish gluttony ne'er looks to Heaven amidst his gorgeous feast."

The whole of "Comus" is in favor of laws that are made from within the soul, a protecting power against which evil is weak indeed. The central character of the play cannot escape from the presence of temptation but can resist firmly. As Milton says, in the words of The Elder Brother: "Virtue may be assailed, but never hurt."

The strict Puritan laws passed away; the theatres reopened; drunkenness came back worse than ever. Law, as law, had been hopeless. The sound sense of the English people slowly built up better conduct, and, out of the inner virtue of the race, established both England and the United States. The

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scowling Puritan and the licentious Cavalier alike became unknown. Men of Milton's type, loving pleasure but educated to virtue, ruled from within and not from without, made a strong race. Perhaps, we, too, should look more to education and less to law.

The Bankers Say—

THE rise in prices of farm products is regarded by bankers as an important influence making for better business. It will increase the farmer's purchasing power by bringing the prices he receives more in line with the prices he pays.

The First Wisconsin National Bank, Milwaukee, views the movement as follows: "A further working out of conditions favorable to a growth of business in 1922 has been observable since the first of the year. Prices of grain and livestock are climbing upwards. Agricultural liquidation is nearing its end. The long-time trend is in favor of higher agricultural prices. Output of agricultural products has not gone ahead of the growth of population. Foreign markets, as evidenced by the exports of last year, have been able to absorb a very large part of our surplus and there is no reason to suppose that the same thing will not hold true for this year. The present year's crops can be raised and financed at a cost that should produce a profit and enable farmers to get partly out of debt. Contrary to opinion in some quarters, short crops would not be desirable. With costs of raising crops as low as they are and demand promising well, there will be more money in a normal output."

More detailed facts are given by the *Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City*: "Advances of more than \$2.50 per hundred weight in the price of hogs; strengthening of market values of cattle; sheep and lambs increased in price \$2.75 to \$3.00; cash sales of wheat up 25 cents to 30 cents per bushel; corn and oats up 5 cents to 10 cents per bushel—these are among the developments which are gradually improving the financial condition of the farmers and stockmen and speeding up progress toward general economic adjustment. The increased prices noted, together with prospects of lower freight rates and reduced farm operating costs, are looked upon as helps toward rectifying the disproportionate relations between prices of products of farms and ranges and prices of commodities which farmers and stockmen must buy."

The supply-and-demand background of this movement is described by the *Park-Union Foreign Banking Corporation*, New York, which says: "Some agricultural prices are showing good gains, notably in the case of corn, while the statistical position of wheat is so strong in this country that price rises seem inevitable. Cotton is also strong in its technical position and it now appears that before the next cotton crop becomes available the large

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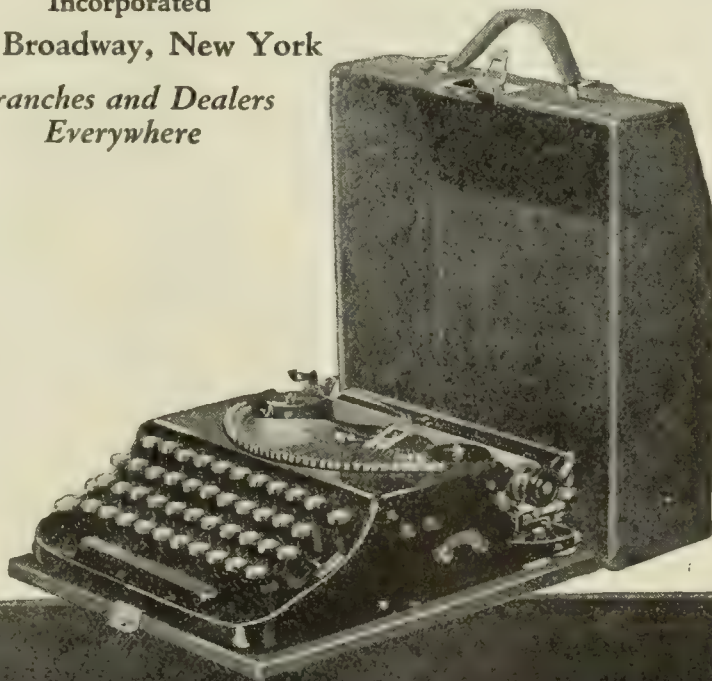
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supply of low-grade cotton that has
been hanging over the market for sev-
eral years probably will have been con-
sumed. Production has been light for
several months, but in the meantime
a certain minimum consumption of
necessities has been going on all over
the world. This is creating a void
that promises activity later. When the
world once believes that normal times
have returned, orders will quickly be
forthcoming from every corner of the
earth. The orders now being booked
by American exporters indicate clearly
that stocks of manufactured goods are
low everywhere and that the present
hand-to-mouth buying policy is more
a matter of exchange difficulties than
of a surplus of goods."

Another New York bank, the *Ameri-
can Exchange National*, sees a good
omen in the movements both of agri-
cultural and of general retail prices.
It says: "The advance in grain prices
promises, through the incidental in-
crease in farmer purchasing power, to
sustain the forward movement in gen-
eral business. The increased demand
for corn for export and the takings of
oats and other small grains were quite
as significant as the demand for wheat.
Cattle prices also improved, and near
the end of the month the trend toward
restoring farm product prices to an
equilibrium with other prices was un-
mistakable. Furthermore, retail prices
decreased five per cent. in January as
compared with December. This mov-
ing together of prices from opposite
extremes forms a new basis for in-
creased confidence in the immediate
future."

The First National Bank of Boston
fails to discover altogether satisfactory
trade conditions as an accompaniment
of the rising price of wool. It at-
tributes the advance in wool prices to
the tariff. It says: "A further sharp
rise in the price of wool, amounting to
15 to 20 per cent. generally, has oc-
curred in the domestic seaboard mar-
kets during the past month. This
sharp appreciation, of course, may be
attributed almost entirely to the
Emergency Tariff, operating in con-
junction with a strong and steady de-
mand for wool. Typical of the price
situation may be noted the top bid at
the sealed bid sale of the Jericho, Utah,
pool, when 36½ cents was bid, com-
pared with 16½ cents as the top bid
at the sale last year. All bids were
rejected, the growers holding for more
money. Wool merchants evidently are
counting on a high tariff to protect
them against these high prices, and the
wool growers undoubtedly believe that
the farm bloc in Congress will be able
to pass a scoured-content duty at 30 to
33 cents per pound. However, the de-
mand for staple heavy-weight goods is
not especially satisfactory and leading
wholesale clothiers declare that their
business is very unsatisfactory, spring
trade amounting to only about 50 per
cent. of normal. Meanwhile the head
of the American Woolen Company de-
clares that there will be no reduction
in wages in his mills. Thus the two

extremes of the wool and wool manufacturing industry present unusually sharp contrasts."

The solid basis for some time to come for a tremendous world demand for American grain crops is thus pictured by the *Wheeling Bank and Trust Company*, Wheeling, West Virginia: "There can be no question about enduring demand for the products of our farms. Europe is far from able to provide her own cereals. Germany, according to official estimates, must import 2,000,000 tons of grain before the next harvest, while Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Italy and France must also buy largely here. The United Kingdom, the Scandinavian countries, and Switzerland have always been good customers and must continue so. Of all the European lands only Roumania, Hungary and Poland have cereal surpluses for export, but their totals—some 450,000 tons—can play but little part in the international grain trade. Until Russia again becomes a producing exporter, Europe must lean largely on the United States and Canada."

In Canada a similar enhancement of wheat values is especially noted by the *Royal Bank of Canada*, Montreal, which refers to the benefit accruing to those still holding wheat from market. The bank says: "Since December, wheat in Canada has had a 22 per cent. increase in value. Although this improvement in price came too late to affect a large percentage of the western crop, yet it raises the value of a moderately large amount of wheat still held unsold by the farmers, and, to this extent, assists them in coming out of a bad year. Unfavorable reports in regard to the coming winter wheat crop of the United States, coupled with a good demand for wheat from abroad, have been the main factors behind the rise. So far as the grain market is concerned, the continued strength of sterling and other European currencies in New York and Montreal is highly advantageous. The quantity of wheat in farmers' hands, and still to be marketed, is always a debatable point. Allowing for a reduction in the government's estimate and for seed requirements and for unmarketable wheat, there must be in the neighborhood of fifty million bushels in the West still to be delivered. It is the holders of this wheat who will be benefited by the rise in prices."

Remarkable Remarks

MARY GARDEN—I love Chicago.
GEO. M. COHAN—Theatre ticket speculation is just a form of highway robbery.
ED HOWE—After a man has been in Congress, he rarely goes back to real work.
W. J. BRYAN—The Wall Street "bloc" is just as powerful in this Congress as it ever was.
PROF. FREDERICK STARR—There are no beautiful women in the U. S., but in Africa. Ah!
SENATOR LODGE—You cannot have an agreement in the Conference unless the Conference agrees.

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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. Must American Literature Defy Its Traditions?

1. What traditions of American literature were established in the past? What is your opinion of the value of these traditions?
2. What distinctive tendencies are notable in present-day American literature?
3. Explain why it is natural that American literature should be widely different from English literature.
4. Explain what is meant by a "Euramerican" tendency in American literature. Name some of the representatives of the "Euramerican" type of writing. Tell something about the books of any of the writers whom you name.
5. Explain how foreign influences have usually affected national literatures. In what different way does foreign influence seem to be affecting American literature?
6. The writer says that most of the short stories published in American monthlies are not "vital literature." What is "vital literature"?
7. In what respects are the works of the following American writers "vital"? Hawthorne, Irving, Whittier, Bryant, Longfellow, Holmes, Poe, Whitman.
8. What type of book does the article lead you to believe unworthy?
9. What type of book does the article lead you to believe permanent in value?
10. What is the relation between good literature and permanence of national life?

II. The Volstead Act and Milton's "Comus."

1. What antagonistic forces now exist in the United States? Explain how these forces are represented in Milton's "Comus."
2. In what respects was Milton an adherent of the Puritan party? In what respects was he like the Cavaliers?
3. Explain the allegory of "Comus."
4. What solutions of present-day problems does "Comus" suggest?
5. What characteristics of Milton are worthy of imitation?
6. Explain, in detail, the quotations from Milton's poems.

III. New Books and Old. Book Reviews.

1. Read aloud the poem called "Denny's Daughter." Tell the story that the poem suggests.
2. What spirit animates the poem?
3. Point out the various elements that give beauty to the poem.
4. A recent book is called "The Laureateship." Explain the term "Poet Laureate." Who is the present Poet Laureate? Who were his immediate predecessors? Name other famous poets laureate. What was the origin of the office of Poet Laureate? Consult any encyclopedia for information.
5. What two types of humorists does Gamaliel Bradford point out? What characterizes the humor of Molière, Ben Jonson, and Swift? What characterizes the humor of Cervantes, Shakespeare, and Lamb?
6. What is the Nobel Prize in literature?
7. What reasons led to the giving of the Nobel Prize to Anatole France?
8. Make a list of the great French writers who are named in the article. Tell something in detail concerning the literary work of any one writer.
9. What does the article on "The Magic of French Words" say are the characteristics that make literature great?
10. What kinds of literary work has Hamlin Garland produced? Name some of his best books. Read one of Hamlin Garland's short stories, and then write a review of that story.
11. Explain what is meant by "applying the method of imaginative realism to the materials of autobiography."
12. Name the autobiographical works that were produced by Montaigne, Pepys, Rousseau, Cellini, and Boswell. Tell something in detail concerning any one work.
13. From "Spring Books" make a list of books that you would enjoy reading. Give a talk in which you present your list, and explain your reasons for the selections.

IV. Lone Wolf.

1. Write a highly suggestive description of one of Lone Wolf's paintings.
2. Write a composition in which you compare or contrast Lone Wolf with Uncas, "The Last of the Mohicans."

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. The British Empire, The Uneasy Crown of Empire.

1. Can you substantiate the statement that "There is a certain resemblance between the shows now playing in Limerick and in Fiume"?
2. What is the difference between a "general election" and a "bye-election" in England? What determines when a general election shall be held? What is the difference between a general election in England and a Presidential election in the United States? What takes the place of bye-elections in the United States?
3. Review the steps by which England has acquired rule in India. What were the forces that have led to English control?
4. Show how English rule has been threatened before.
5. What were the concessions which the editor considers were "mistakenly made to maudlin sentimentalism"?
6. Keep a summary of the results of the Indian situation as they appear.

II. The Economic Outlook in Germany.

1. Summarize the effect of the war upon the economic life of Germany.
2. Show how pre-war "German industry was built on coal and iron."
3. How is "German work" an element in economic recovery?
4. (a) Make a careful outline of "German system." (b) Show how "the coördination of industrial production as a whole or of different kinds of industries, especially in the field of international competition, was left to Government agencies" in pre-war days. (c) Show how that affected German foreign policy.
5. Describe the completed organization of the economic order culminating in the Economic Council of the Empire. How far can you trace the growth of Shop Councils in Germany, England, and America? What are their advantages?

III. Alaska.

1. Explain how we acquired Alaska.
2. In what ways has it already contributed to our wealth? Show how its purchase was a good bargain.
3. What was the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy? How was it related to the present situation?
4. Argue the question whether Alaska should be "developed" or conserved for future generations.
5. If it is developed, what should be the chief features of the policy of the Government?
6. What has the Government done to "reclaim" land in the United States and what is still possible in that direction?

IV. Lone Wolf.

1. What distinctively Indian traits do you see illustrated in Lone Wolf?
2. What have been the contributions of the Indian to American life?
3. If you are interested in Indian folk-lore look up the collections of legends of the Blackfeet.

V. "Trusts" and the Government.

1. Explain the origin of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.
2. Describe the most important applications of the law.
3. Can you give any examples of legal exemption from the prohibitions of that law?
4. In how far do you think it has solved our problem of combinations in industry?

VI. What Next in France?

1. Summarize the political situation in France.
2. Explain "the nature of the blocs" in the French Chamber. Describe the organization and customs of the French Chamber which bear upon the stability of a ministry.
3. What does it mean by "a recurrence of Caillottisme"?

VII. Fiume.

1. Review the history of the question of Fiume in relation to (a) the Paris Conference and the Treaty of Versailles, (b) the Treaty of Rapallo.

VIII. The Bankers Say.

1. Explain how the position of the farmer is improving.
2. Show how other trends affect (a) the manufacturer, (b) the consumer.

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

March 25, 1922



Rights and Wrongs of Speculation

By Thomas F. Woodlock

AT a time when unusual interest is directed to the question of stock speculation and its control, the appearance of a book dealing comprehensively with the subject is peculiarly welcome. Mr. Meeker's book,* "The Work of the Stock Exchange," is, at one and the same time, a scientific and readable description of the machinery of the New York Stock Exchange and a frank argument for the thesis that, if a "free and open" market for securities is a necessary part of the country's financial structure, the Stock Exchange, as at present constituted and governed, furnishes the best way in which to get it. An attentive reader of the book will have before him all the information he needs for an intelligent judgment on the question whether it is better to have the Stock Exchange as it is or to subject it to "regulation" by means of "incorporation." The reader who starts without prejudice in the matter will conclude that Mr. Meeker has made good his case.

When hard times are with us there is always a disposition to blame the economic and financial machinery of the country for the troubles of the day. The New York Stock Exchange has always had to stand a full share of the bombardment in such times, and there is a special reason in its case. The vast majority of people who speculate in securities lose their money. For this loss they have mainly their own cupidity and their own ignorance to blame, but there is no solace for one's pride in recognition of this plain fact; it is a pleasanter thought to suppose that the "cards have been marked" against one! Hence the peculiar bitterness of attacks on the Exchange, and the popularity of the "incorporation" idea whenever it bobs up in the discussion.

The case for the New York Stock Exchange rests upon the fundamental assumption that a "free and open" market for securities is a necessary part of our whole financial structure. If this assumption is true, it follows that whatever is necessary to a "free and open" market is necessary to the structure as a whole. What can be used can be abused. If there are abuses of a "free and open" market for securities which cannot be removed without injury to the "freedom" or "openness" of the market, then, according to the assumption, such abuses must be tolerated in so far as they are otherwise unavoidable. What is meant by a "free and open" market?

"By a 'free' market," Mr. Meeker says, "the Stock Exchange members and officials mean one which is not domi-

nated by any single man or any single group or class of men in defiance of the law of supply and demand" (p. 378). "By an 'open' market," he says, "is meant one which is maintained, not for any limited or chosen few, but for any honest investor and speculator in the country—a market, too, where all trades are made in the open and out loud and not by secret negotiations and whispered agreements" (p. 379). This is the ideal for which, according to Mr. Meeker, the New York Stock Exchange strives and has striven.

Now it is important to note that the concept of a "free and open" market necessarily includes certain things and as necessarily excludes others. In the first place it necessarily includes "speculation"—which means "short selling" as well as "margin purchases." Some people consider "short selling" economically and morally justifiable; others regard it as an "abuse" under both heads; the fact is that it is an unavoidable accompaniment of "speculation" and that it cannot be excluded without prejudice to the "freedom" of the market. In the second place, a "free and open" market is always liable to "manipulation" through "matched orders" placed with brokers who know nothing of the "matching" that is being done by their principal. Here again there is no practicable way completely to exclude the "abuse" without destroying the "use." In the third place, a "free and open" market must necessarily be available to "pool" operations (so-called) by "insiders" (so-called) and subject to occasional or partial "domination" by these, if they are sufficiently powerful;—the market would be neither "free" nor "open" if it were not. On the other hand, a "free and open" market must exclude fictitious transactions (known as "wash-sales"), and it must protect the integrity of its quotations. These are not mere "abuses"; they are destructive of the market itself and cannot be admitted, no matter what may be involved in their exclusion.

It has been and is the policy of the Governing Committee of the Stock Exchange (according to Mr. Meeker's book) to use the powers that it has to limit, so far as possible, the abuse of the market by any of the means mentioned. Those powers are absolute, so far as actions of members as members are concerned. The Committee can suspend or expel any member who—though he may have violated no specific rule or order—is guilty of "any conduct or proceeding not consistent with just and equitable principles of trade" or of any act "which may be determined by said Committee to be detrimental to the interest or welfare of the Ex-

**The Work of the Stock Exchange.* By J. Edward Meeker, Economist to the New York Stock Exchange. New York: The Ronald Press.

change." From its decision there is no appeal within the Exchange, and all appeals made thus far from the Exchange to the law have been unsuccessful. The Committee has been invariably sustained by the courts. It is possible to argue that powers of this sort are too "despotic" to be placed in the hands of private individuals, or that they have been exercised too freely and arbitrarily, or that they have not been exercised enough, but it is not possible to argue that plenary control of this kind is not in itself more conducive to the maintenance of a "free and open" market than would be legislative control through "incorporation."

Some people want to "incorporate" the Stock Exchange because it is a "monopoly" and because it restricts the use of its quotations. Some want to "incorporate" it in order to stop "short selling" and "manipulation." Some want to "incorporate" it because the present system is not "democratic" and because the principle of fixed uniform commissions is "illegal." Some want to "incorporate" it for *all* these reasons—and others equally inconsistent with each other.

It is open to any one to argue that stock speculation is a bad thing and ought to be prevented altogether, and that, as the Exchange does not prevent it, the law should step in and do so by taking control of the Exchange through "incorporation." It is, however, not open to the same person to criticise the Exchange for not making its quotations available to any one who asks for them, regardless of the use to which they are to be put. It is open to any one to argue that "short selling" and "manipulation" should be stopped and that "incorporation" is the way to stop them, but it is not open to the same person to argue that the result will be a more "free and open" or more "stable" market than at present exists. It is open to any one to argue that a fixed and uniform rate of commission is "illegal," but it is not open to the same man to argue that "incorporation" is the proper remedy, for a much quicker and more effective remedy is available already by prosecution under the law. The New York Stock Exchange is completely amenable to the law in this respect;—if it is guilty of an "illegal" practice why not prosecute it?

There is much ignorance behind the demand for "regulation" and "incorporation" of the Stock Exchange, and there is apparently also at least some hypocrisy and humbug. What the majority of people do not seem to understand is that stock speculation is a most difficult art, and one peculiarly dangerous to the unskilled. It is difficult, because the principles of successful speculation are ultimately based on the assumption that most people will continue to make

the same mistakes over and over again in the same way. It is peculiarly dangerous because the greatest enemies the stock speculator has to fear are his own cupidity, his own fears, and his own ignorance. These—and not "bear raids" or "insiders' manipulations" or "marked cards" or any other of the bogies commonly named in the rhetoric of the subject—are the main real causes of loss to those who go down to Wall Street looking for "something for nothing." There is probably no security market in the world where more care is exercised as to the securities admitted to dealings, where more safeguards are thrown around the integrity of prices quoted, or where greater pains are taken to keep the market "free and open" than is the case with the New York Stock Exchange. If the Stock Exchange is justly open to criticism it is not because it fails in these matters.

But this is not the whole story. The arguments by which stock speculation is commonly justified as a necessary factor in our economic life usually leave untouched an essential element in the matter. Speculation which is ignorantly conducted—and therefore invariably unsuccessful if continued—cannot be justified on the ground that it has economic value, for it has none. Whoever has had experience in the district commonly known as "Wall Street" knows well that a very considerable part of the speculation which takes place in securities through the New York Stock Exchange is speculation of this kind. The moral results therefrom are almost invariably bad. There can be very few stock brokers indeed whose experience will not justify these statements. The real problem that confronts the authorities of the New York Stock Exchange is to prevent their members as far as possible from stimulating this kind of speculation by encouraging people to speculate who are not morally competent to do so. The Stock Exchange rules recognize that there are such persons, by providing stringent regulations with regard to the acceptance of speculative accounts for people who are employed in a fiduciary capacity. But these are not by any means the only class of speculators who are morally incompetent to speculate. It is not, moreover, by rules and regulations that the evil of improper stimulation of speculation can be curbed; it is only by the vigorous, intelligent and continuous use of the powers possessed by the Governing Committee and exercised on its behalf by the "Committee on Business Conduct" that effective results can be obtained. It is in this direction more than in any other that the New York Stock Exchange needs reforming. It has the power—and it should evince the will.

This Lucky Age

HOW fortunate we are compared with our forefathers and how little we appreciate our advantages! When they wanted a bit of luck, they had to search the sod over to find a four-leaf clover and then very often they rose from their knees with an ache in the back and no lucky quatrefoil in the hand. But now, thanks to Mendel or Burbank or somebody, the most unfortunate of us can have his plant of four-leaf clover in the pot on the fire-escape and pick a bunch whenever he likes.

On the whole, it is astonishing, when we think of it, how much science and invention have done to improve the lot of us all as compared with that of our unfortunate ancestors. There is the salt-cellar, for instance. It has been a matter of common observation for more than a thousand years that quarrels follow on the spilling of salt on the table. With the open-mouthed salt-cellars formerly in use it was impossible to avoid domestic infelicity even with the greatest care and the deftest handling, for there was always likely to be some awkward guest to upset things. But

modern genius has removed this source of family feuds by the simple precaution of putting a perforated cover on the salt-cellar. How easy and obvious it seems to us now it is done!

It is proverbial that when a bird flies in at the window there will be death in the house within a year. If we should leave the doors and windows open, we must sit in trembling lest at any moment the fatal bird might enter. If we should keep the doors and windows closed all the time, there would certainly be a death within the year. The invention of screened doors and windows has removed another danger from our path and another fear from our hearts. It is a matter of statistics that, since the introduction of screens, excluding birds and other winged creatures such as flies and mosquitoes which seem quite as fatal in their effects, the average length of human life has appreciably increased.

And yet there are people so blind to the obvious advantages of the present as to speak regretfully of the "good old times."

The St. Lawrence Waterway Project

By B. L. Johnstone

IN discussing the pros and cons of the St. Lawrence waterway project, one is confronted at the outset with the difficulty, the very serious difficulty, that its economic practicability depends upon factors that are to a large extent unknown.

Assuming for the sake of argument that the physical practicability of the route had been established, and that there was a sufficient supply of ocean-going shipping at lake ports to handle the exports and imports of the tributary area, it would still be impossible to say with even approximate accuracy what volume of commerce outbound and inbound would be available. The opening of a new and practicable water route means necessarily the diversion of a certain proportion of the existing traffic from the railroads, but the extent of that diversion would depend upon such features of the transportation situation, say ten years hence, as the available rolling stock, terminal facilities, railway rates, ocean rates, transfer charges, and marine insurance. If in 1932, or whatever year it is assumed the waterway would be available, the development of the West had outstripped the railroads, or in other words, there was a shortage of cars and locomotives; and if the terminal facilities at New York and other tidewater points compared unfavorably with those at Chicago and other lake ports; and if transportation rates and charges averaged higher by rail than by water; a very considerable proportion of the traffic now carried by rail or by rail-and-water between Western points and Atlantic coast points and between Western points and overseas points would be diverted to the all-water route.

On the other hand, if the railroads were in 1932 in a position to handle without undue delay and on favorable terms all the traffic offered; and if terminal facilities and charges at ocean ports were such as to ensure prompt handling at reasonable cost; the diversion would be reduced to a minimum, that minimum depending perhaps upon the amount of heavy traffic which the railroads might find it actually advantageous to surrender to the water route.

But apart from the uncertainty as to how much traffic might be diverted from the railroads to the waterway, a still more uncertain factor enters into the problem. If the St. Lawrence route proved practicable, its ultimate success would be measured not in terms of traffic diverted from the railroads, which could be of no real advantage to the United States or Canada as a whole except insofar as it relieved pressure on the railroads, but rather in terms of new traffic, contributed by industries established on both banks of the St. Lawrence because of the combination of cheap power and cheap transportation, or developed because cheaper transportation opened foreign markets to American or Canadian commodities which hitherto had been unable to compete with the products of other countries.

It must be clear, therefore, that a number of unknown factors enter into the St. Lawrence problem, and that as it is impossible to predict the actual bearing of these factors upon a completed waterway, it is equally impossible to predict in terms of tonnage or dollars the success or failure of the undertaking. All that can be done is to bring together the known facts.

This seems to have been what the International Joint Commission attempted in its report to the Governments of the United States and Canada, recently published as a Senate document. It assembled the available facts; secured the views of a large number of representative men, with practical experience and special knowledge of various aspects of the problem; and on these data based its judg-

ment as to the practicability of the scheme. Suggestions have been made in some quarters that the members of the Commission were biased, or that they had made only a superficial study of the problem entrusted to them. There does not appear to be the slightest basis for either criticism. The Commission consists of six members, three Americans and three Canadians, all men of high standing and wide experience; and their decision was unanimous. As to the charge that their investigation has been superficial, the facts suggest quite a different conclusion. The Commission was engaged in an intensive study of the St. Lawrence question from January, 1920, to December, 1921; it had throughout the advantage of the knowledge and experience of American and Canadian experts in every branch of the subject; it held public hearings in a large number of towns on both sides of the boundary, from New York and Montreal in the East to Calgary, Helena, and Boise in the West, and there is ample evidence in the reports of these hearings that it afforded every one interested, for or against the project, the fullest possible opportunity to submit facts or opinions. At the same time, probably the Commissioners would be the first to disclaim the idea that their judgment, even though it is unanimous, is infallible. Indeed, anyone who studies their report—which, by the way, is accompanied by very voluminous appendices, not yet available in printed form—will be struck by the conservative nature of their conclusions, and the evident recognition that some phases of the problem do not admit of positive answers.

The area which the Commission estimates would be economically tributary to the St. Lawrence waterway includes the States of Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Iowa, North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and portions of New York, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, together with the provinces of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and part of Alberta, altogether some 1,750,000 square miles. This area, it appears, was determined upon the basis of distance from prospective markets, and also upon the basis of present rates and costs. Its population is today about 46,800,000.

It is impracticable to go into the very broad subject of the resources and production of this area, both of which run into very large figures. It may be noted, however, as there is a disposition in the East to regard the Western States as overwhelmingly agricultural, and to assume that nothing but grain would be available for export by way of the St. Lawrence, that twenty-eight important industries are listed, in most of which the proportion falling within the tributary States is well over 50 per cent. of the total production of the country. The International Joint Commission states in its report that a very careful analysis of the economic testimony placed before it leads to the conclusion that "the territory in question not only contributes more than any other area (in the two countries) to foreign exports, but constitutes an important area for imports." It accepts as conservative the estimate filed by Dr. R. S. MacElwee, late director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce at Washington, that the potential tonnage available for the St. Lawrence waterway on both sides of the line, foreign and coastwise, would amount to 24,000,000 tons. Among the principal items of export are wheat and other grains, flour, dairy products, packing-house products, machinery, hardware, automobiles, rubber goods, stoves, and furniture; and among the imports, raw sugar, crude rubber, textiles, fibre, hides, lumber, tropical fruits and spices, groceries, coffee, oils and

pigments, glassware and china, building materials, and fertilizer. These make up the present exports and imports of the tributary area, a material proportion of which would, in the opinion of the Commission, seek the new waterway. The opinion seems to prevail that the east-bound tonnage would exceed the westbound tonnage, but not to such a material extent as to destroy the advantage of the waterway.

As to railroad congestion and terminal conditions, the Commission expresses the view that, while it is physically practicable to bring both railroads and terminals up to the point where they could handle the traffic of the country without serious congestion, the expense involved would be enormous, and "it is perhaps questionable if in the end the relief afforded would be comparable to that promised by the creation of an all-water route from the interior of the continent to the Atlantic seaboard." As to terminal and trans-shipment charges, which in the opinion of many witnesses had become a very serious tax on commerce, the Commission is of the opinion that charges would be materially reduced, and also that the losses incident to trans-shipment avoided, if goods could be shipped through without breaking bulk from lake ports to overseas ports.

In regard to the question of transportation rates, the report says: "While comparisons (of all-rail, rail-and-water and all-water rates) must necessarily be more or less conjectural in the absence of any definite information as to what actual rates would apply on shipments by ocean-going vessels from ports on the Great Lakes to European ports, the Commission is inclined to the view that the St. Lawrence route would afford a material saving in transportation rates over any of the existing routes between points in the territory economically tributary to the St. Lawrence and overseas points."

The Commission goes very fully into the question as to whether or not ocean-going ships could or would use the projected waterway, or, in other words, as to its physical practicability. It notes that the physical obstacles which, in the opinion of opponents of the undertaking, would make the waterway impracticable are its long, restricted, and tortuous channels of insufficient depth, fog and ice conditions, time lost and damage sustained in getting through locks, and the limited navigation season. The Commission expresses the opinion that these physical obstacles would not be sufficient to deter ocean-going ships from coming up into the lakes, and bases its view among other things on the two unquestioned facts that for many years past ocean ships have successfully navigated the St. Lawrence for a distance of approximately 1,000 miles, and that at the same time the big lake freighters have successfully navigated the Great Lakes and their connecting channels. "If," it concludes, "the physical obstacles of the St. Lawrence have not been sufficient to prevent the building up of a great foreign trade to and from Montreal by ocean-going ships, and similar obstacles have not prevented the building up on the Great Lakes of a commerce immensely greater than that through the Suez Canal, carried by vessels many of which now exceed 600 feet in length, it does not seem reasonable to suppose that the same obstacles would prevent ocean-going ships coming up the St. Lawrence into the Great Lakes, given a waterway of sufficient depth."

The report discusses the merits of various alternative routes to the seaboard, and reaches the conclusion that "none of them offers the advantages of the St. Lawrence route, either as a means of relief for the acute transportation situation, or as a channel for the carriage of commodities between the region tributary to the Great Lakes and domestic and foreign seaboard points."

It may be thought that too much weight has been given here to the data assembled and the views expressed thereon by the International Joint Commission. These data

and opinions, however, represent the only authoritative testimony at present available, and cannot reasonably be set aside until in whole or in part they have been proved unsound. At the same time, everyone who has the best interests of the two countries at heart must agree that the proposed St. Lawrence improvement should not be endorsed by either Government until every means has been exhausted of establishing the economic practicability or impracticability of the project.

A Message for Religious Book Week

By Henry Van Dyke

A HOME without a library is poorly furnished. It may be only a small collection of books which are neither rare nor costly—no first editions, no rich bindings, no extra illustrated copies—just a shelf, or even a cupboard full of plain books fit for "human nature's daily food." But by its very presence in the home it speaks of the wondrous power of the written word to bring our hearts and minds into communication with other ages, other lands, and perhaps with those regions which are beyond the horizon of sight and hearing.

But a library without religious books is certainly very imperfect. It has no message and no sustenance for that part of our nature which, however it comes to us, is beyond doubt the most important, because its needs are so vital that to leave them unsatisfied means intellectual and moral starvation.

One reason why some of the younger generation (and quite as many if not more of the older generation) seem to have frivolous, restless, and unsatisfied minds today, is because so many of our modern homes have no real religious books in them. Old volumes of sermons, perhaps, and records of theological disputes and quarrels, may be found in dusty corners of the bookcase or on the top shelves of closets. But these are not what I mean by real religious books. I mean books which in any form—fiction, poem, essay, biography, or autobiography, deal with the inmost and ultimate desires of the human spirit, and with man's natural longing for a better understanding of and a more perfect harmony with the great Source of life and its final goal. Books of this kind are of the deepest interest and of the highest value. Some of them are ancient, and of these it seems to me the Bible is incomparably the best, not

only for its literary excellence in the English version, but also for its indubitable and inexplicable power of inspiration.

But there are also modern books, thoroughly up to date in their knowledge and treatment of the conditions under which we people of today have to live, and entirely frank in their way of facing and meeting our present problems and needs as they change their form almost



from year to year, yet remain always essentially the same. Among the best of these modern books, it seems to me, are "A Labrador Doctor," an Autobiography, by Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell; "What Men Live By," by Dr. Richard C. Cabot; "The Direction of Human Evolution," by Edwin Grant Conklin; "Christ and Life and the Light of the World," by Robert E. Speer. I do not know the names of

the publishers of these books, so you may be sure that they are not mentioned for advertising purposes. I speak of these among many others doubtless of similar quality, only because they seem to me excellent as well as modern. Anyone who will read them will find that they help him not only to defend his liberty to believe, but also to maintain his liberty in believing.



The Life-Line of the A. R. A.

NOT long after the announcement that the American Relief Administration had succeeded in negotiating a food-draft arrangement for Russia, *The Independent*, under the above head, called attention to the possibilities opened up by this for saving the lives of the artists, musicians, writers, scientists, and doctors in Russia, men and women whose work had contributed to our welfare and pleasure and upon whom rested the task of keeping alive the culture of that stricken country. There has been a gratifying response to the appeal, but it is only a beginning and it is to be hoped that the good work will go on with increasing generosity.

The following cables received by the A. R. A. testify eloquently to the grateful appreciation of the recipients of this timely aid and how much it can do to preserve art, science, and religion among a gifted people:

Saratov, January 18, 1922.

Fifty food packages for needy physicians from Rochester Community Chest, have been distributed in Saratov. At Christmas Doctor McElroy arranged an entertainment in Pokrovsk for 3,000 children with a present for each child.

Petrograd,
January 18, 1922

V. V. Nissen, Doctor of Medicine, sent following cable for the committee: "Two thousand doctors of Petrograd, who are at present making brave efforts to struggle against typhus which has taken epidemic form and themselves half starved and living under extremely difficult conditions, wish to express their heartiest gratitude for seventy-five food packages received from the Rochester Community Chest through American Relief Administration to be distributed among their ill and needy colleagues. These packages will be the means of saving the lives of many true and conscientious workers of the profession and for which they utter their most sincere thanks."

Moscow, February 3, 1922

Five hundred dollars was distributed neediest dramatic, ballet, opera artists and students in Petrograd on January 5. The committee, consisting of Gorvin and Krukovsky for drama, Lukom and Guerdt for ballet, Potocka, Espovis, Ugrinevich, Kovalenko, Sharonov, Olshevsky, Tretiakov, and Belianin for opera, sent the following acknowledgment: "To Our Fellow Artists in America. We, who are now living under most difficult conditions, wish to express our heartiest thanks to members of our profession for the magnani-

mous gift, which, coming on the eve of our Christmas, brought much cheer to our homes at a time when circumstances would not permit optimistic outlook."

Moscow, January 5, 1922

L. Tarsevich and P. Diatropov, Professors, University of Moscow Medical School, have sent the following cable: "We, the Moscow Committee appointed by the American Relief Administration to select needy physicians who are to benefit through the generous gift of the Rochester Community Chest, hasten to express to you our heartfelt thanks for this brotherly assistance. This expression of human love on your part will encourage the Russian doctors to go on fulfilling their duties in their native land and to persevere to the end in spite of the dangers and great hardships with hope of success. Best wishes for a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year to the Rochester Community Chest and the American Relief Administration."

Moscow, December 28, 1921

Twenty-five hundred dollars bulk food remittance sent to the Patriarch Tikhon in Moscow by the Russian St. Nicholas Cathedral, 15 East 97th Street, New York City, as delivered to Bishops of Samara, Simbirsk, Saratov, Kazan, Ufa, and Orenburg, for distribution at the request of the Patriarch among the clergy. Patriarch Tikhon cables following: "Request that donors unknown to me be informed my sincere and deep appreciation for their generous gift to the needy clergy."

Simbirsk,


January 23, 1922

On occasion of announcement of \$20,000,000 gift of cereals from America the American Relief Administration office of Simbirsk, received following: "Working population of Simbirsk Gov-


ernment read with great emotion and joy your good news of enormous gift American nation is sending to famine-stricken districts along the Volga River bank. Your greeting of Happy New Year not traditional congratulation but true and realized greeting, bringing to hungry and suffering new happiness indeed. We experienced feeling of great joy reading your great news, which means the saving of tens of thousands of people from suffering and hunger, and we do not find words representative of great American nation—our generous benefactors. We briefly send you our sincere thanks in the good old Russian manner by bowing low to the American nation with heartiest "spasibo" (thank you) from Russian nation. Signed by sincere and thankful parents of children receiving food in American Relief Administration kitchens."



All this delivered in Russia for \$10



EDITORIAL



A Roll of Honor

UNLESS all signs fail, the morning papers of Saturday, March 25, 1922, will convey to all the world tidings of great joy—the announcement that the Four-Power Treaty is an accomplished fact. Although this is not an absolute certainty at this moment of writing, it seems so nearly a certainty as to justify reflections on the great achievement as though it had already been realized.

Among these reflections, the first and foremost concerns the part played by those Democratic Senators who have made it plain, almost from the outset, that they would vote for the ratification of the treaty. To them the country, and the world, owes a debt of gratitude which it is impossible to overstate. They will have a right to cherish the proud remembrance that when upon their yes or no hung the decision whether their country should serve the world or fail it, they were equal to the great occasion.

In saying this, we mean to cast no aspersion upon the Senators who ranged themselves on the other side. Among these there are, indeed, some for whom we have nothing but contempt, but there are others who are unquestionably both able and sincere; one has only to think of Senator Glass among the Democrats and Senator Borah among the Republicans. But a man may be both able and sincere, may vote both intelligently and conscientiously, without fulfilling the demand of a momentous decision of statesmanship. Those who see in the present situation a demand so clear, a call so imperious, that all considerations on the other side seem to them either mistaken or trivial, are guilty of no presumption in judging the conduct of a public man in the light of their conviction—the conviction that defeat of the Treaty would mean utter paralysis for our country in international relations for years to come, while its adoption will be one of the great landmarks in the world's progress. To those who obstruct the great consummation must be awarded blame for want of judgment if not want of high-minded patriotism; to those who, in the face of partisan temptation or prejudice, heartily promote it belongs praise for a memorable public service.

A Conference of Friends, Not a Mass Meeting

IS the Four-Power Treaty an alliance? In the Senate debate most of the advocates of the Treaty said No, most of its opponents, Yes; but on both sides some did the reverse. In this there is nothing that need surprise or disturb; for the deviations from the rule may be set down to a mere difference as to the definition of the word. But there is another question that has more substance in it, which has likewise played a prominent part in the discussion.

If the Treaty is not an alliance, does it accomplish anything at all? Does a mere promise to confer carry with it any practical consequences of real importance? If nothing in the nature of an alliance is implied, is the world not left just about where it was before?

One might possibly be content with replying that a mere promise to confer may prove of essential help in time of trouble. But this would do vastly less than justice to the actual fact. While the Treaty is not an alliance, while it does not carry with it any such obligation as every alliance, however limited, must impose, there is in it an implication of something more than a mere colorless conference. The Treaty is not a happy thought, conjured up on general principles and without reference to any specific condition which it is devised to meet. The reason for a treaty to preserve peace in the Pacific is that there has long been reason to fear war in the Pacific. Of the four Powers which join in the Treaty, three have for years had occasion to watch with keen anxiety the possibilities of trouble. A state of mind like this makes it inevitable that these nations, or at least a very important element in each of them, shall habitually think of one another as potential enemies, and of all the causes of war none is more powerful for evil than this attitude. Now the nations that enter into the Treaty have none of them been forced into it; they all go into it gladly. In other words, they go into it as friends. They will confer as friends. They make no promise to remain friends, but they expect to remain friends, and when the conference meets it will meet as a conference of friends. That is the object for which the Treaty was framed. It has sent the idea of potential enmity to the rear. It has brought the idea of actual friendship to the front. It does not guarantee peace; but it does most effectively give peace the inside track.

Many perfectly well-meaning persons have wished the treaty to carry with it a pledge that in case of trouble any nation concerned in the question shall be invited to the conference. It is quite possible that in a given situation such action would be desirable; and in that event there is nothing in the world to prevent the United States from urging upon its associates in the Treaty the extension of such an invitation. But to make the pledge in advance would be to take out of the Treaty a large part of its efficacy. The object of the conference is not to provide an open forum for the discussion of every conceivable grievance or difficulty. It is to provide the opportunity for wise and prompt concert of action on the part of those nations which, if they do act with wisdom and rectitude, have it in their power to preserve peace and promote justice in the region of the Pacific. Japan has given up a hard-and-fast alliance with Great Britain and taken in its stead this vague assurance of concert; the United States is forgoing precautions against Japan's possible hostility on the basis of this same assurance. But in the very nature of things the assurance, though

vague, is extremely strong; and its strength would disappear if there were substituted for a conference of friends a free-for-all mass meeting.

What Is Happening in Russia?

THE chief issue of the proposed Genoa Conference was the Russian problem and Secretary Hughes put his finger on this with unerring accuracy in his reply to the invitation. It is now clear that the intention was to utilize the meeting to confirm a plan whereby the resources of Russia were to be exploited under German industrial leadership backed by an international consortium, a plan conditioned upon a deal with the Soviet Government which, by recognition, was to be enabled to turn over for this purpose all the vast properties they had confiscated. The exposure of this plan and the warning concealed beneath the courteous expressions of the Hughes note have already brought about some significant results.

Of prime interest are the recent developments in Russia itself, upon which considerable light has been thrown by public utterances of Lenin and Trotsky. A year has passed since Lenin announced his famous change of economic policy, his so-called "strategic retreat" of Communism. By granting the right of private trade to the peasants, replacing requisitions of food-stuffs by the tax in kind, and by offering concessions to foreign capital, he hoped to restart production in Russia and stay the forces of dissolution that threatened the Soviet Government with collapse. But foreign capital did not avail itself of his offers and production did not start. By November he realized that something was wrong with his scheme and that that something was the insecurity to life and property constituted by the irresponsible power of the dreaded "Cheka," the Extraordinary Commission which carried out the policy of espionage and terror by which the authority of the Government was maintained. He thereupon announced his intention of curbing the powers of this sinister institution, but was thwarted in this by the December Congress of Soviets. In February came a new development. As rumors of the Stinnes plan and the German negotiations reached Russia, together with publicity concerning the Genoa Conference, the uncompromising Communists circulated the report that Lenin was engaged in a scheme to sell out Russia to the Germans, a report that called forth a wave of patriotic national feeling. To this he has been obliged to yield, as is indicated in his recent speech in which he declared that the strategic retreat before capitalism is at an end.

But another force is at work in Russia which is giving the Bolshevik leaders cause for grave anxiety. That is the situation in the army. As long as this large body of men, who occupied a position of special privilege and who had no occupation other than that of arms, could be well provided with food, though Russia starved, the Soviet power seemed secure. But food supplies are running short and dissatisfaction among the soldiers is growing. This situation and its attendant menace serve to explain the bellicose appeal that has just come from the lips of the truculent Trotsky. Behind his charge that the forces of capitalism in Europe are instigating the border states to attack Russia in the spring is to be seen a clever move

to stay the forces inside the Red army that are making for disintegration. But these appeals will not supply the soldiers with bread and it seems unlikely that supplies and transportation can be provided for a military campaign. Trotsky's words are to be taken not so much as a threat of war as an admission of anxiety over the internal situation.

Meanwhile there is to be observed a quickening of economic and social life in Russia, despite the famine and the terror. A spirit of courage and hopefulness has taken the place of the despondency of a year ago. It is a revelation to talk with men fresh from Russia who have been in the current of things. There is a striking improvement in morale. The Government is not feared as it was before; everyone feels that it is only a passing phase and that the terrible trials endured under it have case-hardened the survivors for future struggles. It is as if a conflagration had swept over a pioneer community and those who remained were sturdily setting to work to rebuild, sure of their resources and confident of their own powers. Indeed the average educated Russian is inclined to pity the peoples of continental Europe, who seem to him old and played-out and settled in a rut from which they cannot extricate themselves.

Toward America there is everywhere gratitude and warm friendship. At first there was some suspicion of the famine relief work. Cut off from the outside world, Soviet propaganda had instilled the belief that all other countries were against Russia. But this suspicion quickly disappeared and is replaced by love and admiration. Now they realize that America has not truckled to the Soviet power, as other governments have been inclined to do, and they have learned of the stand taken by America against the dismemberment of Russia and against recognition of their oppressors.

This is a very different picture from that impressed by the gruesome but true reports of the awful famine situation or by the bombastic speeches of the Bolshevik leaders, but it accords with Russian character and Russian traditions. It gives one the same feeling as seeing fresh, green blades of grass springing up in a field that has been burnt over in the fall. The danger of a blighting frost—such as Genoa might have brought—is not yet past, but we cherish the hope that a great people, capable of enduring and surviving such unmeasured trials and calamities, may emerge from them to a long period of tranquillity and happiness.

For the Promotion of Knowledge

OF the making of many books there is no end; and on learning of a new scheme to facilitate publication, one is not necessarily rejoiced. But there is a class of publications which is in great need of all the help that can be given to them in the way of organized coöperation—namely, books and periodicals conveying the results of scholarship and research. It is accordingly a pleasure to learn that a movement is on foot to provide for this need in a systematic way.

Just what shape the movement will take has not yet been determined; but the idea seems to be to cover two deficiencies, both of which have been keenly felt. First, there is the difficulty of getting a publisher for

individual works which, though of high scientific and scholarly value, offer no prospect of commercial return; and secondly, there is the difficulty which our scientific periodicals, published usually under the auspices of some university, labor under because of insufficient pecuniary resources and because of inadequate means of publicity and distribution. An organization of moderate endowment, if conducted with judgment and in a spirit of all-round helpfulness, should do much to promote both the production and the dissemination of scientific and scholarly work—and indeed the production is often absolutely dependent on the possibility of dissemination. If such an organization should be formed, with its conduct in the right hands, it will be welcomed as a great help to American learning and science.

The Watch on the Rheingold

DESPITE the conflicting and confusing opinions of "inspired" and uninspired journalists, the legal status of the American claim against reparation collections for the expenses of the army of occupation on the Rhine and the duty of Secretary Hughes in relation to this claim are as clear as crystal. The Armistice Agreement, to which the Allies and the United States were joint parties, provided that the expenses of the occupation were to be a prior charge against any sums obtained from Germany, and no distinction was drawn between the parties. On the other hand, the reparation clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, to which we are not a party, provide for the collection of all possible payments from Germany, a monopoly of war indemnities which does not leave the door open for America to levy independently on the Germans for occupation costs. The logical conclusion is inescapable that the first claim on any reparations is for the expenses of all the armies of occupation *pari passu*. As for Secretary Hughes, he had no option in the matter. No question of sympathy or generosity entered into it at all. Had he failed to enter and establish the claim of the United States he would have been in the position of an attorney allowing his client's case to default through neglecting to put in an appearance.

As to the bill of costs itself (some \$241,000,000) and its settlement, the case is very different. Assuredly there is no disposition to press for payment. It cannot be imagined that our Government would ask that the major portion, or indeed any portion, of the money already obtained from Germany, pitifully inadequate as it is to meet the immediate needs of our hard-pressed allies, should be devoted to paying our claim. Such a proposal would shock the sensibilities of our people. It may well be that later we shall forgo the claim entirely, but that is a matter for Congress to decide. At present it is enough to have the Allies recognize the legal status of our claim and by amicable negotiation come to an understanding as to its immediate disposition.

The real trouble lies in a different direction. There is in Europe growing uncertainty and irritation over the whole reparations problem. There is also unfortunately envy and even dislike of rich and fortunate America. Quite possibly the journalists who played up the presentation of the American claim in the for-

eign press responded to certain foreign-office hints intended to influence domestic politics. If so, it is most unfortunate and unwise. No inclination has been shown on the part of the Governments themselves to dispute the claim and to do so would exasperate and alienate American sentiment just as it was showing encouraging signs of renewed sympathy for the peoples of Europe and interest in their problems of reconstruction. Especially blameworthy are those who seized upon the presentation of the claim, just as they grasp every trifling question that arises, as an excuse to argue that America is placed at a dreadful disadvantage by not having ratified the Treaty of Versailles and become a member of the League of Nations. It is time that the specious arguments of these zealous "die-hards" should cease. They only serve to confuse the public mind, disgust those who are genuinely anxious to bring about sane and fruitful coöperation with Europe, and generally complicate the conduct of our foreign relations.

A School-Teachers' Movement

PUBLIC school teachers in New York City are speeding up their movement for a "Sabbatical year" as a part of their regular vacation system.

The so-called Sabbatical year, or one year's leave of absence every seven years, usually at half pay, has a certain formal acceptance in universities and colleges, but is regarded as providing a luxury that few professors can afford to accept. Any plan for a Sabbatical year for public-school teachers, to be of use, would seem to involve a necessity for some provision that would make its general acceptance a possibility. But whatever may be the practical problems involved, the movement has other highly interesting aspects.

It is long since Charles Lamb drew his humoresque of the schoolmaster who is "awkward and out of place in the society of his equals," who "comes like Gulliver from among his little people." Our American public school teacher is of another type. His (or hers) is a progressive and business-like profession. Indeed, not infrequently he out-systems the counting-house, his efficiency puts the factory on its mettle. And yet there does linger something of the old characteristic qualities of school-teaching as an inevitable concomitant of his daily task.

Every walk in life, because it has its disabilities, must be allowed its compensating amenities—to the repetitive worker, his freedom from responsible cares; to the responsible business man, his escape from repetitive routine; to the vacationless physician, his neighborly intimacies; to the isolated school-teacher, his protracted vacations. Society cannot deny these compensations without getting itself out of balance. "Boys are capital fellows in their own way, among their mates; but they are unwholesome companions for grown people. . . . Even a child, that 'plaything for an hour,' tires *always*."

The Sabbatical year for school-teachers may well be worth whatever it may cost, if only it can be so planned as to be available for those who most need it, and if it at the same time that it offers a brief respite from the tyrannies of youth, it shall also grant an escape from all-devouring efficiencies of modern system and open to the teacher a larger place among his fellow citizens.

The Story of the Week

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

The Domestic Budget

Are We Left Out in the Cold?

THE Finance Ministers of the Allied Nations have been in conference in Paris for the purpose of dividing up the gold marks received from Germany in the hands of the Reparations Commission. Mr. Boyden, the American "unofficial" representative on the Reparations Commission, presented the following memorandum to the Finance Ministers:

I have received a cable from Washington instructing me to inform you that the costs of the American Armies of Occupation up to May 1, 1921, amount to approximately \$241,000,000. The allied Governments, with the possible exception of Great Britain, have received the whole of their costs of occupation up to that date and apparently the expenditure for the British Army will be met by the present arrangement. Taking these facts into consideration, the Government of the United States counts on obtaining the total payment of the costs of its army of occupation with interest due to May 1, 1921, before any part of the German payments shall be distributed for reparations or for any other purpose.

With respect to current costs I have received instructions to declare that the Government of the United States will demand their payment, but that if it receives assurance of payment it does not foresee difficulties in arranging practical delays within which payments may be made.

The American argument seems to run as follows: The treaty between Germany and the United States reserves to the United States the rights the latter might be enjoying as a signatory of the Versailles Treaty; the Versailles Treaty provides that costs of armies of occupation should take precedence of all other claims to be satisfied out of German payments; the United States Government, therefore, should be reimbursed for the costs of its army of occupation prior to a division of German moneys upon other than occupational accounts.

The Finance Ministers formally replied to Mr. Boyden, pointing out that they were acting under the Versailles Treaty, to which the United States was not a party, and that they were not authorized to consider the American claim, which should be referred to the Allied Governments. Apparently (though the business is not quite clear) the Finance Ministers then agreed on a division among the Allied Governments of the German gold in the possession of the Reparations Commission. That gold amounts approximately to \$300,000,000; not enough, it is asserted in contradiction of the American memorandum, to satisfy Allied occupational claims up to May 1, 1921, by some 275,000,000 gold marks. The Finance Ministers recorded the occupational costs of the Allied Governments since May 21, 1921; a snug sum. It does not appear that they allocated cash in expectation from Germany towards satisfying such claims. As for gold to satisfy general Allied reparational

claims, unless the occupational forces are greatly cut down one cannot foresee the time when German gold payments will catch up with occupational costs. As a matter of fact, occupational costs, so far as they have been paid by Germany, have been paid in ships (which have proved white elephants) and "in kind." And now, when for the first time there is a considerable sum of cash to divide, along comes the United States and claims practically all of it.

There doubtless is a perplexing lot to be said on both sides (that of the Allies and that of the United States). In the diplomatic contest that threatens, the Allies are likely to contend that the United States should either do

her own collecting or should subscribe to the Versailles Treaty and assist the Allies in making Germany pay over to the common pool. To which the retort is obvious: "What name is to be given to continued American participation in the watch on the Rhine, if not 'assistance'? The American Army of Occupation would long ago have been withdrawn but for the urgent representations of the Allies, who claimed that the moral value of their presence was incalculable."

M. Tardieu uses the *argumentum ad caritatem*:

The note handed in by Mr. Boyden at the Finance Ministers' conference was an unfriendly act. It was an unfriendly act because it was a blow at the long effort toward European stabilization; an unfriendly act because it hurt the poorest by the claim of the richest.

Just think. When all Germany has paid is allotted, France will get 685,000,000 gold marks, which is 3.8 per cent. of what she has spent for reconstruction and pensions. And this moment the United States chooses to say: "Before you get one sou for your reparations, pay our occupation costs."

To say that to France, which bears upon the shoulders of her 38,000,000 inhabitants a debt of 336,000,000,000 francs, is a thing I would never have feared from the men at the head of the American Government three years ago when I was there. The domestic affairs of America are not our business, but we are bound to feel the acts of her foreign politics. Friday's act hurts us. It is not the first. We have a French proverb saying, "The manner of giving is more important than the gift itself." In the present case the manner of claiming is worse than the claim itself.

I have faith in the hearts of Americans. I ask them to reflect.

* * *

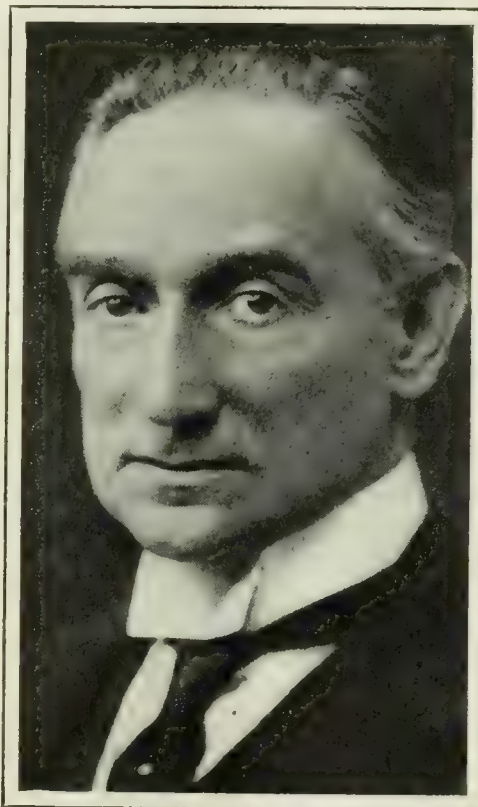
A special clause in the formal agreement signed by the Finance Ministers "reserves the American rights and leaves the question for diplomacy to settle." It seems probable that the disposition of the German marks will await an understanding with the United States Government.

* * *

The reader is reminded that the total cash payment required of Germany this year is \$180,000,000.

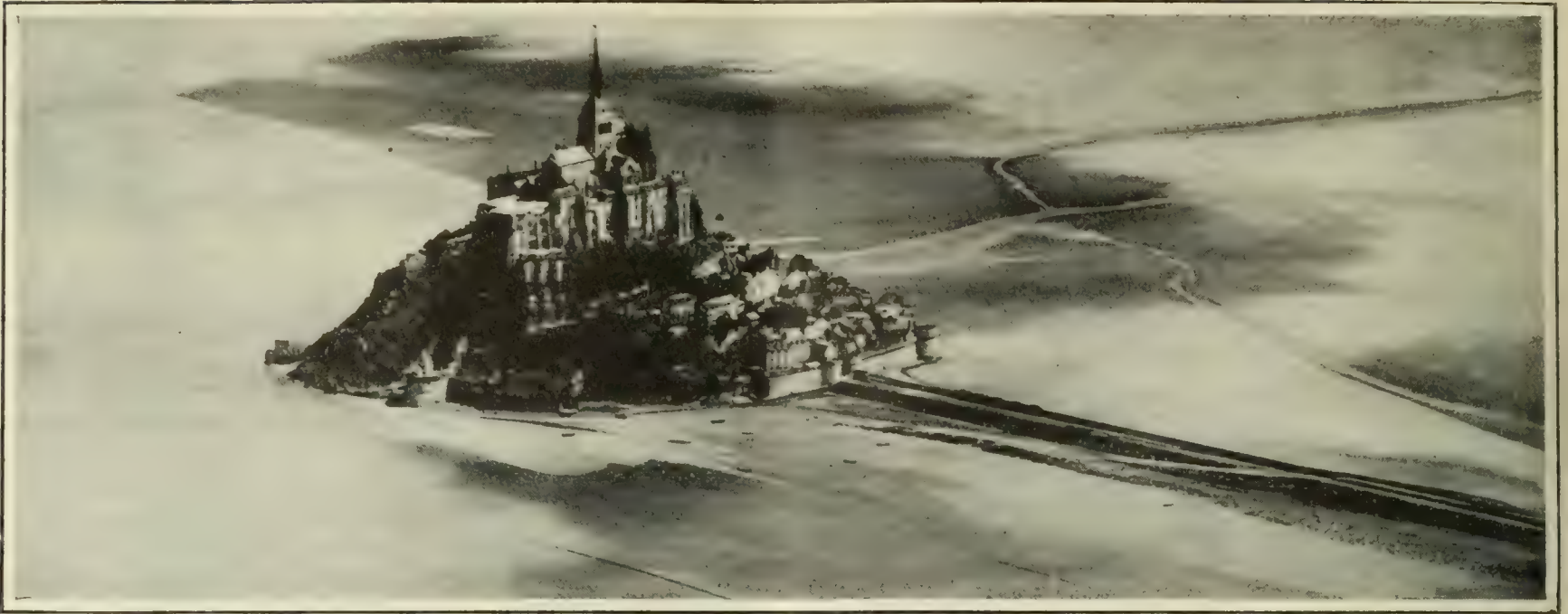
* * *

Now, however, it is being said that our Government has



International

Lord Reading, Viceroy of India



Underwood & Underwood

Mont St. Michel, off the coast of France

no present intention of pressing its claim. It was only filing that claim, asserting its validity in a singularly vivid and dramatic way, protesting that it must not be prejudiced by Allied arrangements. The time and manner of our proceeding gave the Allies a bad *quart d'heure*; doubtless that was the grimly humorous idea.

To Strike or Not to Strike

It is hardly worth while to attempt a discussion of the obscure details of the controversy between the bituminous coal "operators" and the miners. Secretary of Labor Davis is working valiantly to bring together representatives of the two sides in the hope of preventing the general strike of unionized miners threatened for April 1.

A conference between representatives of the operators and the miners of the anthracite coal region, opened in New York City on March 15. The miners' representatives are presenting nineteen demands; among them one for a 20 per cent. wage increase, and one for an eight-hour day. The operators stand out for wage reductions.

Up the Farmer!

It appears from a report of Eugene Meyer, Jr., managing director of the War Finance Corporation, that corn is now selling at 50 cents at primary markets, as against 20 cents six months ago; wheat at over \$1.40, as against \$1; fat lambs at \$15.55 per hundred, as against \$8.05; and that there is similar improvement in the selling prices of other farm and ranch products. An orderly liquidation is taking place throughout the country.

Fox Hills Hospital Abandoned

Colonel Forbes, Director of the Veterans' Bureau, has ordered the Fox Hills Hospital (Staten Island, New York) to be abandoned as a "death-trap." The patients are already being distributed among other hospitals, many of the tubercular cases being sent to Arizona, North Carolina, and other distant States, where the climate is favorable and the facilities are adequate.

Camouflage

The Association Opposed to the Prohibition Amendment has opened offices at the Hotel Martinique, New York. Mr. Anderson charges that the Constitutional League of America (whose national committee includes many great names) is in alliance with the anti-prohibition association; is itself, in fact, a camouflaged association for fighting the Eighteenth Amendment. Though Mr. Anderson's charge may have no foundation, some insist that such an alliance would be logical.

The London Daily News Criticizes Us

The London *Daily News* had the following to say of the refusal of the United States Government to participate in the Genoa Conference:

The somewhat pontifical refusal of the American Government to send representatives to the Genoa conference, while not surprising, is deeply to be regretted. Many of the limitations and definitions of the Genoa program, due in part to the intrigues and mutual suspicions of rival nations, are to be deplored, but so, we think, is the stubborn aloofness of the United States, which serves only to accentuate the difficulties of the complex situation.

The influence of American delegates bringing with them a cool and detached interest in the affairs of Europe might have proved the determining factor in effecting a broad solution of the vast problems at issue. America has a perfect right to stay away. We will only take leave to say this, that the austere superior and coldly remote attitude which America chooses to maintain toward the nations of Europe is a pose as unhelpful and as unacceptable to Europeans as sycophantic bids for American sympathy from this side of the Atlantic are, as we know they are, the subject of ridicule and contempt to many Americans.

The sooner these two equally false attitudes of mind are dropped the better it will be for the fortunes of a shattered world.

Brief Items

The textile strikes in New Hampshire and Rhode Island continue, with no prospect of a general settlement.

* * *

On March 4, Dr. Hubert Work, of Colorado, succeeded Mr. Will H. Hays as Postmaster General. On the 6th, Mr. Hays assumed the directorship of the National Association of Motion Picture Producers and Distributors.

* * *

Federal income tax receipts in New York City indicate that Secretary Mellon's estimate that total receipts this year would be less by 40 per cent. than those of last year, was pretty nearly accurate.

The British Empire

The Delhi Telegram

Space was lacking last week for adequate notice of the now famous Delhi telegram (Delhi being the capital of India). The telegram follows. It was addressed by the Government of India (which is headed by Lord Reading, with the title of Viceroy) to Mr. Montagu, British Secretary of State for India:

On the eve of the Greek-Turk conference, we feel that it is our duty again to lay before your Majesty's Government the intensity of feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Sèvres Treaty between Turkey and the Allies.

The Government in India is fully conscious of the complexity of this problem, but India's record in the war, in which Indian Moslem soldiers participated in such great numbers, and the support which the Indian Moslem cause has received in the entire nation, entitle her claim to the completest fulfillment and justify her reasonable aspirations.

The Government in India particularly emphasizes the necessity of guaranteeing the neutrality of the Dardanelles and the security of its non-Moslem peoples. It also urges evacuation of Constantinople, sovereignty of the Sultan over holy places, restoration of the Turk in Thrace, also in Adrianople and Smyrna. The Government urges that these points are of supreme importance to India.

The India Government asked Mr. Montagu's permission to make public the telegram, and Mr. Montagu, without delay or consulting Lloyd George, gave it; wherefore on Thursday, the 9th, the world was startled by its publication. This "manner of dealing" (both the request and the permission) is something new in the world. Mr. Lloyd George promptly requested Mr. Montagu's resignation, and, of course, got it. It is thought that Lord Reading's resignation will follow, though technically he did not commit an impropriety in making his request; for majority sentiment, both in and out of Parliament, seems to construe that telegram as proof that Lord Reading has yielded quite unduly to pressure from Indian extremists. It should be noted that the telegram urges concessions to Turkey beyond those asked for by Mustapha Kemal, the Turkish Nationalist leader. *En effet*, it recommends restoration of ante-bellum Turkey. "Sovereignty of the Sultan over the Holy Places"; is that consistent with the sovereignty of King Feisal of Irak and King Hussein of Hedjaz (protégés of Britain), or with a British mandate over Palestine, or with French rule in Syria? There is good reason for thinking that the Moslem leaders of India are not much concerned about the Treaty of Sèvres or the indignities to the Sultan in his holy capacity of Caliph; that their objective is almost entirely Indian and national—to wit, destruction of the British Raj and establishment of a Mohammedan state in India (involving, of course, complete subjection of the 220,000,000 Hindus to the 60,000,000 Mohammedans); and that they are cleverly using the Turkish Question, made by Allah to their hand, for propaganda purposes, and to arouse the bigoted wrath of the Mohammedan masses by the charge that the British are trying to destroy Islam and have desecrated the Holy Places.

The Delhi telegram has prejudiced settlement of the Turkish Question, which was by way of being accomplished on a compromise basis favorable to Turkey at the coming meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy. For can Britain yield in compliance with an ultimatum of Indian Moslems (for that is a proper name for the Delhi telegram) Turkish sovereignty

over the Holy Places, which would mean British repudiation of pledges to the Arabs and to the Zionists and much more of treacherous and pusillanimous, and all that she was willing to grant to Turkey upon a judicial reconsideration of the general situation of the Near and Middle East. The following passages in Lloyd

George's letter demanding Mr. Montagu's resignation call for quotation:

Without being urged by any pressing necessity and without consulting either the Cabinet or the Foreign Secretary or myself or any one of my colleagues, you caused to be published a telegram from the Viceroy raising questions whose importance extends far beyond the bounds of India or the responsibilities of your office.

Such action is totally incompatible with the collective responsibility of the Cabinet to the Sovereign and to Parliament, and I cannot doubt that on reflection you will share my view that after what has occurred we cannot usefully coöperate in the same Cabinet.

If the Governments of the Empire were all to claim the liberty of publishing individual declarations on matters which vitally affect the relations of the whole Empire with foreign powers, the unity of our foreign policy would be broken at once and the very existence of the Empire jeopardized.

The moment chosen for your action is moreover indefensible from the standpoint which must govern our actions of broad Imperial interest. The conference on the Near East is about to take place. Questions that will be there discussed are of the utmost delicacy. The weight of responsibility which the Foreign Secretary will have to carry will, in any case, be most serious, and your action has added considerably to the difficulties of a task which was already difficult enough.

It is understood that Lord Derby has been invited to succeed Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India—an almost ideal selection—but has declined.

Mr. Montagu Strikes Back

Mr. Montagu has been striking back at Lloyd George. The famous Delhi telegram was published on a Wednesday. He says that on the previous Friday evening he "circulated the telegram to members of the Government"; that on the next day he sent a telegram to Lord Reading, authorizing publication of the Delhi telegram; that on Monday he told Lord Curzon of the authorization; and that Curzon had time to send a telegram reversing that authorization. [It did so happen that the Delhi telegram did not appear in the European press until Wednesday, but, since Mr. Montagu's authorization was sent on Saturday, Lord Curzon naturally assumed that a telegram sent on Monday reversing authorization would reach Delhi too late to prevent publication in India.] Mr. Montagu confesses that he did not inform Lloyd George, who was out of London. He remarks that, though he circulated the Delhi telegram among members of the Cabinet, none of them protested against authorizing the publication. He seems to overlook the fact that his colleagues probably never imagined that he contemplated authorization, at any rate before consultation with the Premier.

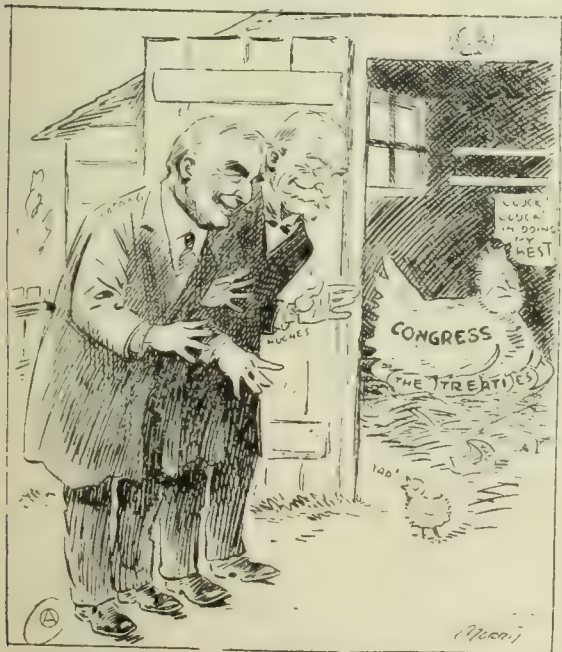
But all that is beside the issue, says this singular statesman. As a matter of fact, he wasn't called on to consult his colleagues. "Each man," says he, "who holds high office is entitled to discharge on his own risk the responsibilities thereof, to decide what he shall bring before his colleagues and what he shall not. I do not think that it was a matter for consultation with the Cabinet." After this new and astonishing theory of a Cabinet officer's duty, Mr. Montagu proceeds to assail Lloyd George and Lord Curzon in *Thersites's* vein, proposing to hold them up to ridicule, but never deviating into wit.

There are some who say that the honorable gentleman adds to treason unmannerly insolence.

From India it is reported that "the non-coöperationists regret that India has lost the services of the statesman who has done so much for her." "For them," rather, Mr. Montagu's critics might say.

* * *

The circumstances of Mr. Montagu's resignation were discussed in the Commons the other day. Mr. Montagu came off poorly in the exchanges with Lord Curzon and Mr. Austen Chamberlain.



Morris for the George Matthew News Service

One of them is hatched



International

A Philippine scene—cocoanut rafts

Gandhi Arrested

Gandhi, leader of the non-coöperative movement in India, he of the hartal and of "civil disobedience," Mahatma Gandhi, St. Gandhi, has been arrested by order of the India Government, charged with sedition. Probably most Britons think he should have been arrested long ago. Some will think this stern act of justice (apparently it was not ordered from London) little consistent with the weak-kneed Delhi telegram; will interpret it as just another evidence of the vacillation and inconsistency of the Indian Government—a bold spurt of men who are in a funk and want to show they're not. However that may be, the consequences of the arrest will be watched breathlessly. He will plead guilty.

The Rand Strike

The strike in the Rand mining region of the Transvaal (Union of South Africa), which has been in process since last November, recently blazed of a sudden into extreme violence. The strikers, well armed and organized, and assisted by some commandos (volunteer detachments) of disloyal Boers from the outlying country, attacked with greatly superior numbers the police, who had some assistance from loyal commandos, small detachments of State troops, and airplanes. The mortality, considering the numbers engaged, was great, mounting well up into the hundreds. The police and the loyal commandos put up a most heroic fight, but must have been overwhelmed had powerful assistance arrived much later than it did. But the Premier, General Smuts (one-time Boer commander), had been making his military dispositions skilfully. State forces converged upon the Rand, more bombing airplanes arrived, artillery was placed in position. Though details are lacking, it would seem that most of the strikers sensibly recognized that the game was up and soon abandoned the fight; a few desperate groups, however, still offering a vain and fatal resistance.

The causes and objects of the strike are obscure. Some smell Bolshevism; others Nationalism (the strikers being mostly Dutch). Partly both, one would say upon meagre information. Demands have been made for workers' management, much like the workers' demands in the Italian metallurgic strike; demands, also, for an independent Republic of South Africa. The Republic issue has probably

been much discredited by the strikers' conduct. According to reports, the strikers behaved with great cruelty, shooting white prisoners and unoffending black natives, for the Negroid issue is inextricably involved in every industrial situation of that region.

The world is indeed in turmoil; and no man knoweth what the morrow may bring.

Notes

Misfortunes are proverbially gregarious. Lloyd George has now to deal with another industrial crisis. A lockout of a million men in the engineering and shipbuilding trades began on March 11, to enforce acceptance of lower scales of wages, and because the workers demand control of discipline.

* * *

It has been decided by the Committee on Privileges of the House of Lords that peeresses in their own right are entitled to sit in that House. It is said that the committee's report is likely to be rejected by the peers.

* * *

There are in India seventy sovereignties of sorts, 2,500 castes, and 60,000,000 "outcasts."

* * *

Lord Robert Cecil has introduced a bill in the Commons which would confound the distinctions between British men and women in respect of the suffrage. It would "enfranchise" 5,000,000 women.

Lenin Will Retreat No Further

THE *Associated Press* quotes the following remarks of Lenin (apparently in an interview with correspondents). The reference to Kolchak means that, against Allied claims upon the account of old Russian debts, the Muscovites are still resolved to urge their own counter-claims (perhaps as large or larger) upon the account of Allied assistance to Kolchak, Denikin, and other anti-Bolshevist White leaders:

We have copies of many treaties between Allied countries and Kolchak. It is no good now playing at forgetting, and it is a pure waste of ink and radio space to inform the world that they are going to put Russia on probation. We shall see who's who, and who is going to put us on probation. I hope to meet Mr. Lloyd George personally and speak with him regarding this. I would say it is no good to threaten us with little things, because in so doing the threateners might lose their prestige. Attempts to put us in the position of a conquered country are nonsense. We, as merchants, know what we owe you and what you owe us, and also what should be your lawful profit.

We now see clearly the situation that exists in Russia and we can firmly tell ourselves that the retreat which we began can now cease. We do not deny that our policy was to retreat, which was carried rather far; but such is the logic of strife. The surrender to capitalism has now finished, and I hope and believe this decision will be ratified by the coming Communist Congress. Our work will now be changed.

Minister of War Trotsky struck the right keynote by asking the Red Army to be prepared, as the interventionist idea is not dead.

The comedy of Genoa will not catch us. We are going to meet the Allied merchants, but the limits of our yielding are already fixed.

Krasin told the correspondents that, "despite the pressure from abroad to remove the Government monopoly on foreign trade, this would be incompatible with the Government's principles, the chief of which are control of foreign trade and railways, and ownership of land." He welcomes entrance of foreign capital into trading combinations, but the Russian Foreign Trade Commissariat must be represented on the boards of directors of all such combinations.

It is not necessary to take too seriously the statements of the Muscovite chiefs to foreign correspondents; but it is evident that they are not going to Genoa in an humble and a contrite spirit.

Pessimism and Petunias

By Ellis Parker Butler

JUSTICE of the Peace Lem Hooper frowned deeply as he walked home from the lecture at the Riverbank Commercial Club. His spirit was deeply troubled; the weight of a world rushing to a final Armageddon and ruin was heavy on his shoulders. After the lecture the intelligentsia of Riverbank had talked things over at the Club and the general verdict had been that the best anyone could look for was the worst, and that Civilization was going straight to pot. The judge was surprised, when he entered his home, to see that the motherly countenance of Mrs. Hooper did not show an equal burden of world worry.

"Lem," said Mrs. Hooper cheerfully, before the judge had rid himself of his overcoat, "can you write me a check?"

"Check?" exclaimed Judge Hooper gloomily. "Check? What do you want a check for? Going to throw some more good money away? What's the use? If it's the Armenians, let 'em starve; the world's going to the dogs anyway. Or is it your Missionary Society this time? What's the use missioning all over the world when the whole structure of civilization is rotted to the core and liable to bust up and cave in any minute?"

"But, Lem—" said Mrs. Hooper.

"Don't 'Lem' me, Emma! Here's Bolshevism gnawing our vitals on one hand and literature and the drama smelling to heaven on the other, and America's future in the hands of a generation of cocktail-drinking, cigarette-smoking flappers and lounge-lizards without a brain in the lot—"

"But, Lem—" said Mrs. Hooper.

"Look at Europe!" said Judge Hooper bitterly. "Smash and ruin, that's what's coming, I tell you! The whole world rushing to chaos and barbarism, carrying us down

to savagery and—and so forth—and you want to send another check to one of your silly Societies for the Promotion of International Affection or something."

"But I don't, Lem," said Mrs. Hooper with unchanged cheerfulness. "All I want is a check for eighteen dollars and sixty cents—"

"I told you so!" cried Judge Hooper. "The world ending tomorrow or next day and you want a check—"

"For my garden seeds," said Mrs. Hooper placidly.

"Hey?" queried Judge Hooper. "For what?"

"My garden seeds," said Mrs. Hooper. "I've been making out my list and I'm ready to send it in. I want to send it in early; last year I was too late to get those Double-Fringed Extra Fluted Petunias that I wanted so much, you'll remember."

"Petunias!" exclaimed the Judge. "Petunias, Emma! You stand there with the world rushing to Armageddon, with the globe facing economic chaos, with a return to

barbarism trembling in the air, and you talk of petunias!"

"Oh, bother you and your Armageddon!" laughed Mrs. Hooper. "You and your Armageddons and chaos things can go hang, Lem. We'll talk about them some other time, if you want to, but here it is almost the middle of March and it is time I ordered my seeds. This isn't any Armageddon nonsense; this is about my garden."

"A garden!" cried Judge Hooper. "A flower garden! Here's the world busting through and this woman is going to plant petunias and pansies and blue-fringed thingumbobs! Here's Civilization crashing and this woman is going to put seeds in the ground and water them and weed them and coax and cuddle them just as if she thought the world would last all summer! Just as if she thought the flowers would blossom as always! Woman, do you know what you are?"

"What, Lem?"

"You're guilty of hope!" declared Judge Hooper. "You're carrying on as if the world might last until October. Have you studied the statistics? No! Have you read the reports of the committees? No! Have you heeded the moans of the parlor perturbers? Not a heed! You plan a garden and you think your seeds will blossom and bloom no matter what Chart XII shows! You're guilty of faith!"

"Nonsense, Lem!" laughed Mrs. Hooper. "You don't frighten me with your big words and phrases. I'm only getting ready for my garden as I always do."

"Ah!" exclaimed Judge Hooper; "but that is your crime, Mrs. Hooper. You are guilty of Spring! When some of our finest and fussiest brains are globes of gloom, you are guilty of hope. You won't view with alarm. You won't view with anything; you go right ahead and plant petunias. When the world is wabbling you calmly plant petunias and

pansies and double-fringed thingumbobs in a garden!"

"Well, I can't imagine what is the matter with you tonight, Lemuel Hooper," said Mrs. Hooper. "I don't see why I shouldn't plant a garden this year just as usual. Spring is the time to plant seeds and they usually bloom in Summer, and I've never yet known a year when Summer did not follow Spring. If you want to fret about Armageddon you may do so. I dare say it is as useful as playing pinochle at the Club, and doesn't do you much more harm. But this I do know, Lemuel: gardens grew when my grandmother was a girl, and gardens grew when my mother was a girl, and as long as I've been alive Summer has followed Spring, and I don't know why it should be any different this year."

"Well, to tell you the truth, Emma," said Judge Hooper, as he drew his checkbook from his hip-pocket, "I don't, either, but I sort of hate to admit it when gloom is so stylish."



"Lem," said Mrs. Hooper cheerfully, "can you write me a check?"

Drama

The Tragedy of an Elderly Gentleman

By Robert Allerton Parker

BACK TO METHUSELAH. A philosophic fantasy in five parts. By Bernard Shaw. Garrick Theatre.

WHILE one must express all admiration for the young and ambitious Theatre Guild in undertaking the production (as a trilogy) of Mr. Shaw's pretentious "meta-biological pentateuch," one must nevertheless doubt the wisdom of the wily G. B. S. in consenting to its performance. To read this lengthy monologue was a tiresome but not a heavy task. To witness the attempt to galvanize it into theatrical life was to assist at a protracted and relentless overexposure of Bernard Shaw's limitations. His philosophic and prophetic defects were apparent enough in the first reading of this fantasy. The performance emphasized his failure as a prophet and as a dramaturge. And since he aided and abetted the Theatre Guild in its Quixotic idealism, since in fact he insisted that this "play" should be performed without cut or condensation, we may conclude that Mr. Shaw has only himself to blame if his "following" in this country has been progressively decreased by the performances of this "Shaw festival." To many of us who heretofore had looked up to Shaw as to an oasis in the Sahara of the contemporary drama, "Back to Methuselah" almost convinces us that we have been gazing upon a mirage.

Heretofore we had believed that Mr. Shaw, who has for the past two decades been so successful in "circussing" himself, so indefatigable a "barker" outside the sideshow of Fabian Socialism, and withal so skillful a mental acrobat—we were convinced that Mr. Shaw knew all the tricks of his trade. Now, just as much of the élan and effectiveness of the vaudeville juggling or acrobatic "turn" is conditioned on the brevity, the swiftness, the pace with which the tricks are performed, the mental or verbal acrobat is likewise aided by concentrated brevity. In the past, even the normal two and a half or three hours of Mr. Shaw's frenzied forensics were apt to pall. Ten hours of it, ten hours even with two intermissions of a week each, left us with only the painful realization of his formula, his mechanics, and the fundamental lack of originality in his ideation.

The great artists of the world, whether architects, sculptors, or dramatists, have respected the materials through which they have sought expression. They have sought to release and to exalt the beauty inherent in these materials. The dramatist does not, like the sculptor, work with marble or stone; his material is the human body and the human mind. He works with the actor and with the audience. The dramatist must play upon the at-

tention and interest of his audience as the violinist plays upon his instrument. He must lead, concentrate, exalt this interest, conducting it to a soul-satisfying climax. Corneille mastered this art. Molière constructed his best plays just as music is composed. He is the Mozart of the theatre. In "Back to Methuselah" Shaw respects neither his actor nor his audience. An irony, is it not, to discover this prophet of economic and industrial "justice" treating his actors like veritable peons, ruthlessly overloading them with the cruel weight of waste verbiage? To witness poor Mr. Bruning battling valiantly against the onrushing torrents of verbosity was like standing helplessly by while some poor drowning mortal was sinking for the third and last time. It was an endurance test for actors and audience alike. Mr. Shaw cracked the whip or occasionally bribed us with the sugar-plum of paradox and witticism; there seems to be no threadbare sally he could resist stopping to pick up in this hegira from the Garden of Eden to the year 31920.

I do not mean to convey the impression that "Back to Methuselah" was by any means entirely devoid of that amusement and penetrating satire we have come to associate with the name of Shaw. But what became apparent, painfully obvious, as our patience wore out and our boredom intensified, was that these devices were used by the dramatist as bribes. He is dealing with the high destinies of the human race, the endless march of the spirit toward the eternal realities; and yet he continually stops by the wayside to indulge in topical jokes and personalities; he is even guilty of "hokum" of the type that has long been discarded by musical comedy and burlesque. Ordinarily this might not be of any great importance—there is horse-play in Shakespeare. But this trait in "Back to Methuselah" exposes what seems to be a constitutional defect in Mr. Shaw: his inability to awaken the mood of elevation or exaltation. He chooses a great theme of universal human interest. His dialogue, his language, his point of view, then conspire to make it all seem a petty and trivial affair.

As a prophet, Mr. Shaw is even less satisfactory than as a dramatic poet. This heretic, this iconoclast, this revolutionist, who attempts to pierce the future "as far as thought can reach," strives to awaken our imagination by the antiquated instruments of repetitious rhetoric and "scientific" concepts that have long been abandoned. Mr. Shaw is apparently still laboring under the delusion that the Darwin-Lamarckian controversy is a raging battle in the scientific world. The importance he attaches to longevity and to the neces-

sity of the indefinite prolongation of human life for spiritual development takes no cognizance of the existence of human genius and the lightning flashes of intuition—a fascinating field that has been explored by two such true scientists as William Bateson and the Italian Sergi. It is not the quantitative length of human life that is essential for progress, but rather refinement in the quality of human experience. Moreover, it does not seem to be that Mr. Shaw has succeeded in making his conception of creative evolution either imaginative or dramatic. I have found more excitement and thrills, more real drama, in a few short essays on radioactivity written by such a sober scientist as Professor Soddy than in the whole ten hours of "Back to Methuselah." To realize the intensely dramatic quality of modern science, a quality that Mr. Shaw somehow, despite all his cleverness and all his experience, quite completely misses, one need only turn to Professor Soddy's recently published volume on "Science and Life." Mr. Shaw's "science" is of the disputatious Huxleyan type, a matter of rhetoric, subtle sophistry, and skill in argument, rather than of experiment and impartiality. It may be pointed out that this is irrelevant in the creation of drama. But since Mr. Shaw has attempted to dramatize a quasi-scientific idea, we must deplore the fact that he has based his structure, not upon living science, but upon the shifting wreckage of an ancient and discarded controversy.

The complex task of mounting this unique structure, of infusing it with some semblance of life, the Guild accomplished with varying degrees of success. Most praise is perhaps due to the actors and actresses who accomplished the gigantic task of memorizing those thousands upon thousands of words, and who read them with understanding and intelligence. Mr. A. P. Kaye in the amusing caricature of Lloyd-George, as President of the British Isles in the year 2170 A. D., and as Pygmalion in the final episode; Miss Margaret Wycherly and Miss Ernita Lascelles in various impersonations; Albert Bruning, Claude King, Moffat Johnstone, and others all exhibited astonishing vitality and seemed to enjoy the cruel and hopeless tasks imposed upon them by the relentless and exigent Mr. Shaw.

Mr. Lee Simonson designed the scenery and costumes, and revealed an obvious admiration for the theories of German expressionism. The final impression derived from all this modernity in scenery and lighting may be summed up, I regret to say, in the old words: "*Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*"

New Books and Old

Books of the Week

THE VENEERINGS, by Sir Harry Johnston. Macmillan.

A novel by the author of "The Gay-Donbeys" and "The Man Who Did the Right Thing."

UP STREAM; AN AMERICAN CHRONICLE, by Ludwig Lewisohn. Boni and Liveright.

Autobiography of a critic.

THE SOUL OF A CHILD, by Edwin Björkman. Knopf.

A psychological study.

A SHROPSHIRE LAD, by A. E. Housman. Holt.

American edition of the famous sequence of poems.

HEAVENS, by Louis Untermeyer. Harcourt.

A clever book of parodies and imaginations.

THE charm of Sir Harry Johnston's novels is first a good story, and second, an amazing gallery of characters—odd, lively, astonishing—moving across the changing scenes of England, Africa, America, and the dominions beyond the sea. "The Veneerings" (Macmillan) is no exception, and these descendants of Dickens's Veneerings and their friends and kinsfolk are in a French resort for the bankrupt, in New York, and in South Africa. The period is spacious too—thirty or forty years or more, from the 1860's to 1901. There are many letters, a number of rakish characters (recalling some of Thackeray's) and some real personages, including Cecil Rhodes. Not a novel to be read as a duty, but a treat to be anticipated and enjoyed.

Mr. Ludwig Lewisohn's autobiography: "Up Stream; an American Chronicle" (Boni and Liveright), may well be contrasted, as it is suggested, with such an optimistic book as the autobiography of Mr. Edward Bok. Each may be read as corrective of the other; on one hand the successful business man, turning everything to money, on the reverse the struggling author and university teacher, who is further hindered by prejudices against him as a Jew, and after 1914 by the feeling against him as a German—a feeling which Mr. Lewisohn is sure was entirely unjustified. Mr. Bok's America is seen through glasses of a rosy tint; Mr. Lewisohn's spectacles are saffron. In both instances, allowance is to be made for discoloration.

The latter pages of "Up Stream" sound a trifle rasping; there is too much special pleading when Mr. Lewisohn finds with such ease a brutal British militarist on every hand to set off against the invaders of Belgium, the destroyers of passenger-ships. The apologists for Germany (not always pro-Germans, by any means—merely

those professional opponents of the majority, without regard to right or wrong) have only reached the point of trying to explode what they call "the myth of the guilty nation." The blame must rest on all nations, not on Germany alone. It sounds familiar, somehow; there is that sinuosity about it which was endeared to us by the methods of the gentle German publicists from 1914 to 1917. The next step in the argument will doubtless be that there was not one guilty nation, there were two: France and Great Britain. The best and truest friends of France, Mr. Lewisohn finds, were the "defeatists" of 1916 and 1917. Is it more than a short step to point out that the real deliverer of Paris in 1914 was General von Kluck—if they had not stupidly kept him away? Mr. Lewisohn does not take that step, but another writer may yet do it.

He says many bitter and true things about the superficiality of our culture; he attacks with deadly precision the lynching spirit—that black disgrace of America—which is sometimes rampant; he depicts the brutal politician of a district attorney who quizzed him about his loyalty during the war; he describes the heavy-jowled ignoramus (readers of *The Saturday Evening Post* and husbands of vulgar wives) who persecuted him. He points out many a weakness in and many a shameful fact about the country to which his parents were so glad to come. And I suppose it is all right and proper. I believe in destructive criticism; it is a great deal better than no criticism at all. Yet, somehow, under similar circumstances, I wouldn't enjoy doing it myself. It reminds me of a boy who has asked for an invitation to a party, who has come late, and who finally bursts out with: "Your lemonade is warm, and your ice-cream is punk, and I didn't get much cake, and your whole party is rotten!"

The larger part of "Up Stream" shows the cultured and generally sane critic that Mr. Lewisohn is when he is not "thinking internationally." That is an exercise which has an almost inevitable tendency to make Anglo-Saxon hypocrisy, corruption, and ignorance, look black indeed, while Prussian efficiency and charm glow in a golden and tender light.

This has been a week of good stories, and it would be foolish to pretend to have read them all. It is puzzling to know how William John Hopkins, even if he was a New Bedford boy, and reared in a whaling atmosphere, could produce so veracious sounding a narrative as "She Blows!" (Houghton). It is like the diary of a whaler—except that this whaler could write. He does not merely stamp on the page of his log a little picture of a whale, with a blank space amidships, to write in the number of barrels the whale produced. The whalers, some of them, did that, and it saved time which might have been spent in literary composi-

tion. I observe that Tim, the narrator of this whaling voyage, had a grandmother who lived in Newburyport. When his ship, the *Clearchus*, is off the River Plate, he sees a large bird rising from the sea, and it reminds him of a great blue heron which he once saw standing on the marsh near Chain Bridge.

Mr. Frank Harris shows that the inspiration for "A Ballad of Reading Gaol" came from A. E. Housman's "A Shropshire Lad." Wilde's ballad, despite its wonderful spirit of dread, is long and repetitious; "The Shropshire Lad," now published here by Henry Holt & Co., has the restraint of a fine and less self-conscious poet. To invite attention to the new edition I wish to quote a stanza or two—but it is hard to choose. The good verses on ale? The verses about the hanging—"There sleeps in Shrewsbury jail to-night"? "When I was one-and-twenty"? Well, the best known of them is still best for quoting:

With rue my heart is laden
For golden friends I had,
For many a rose-lipt maiden
And many a lightfoot lad.

By brooks too broad for leaping
The lightfoot boys are laid;
The rose-lipt girls are sleeping
In fields where roses fade.

A psychological study of a Swedish boy from the age of five to fifteen is Mr. Edwin Björkman's "The Soul of a Child" (Knopf). It is as typically European as Mr. E. M. Robinson's "Enter Jerry" is American. The author has lived long in this country; his hero is dwelling in Sweden long before the War—he has not that reason for world-sorrow. Yet it is serious, almost humorless. The troubles and complications of social caste are an important element in the life of young Keith Wellander. His story—so far as it is a story—is told with the care of an artist. But I will swap my copy for a set of Bolivian postage-stamps, a fishing-pole, or a good knife. Nobody will get my copy of "Enter Jerry" away from me.

Prohibitionists, the Puritans, and all other severe moralists, are smitten, hip, thigh, and shin-bone, by Mr. Michael Monahan in "Dry America" (Nicholas L. Brown). He calls to witness Quintus Horatius Flaccus; he punctures the illogical reasoning of Jack London's "John Barleycorn"—that curious book of a converted teetotaler who talked about his drinking days with so much more gusto than about his dryness; he talks of Blue Laws; and he deliciously reviews George Saintsbury's "Notes on a Cellar Book." It is a little encyclopaedia of anti-prohibition, but it is the work of a literary man, not of a maker of text-books, and it is never dry.

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The Bankers Say —

NO good words for the soldier bonus are discernible in the current bank discussions of the business outlook. The bankers universally see in bonus agitation a menace that constitutes one of the leading business problems of the day. The gamut of their discussions reveals an amazing variety of ways in which it is possible to condemn it.

Naturally much emphasis is laid upon the economic aspect of the question. But the moral side is by no means overlooked and there is general regret that the issue was not made one of principle and not of financial expediency. It is generally agreed also that Congress is chiefly concerned with the political aspect, the vote-getting possibilities of the proposed bonus legislation.

The West is as outspoken as the more conservative East. Says the *American National Bank of San Francisco*: "Congress, instead of devising ways of economizing in government expenditure, seems chiefly concerned with finding new sources of taxation for the purpose of doing something that does not need to be done and should not be done—namely, paying a bonus of cash to several million able-bodied young men who, in the course of fulfilling their duties of citizenship, spent time in uniform in the service of their country. The government is already spending \$400,000,000 in compensation, hospitalization, and rehabilitation for the benefit of soldiers who suffered injury or ill health in service, and no one would begrudge a cent of this expenditure even if it were twice as great. But to endow with cash the much larger number who suffered no ill effects from their army experience would confer a doubtful benefit upon the recipients, place a further burden upon taxpayers, and retard the restoration of prosperous business conditions."

From Boston comes a crisp comment. Says the *Commonwealth Trust Company* of that city: "In practically all wars up to the middle of the nineteenth century, the soldiers and sailors fought in expectation of rich plunder, loot, ransom of prisoners, and prize money. Undoubtedly our civilization has advanced beyond the stage when such inducements would any longer be acceptable to the men or be otherwise than discreditable to the government that should offer them. Yet most of us do expect to receive special rewards for unusual displays of patriotism. The men who compose our armies nowadays no longer serve the country in hope of some windfall in the form of rich booty falling to their share on the battlefield, and the public seems to recognize in an undefined way that they are being deprived of something that should more fully compensate them than do mere wages for their patriotic services. Moreover, the war itself for which they were drafted brought while it lasted increased wealth to those who stayed at home, and opened up new avenues of employment and high wages to women,

and in none of this did the soldier share. The soldiers' bonus doubtless follows as a natural result of these facts."

Some telling sentences on the subject are found in the remarks of the *Irving National Bank, New York*: "The indirect effects of spendthrift legislation are often more harmful than the direct consequences. Few legislators seemingly have given much study to the economic repercussions that would be caused by any plan to divert some three billion three hundred million dollars of tax funds indiscriminately into the hands of able-bodied young men. There would begin a wave of spending for those luxuries and other consumption goods the purchase of which was precluded by prudence or necessity. But the needs of legitimate business would be harmed incalculably. Thousands of rural communities need better roads. Engineers claim that eighty per cent. of the bridges in this country should be replaced by larger and stronger structures. To carry on scientific experiment and research to keep abreast of the best industrial technique will require vast sums. To tax for such constructive purposes is to provide a better demand for capital and labor and to promote thereby an upward trend in wages, in incomes, and in the general standard of living. To tax for any purpose that is not constructive is to impose shackles upon progress and a burden upon the public welfare."

It is sometimes possible to make a snake fang himself. Somewhat so the *National Bank of Commerce in New York* turns the argument: "The addition at this time of the large sums to the heavy burden which must be borne could be regarded only as a disaster and the chief sufferers from the evil effects must eventually be the young men who served in the world war. These men are now the most productive part of the population, just entering upon that period of life when responsibility for the nation's business is being gradually transferred to their shoulders. The best that could happen would be for each man, by his own efforts, to pay his own bonus. In practice, however, the capable and thrifty will be obliged ultimately to provide not only for the payment of whatever bonus they may receive, but also for bonuses to their less capable and less industrious fellows."

The adverse effects of the bonus already visited upon business through the bond market is noted by the *Guaranty Trust Company, New York*: "The most disturbing prospect to the bond market has been the possibility of the imposition of a bonus for ex-service men. The money must be raised either by a bond issue or by further taxation. Practically all economists, most business men, and a great number of former soldiers are decidedly against the general bonus idea, and feel that something better could be worked out to care for those ex-soldiers or their families, who are really in need of more

help than they are now receiving from the Government, without burdening the country at this time with very greatly increased taxes of one form or another." Two Federal Reserve Banks also particularly note its depressive effects on securities. *The Federal Reserve Bank of New York* attributes the January reaction in bonds partly to the bonus and on this point the *Philadelphia Federal Reserve Bank* says: "The discussion of the bonus bill in Congress has had an adverse effect upon the prices of Liberty Bonds."

Fiscal difficulties are emphasized by the *National City Bank, New York*: "The danger now seems to be that the promoters of this measure, unable to agree upon any method for raising the revenue required by it, may pass it without any provision for meeting the outlay, throwing upon the Secretary of the Treasury the responsibility for finding the money. This would be extraordinary action, in view of the Secretary's repeated warnings that the Treasury has enough to do to take care of over \$6,000,000,000 of outstanding obligations which will mature by May, 1923. The report that a bonus bill will be passed relying upon interest payments on foreign government indebtedness to supply the funds seems improbable, for such action would be very unwise. There is no prospect of collecting interest at an early day upon any of this indebtedness, except that of Great Britain, and it will not be to the advantage of this country to have payments made upon this while the exchanges are in their present disordered state. The purchase of exchange to make interest payments inevitably will affect rates in a manner unfavorable to our export business."

The First National Bank of Waterloo, Iowa, uses the bonus agitation in America as a means of visualizing Europe's perplexities: "The present American experience with bonus legislation sheds light upon the fiscal problems that confront Europe. In Europe the total of ex-soldiers is proportionately greater than here; and in consequence there is a greater political necessity of giving them reconstruction aid and pensions. The political power that now rests with labor in most European countries necessitates unemployment insurance on a scale hitherto unimagined by the statesmen of the world. Government expenditures therefore cannot be materially reduced. There is the most tremendous political pressure for increasing them for relief purposes. On the other hand, it is even more difficult in the European countries to increase taxes than it is here. Unable to reduce expenditures because of the needs of the soldiers and the masses, and unable to increase taxes because of the burden that already exists, European governments resort to long-time issues; to flotation of short-time treasury certificates, which must be indefinitely renewed; or, as in many countries, to the issue of irredeemable paper currency, which rapidly undermines the whole business fabric."



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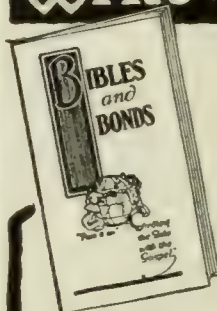
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On account of the Annual Meeting of the stockholders, the transfer books will be closed at the close of business on Friday, March 17, 1922, and reopened at 10:00 A. M. on March 29, 1922.

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A Dividend of 2% (\$1.00 per share) on the COMMON Stock of this Company for the quarter ending March 31, 1922, will be paid April 29, 1922.

Both Dividends are payable to Stockholders of record as of March 31, 1922.

H. F. BAETZ, Treasurer.
New York, March 20, 1922.

THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD CO.

New York, March 15, 1922.

A dividend of One Dollar and Twenty-Five Cents (\$1.25) per share on the Capital Stock of this Company has been declared, payable May 1, 1922, at the office of the General Treasurer to stockholders of record at the close of business March 31, 1922.

MILTON S. BARGER, General Treasurer.

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Book Reviews

Two Ways of Singing

RAHAB. By Waldo Frank. New York: Boni & Liveright.

WANDERERS. By Knut Hamsun. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

AN American university professor hails Mr. Frank "among the few masters of best English on this side of the Atlantic." What is "best English," we wonder? Evidently it has but vague relation to the "good English" so painfully nurtured by the ordinary run of college professors and so on, as a well-ordered and commodious vehicle for the conveyance of thought and feeling. It is an English which casts off the luggage of syntax and throws away the coins of conventional diction, in order to become a flowing medium for "expression." There is a tenable theory involved in this kind of experiment. Modern English is too strictly codified. Shakespeare made his own syntax, employed language not as a sacred machine, but as a medium of expression. But expression for Shakespeare meant articulate utterance, not simply an expressing, a squeezing out, of temperamental juices into an audible and high-colored flow of words. Mr. Frank's English is tough reading for an ordinary citizen. In the opening pages of "Rahab," he fairly outdoes himself in verbal virtuosity. One gets an effect of conscious challenge: "This is the kind of thing you are in for: if you don't like it —" Such being the terms, it is fair to offer a sample or two: "The hall was a long shadow behind the glow of them standing. He was quiet waiting, not sheer against her: his shaggy coat poured the street's coldness. She was a dim thing about eyes." . . . "Her quiet words did not intrude upon a silence whose margin he caught as it waved." . . . "A subtle table, and a virulent huge sideboard."

The degree of an intelligent reader's response to this kind of writing must depend upon whether he accepts it as a true style or as a trick of singularity. I have to confess that for me it is self-conscious and artificial, not a spontaneous utterance, but an uneasy demonstration. My opinion of the matter of the book is necessarily influenced, or distorted, by this opinion of its manner. I feel at work in its author not the large creative impulse of art but the excitable straining for effect of the cults and the coteries. I get from his story, with a good deal of effort, a series of vivid if transitory impressions of things visible. We now have impressionist writers who specialize in the senses of touch and smell. Mr. Frank confines himself, in a painfully literal sense, to the lust of the eye. Most mature persons have some knowledge of anatomy, and most mature persons of our race find it tedious, not to say offensive, to be eternally besought by up-to-date "fictionists" to gloat yet again over this or that item of a too familiar female topog-

raphy. However, the earth, we are told, no longer rolls for mature persons, any more than for the "young person"; and we must suppose that whatever person may be left to inhabit it, is thenceforth to relish endless draughts of anatomical and biological lore at the hands of stage and novel. . . . Mr. Frank's theme is the woman who technically sins, who is cast out by husband and society, knows nothing thereafter but squalor, and is a fine, strong soul at the end as well as keeper of a house of assignation.

The publisher, quite honestly I doubt not, commends "Rahab" as "a deep song of life." Some such phrase was used, not long ago, of Hamsun's "Growth of the Soil." With that book as with the two briefer and earlier narratives, "Under the Autumn Star" and "A Wanderer Plays on Muted Strings," now translated and issued together in English under the title "Wanderers", "Rahab" shows some enlightening points of similarity and contrast. The kind of American literature to which "Rahab" belongs is of course a product of foreign influences, Latin, Slavic, and Scandinavian. Unhappily, the Scandinavian influence is the least decisive. For what we warm to in the Scandinavians, Bojer, Nexö, Hamsun, is their abounding health. That strain of ruminating melancholy which is native to the race of Andersen and Grieg and Ibsen, seldom has the last word nor does the naturalism of their minor detail. Hamsun is outspoken enough, but seldom, after his first book, "Hunger," outspoken beyond the limits of taste which, for their ordinary comfort and self-respect, most people of intelligence perceive and accept, in the actual routine of living. We never feel, certainly, that any one of these northern writers is touched with either pruriency or bravado. And we always feel, in the net effect of their work, a roundness, a serenity, a godlike and accepting irony and tenderness for the little creature man. Godlike is a tall word; yet what but the reality of this attribute do we hail in true creative art? And where do we find it apart from the flexible undogmatic sympathy which is humor at its tallest? A "Rahab" fails for me because it is full of dogma and empty of humor. A "Wanderers" succeeds because, for me, precisely the contrary is true of it.

In "Wanderers," to be sure, a lesser god speaks: the god of a phase, the godling, if you will, of disillusioned and regretful middle age. This is clearly a phase of Hamsun's own experience. It stands between the youthful phase of "Hunger" and its successors, which express the unconquerable zest and lawlessness of youth, and the novels of late years when, with youth frankly put by, the mature artist begins to interpret man instead of an age of man. The Knut Pederson of this record is a Knut Hamsun fiddling with muted strings of life as it passes by one who not so long since bore an active and arrogant part therein. Not quite yet is he resigned to his loss; not even at

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the end is his self-mockery quite free from bitterness. But his god is with him, does not desert or despise him; and embraces both this futile aging wanderer and the youthful lovers of his envy with an equal and smiling compassion. . . . The style has the limpid simplicity of the North; one can ask for no "better English" than we get from this Norwegian through the translation of Mr. Wooster. And we receive equally an impression of artlessness whether his theme is the heart of man, or the comic grasshopper, or the eternal wilderness: "There's nothing to say of a grasshopper, you never see it; it doesn't count, only he's there gritting his resiny teeth, as you might say." . . . "Faint whisperings that come from forest and river as if millions of nothingnesses kept streaming and streaming. . . ." There, if you like, is language that sings, that flows—from a natural source.

H. W. BOYNTON

Government and the Governed and "A Tale of Two Cities"

Classics in the Light of Modern Conditions

By Frederick Houk Law
III

THIS is a time when people look upon universal political trouble and ask: What is Government? What is it for? What kind of Government can give satisfaction?

One of the great English novels, Charles Dickens' "A Tale of Two Cities," awakens profound thought in answer to these questions. That book should be read, not as a record of what happened from 1775 to 1793 in the period of the French Revolution, but as a prophecy of what *will* happen, now or at any period, under similar conditions. Human life is like a chemist's powders and liquids: if you do certain things you cause certain results. If you heat water you expand it; if you put sugar and chlorate of potassium together and strike the mixture with a hammer you cause an explosion. The books we call "Chemistry" record what *has* happened when men performed what we call experiments, and what *will* happen under like conditions. In the same way the books we call "History" and "Literature," when written by truthful, and therefore great, writers, record what happened, and what *always will* happen, in certain experiments with human life. "A Tale of Two Cities" is only a literary account of two great and disastrous experiments in government. Both experiments are being repeated today, and both may be repeated many times in the future before men learn the lesson.

The first experiment is that of selfishness. Dickens tells how the kings

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and great lords of France thought only of themselves. He shows a Marquis who, when his carriage runs over a child, speaks only of his horses and of the annoyance—and not of the child—a spirit duplicated in the United States every day by selfish auto-drivers. Dickens tells of an aristocrat who lives in pomp and luxury, and whose very chocolate must be served by at least six retainers—mindless of the facts that all luxury is waste, and that comforts brought about by the degradation of others bring decadence and downfall.

Into a France thus curiously like the United States today, Dickens shows a kindly old doctor, his lovely daughter, their attendants, and two noble-minded young men, drawn as if into a net. On all these innocent victims fall the results of social folly and wickedness—as they always fall on the innocent as well as the guilty. A demoralized, tax-ridden people, maddened by the sharp lines of caste, and by constant oppression to make them grind out more and more food for luxury and licentiousness, rise in revolt. They storm the Bastille and set up the guillotine. They, the down-trodden scum, come into power—as the same type has come into power in Russia today.

That begins the second experiment—and its name also is selfishness. Dickens shows that the mobs make no more effort to rule France for the benefit of all the people than had the nobility whom they had overthrown. He shows the lower classes dragging to the guillotine not only their former oppressors but anyone whom they dislike—ordinary people, children, foreigners, and even a bewildered little dressmaker who had not the faintest idea what it was all about. The mob raged like so many wild beasts, destroying everything—government, religion, and human sympathies.

In the book Dickens pictures many kinds of selfishness: a lawyer who lives by the brains of another; a spy faithful to no one but himself; and various people who seek nothing but profit, or pleasure, or private vengeance.

Then he sets forward the antidote for a mad world—altruism, thought of others. The hero of the story, Sidney Carton, changed from a drunkard into a hero—because he forgets self in his love for another—gives his life to save Charles Darnay from the guillotine.

The one hope for the world, Dickens indicates in this book, and in all his books, is human sympathy, human brotherhood—the sweet kindness of men like Mr. Lorry and Dr. Manette, and the noble self-sacrifice of men like Sidney Carton.

Give to any people a government that will benefit not alone the rich or the educated, as in ancient Greece; the soldiers, as in ancient Rome; or the so-called workers, as in present Russia; govern people not for selfish accumulation of land, of power, or of wealth, but for the general good of all classes and you sow the seeds of peace and contentment.

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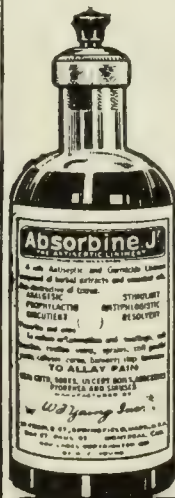
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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. Government and the Governed.

1. Explain in what way the story of "A Tale of Two Cities" is an especially valuable story for present-day study.
2. What events in recent history have strong resemblance to events in the period of the French Revolution?
3. Write out carefully prepared answers to the questions given in the first paragraph.
4. What should be the relation between government and the governed?
5. In what respects is "A Tale of Two Cities" a prophecy?
6. Why is it well worth while to study history and literature?
7. What two experiments in government are presented in "A Tale of Two Cities"?
8. What great truths concerning government does Dickens present in "A Tale of Two Cities"?
9. What different types of tyranny are shown in "A Tale of Two Cities"?
10. Tell the story of the altruistic characters in "A Tale of Two Cities."
11. Explain the last paragraph of the article.

II. Pessimism and Petunias.

1. What sort of people does the article mildly satirize?
2. What is the writer's purpose?
3. Prove that the article presents a basis for optimism.

III. Drama.

1. "The great artists of the world have sought to release and to exalt beauty." Present evidence from art or literature that will uphold the statement.
2. Explain in full the criticism given in the sentence: "Mr. Shaw is unable to awaken the mood of elevation or exaltation."
3. Give a talk in which you explain and emphasize the literary standards held by the writer of the review.
4. What is "Quixotic idealism"? Explain the origin of the term.

IV. A Message for Religious Book Week.

1. Explain why every home should have some form of library.
2. Name several kinds of books that should be present even in small libraries.
3. Tell exactly what Dr. Van Dyke means by the term, "religious book."
4. Give the titles of at least five such books not named in the article.
5. Prove that some of the literary works studied in school come under Dr. Van Dyke's classification.
6. In what respects are good books like teachers?
7. Name ten books of such surpassing merit that every person would do well to read them. Give your reasons for the selections you make.

V. New Books and Old.

1. What is "An amazing gallery of characters"? What famous authors are especially noted for the great number of their book characters?
2. What gives poetic beauty to the two stanzas quoted in the third column?
3. Read the stanzas aloud in such a way that you will interpret their meaning.

VI. A Roll of Honor. A Conference of Friends.

1. Give a clear explanation of the "Four-Power Treaty."
2. Give your reasons for believing that the treaty is, or is not, an alliance.
3. Explain what great results the treaty is planned to accomplish.

VII. The Life-Line of the A. R. A.

1. Write an original letter, or short story, in which you tell the events that might have happened on the receipt of gifts from America. Give personality to your central character; make the events you narrate seem probable; and tell of dramatic action.

VIII. The Story of the Week. Editorial Articles.

1. Draw from this issue at least five suitable topics for graduation orations.
2. Draw from this issue at least five suitable propositions for debate.

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. A Conference of Friends, Not a Mass Meeting. A Roll of Honor.

1. Define an alliance. Show why the Four-Power Treaty is not held to establish an alliance.
2. Explain the editor's answer to the question: "If nothing in the nature of an alliance is implied is the world not left just where it was before?"
3. Why does the world as well as their country owe a debt of gratitude to the Senators on the Roll of Honor?

II. The Watch on the Rheingold. Are We Left Out in the Cold?

1. "Now, however, it is being said that our Government has no present intention of pressing the claim. It was only filing that claim, asserting its validity in a singularly vivid and dramatic way." (a) Why did Secretary Hughes have "no option in the matter" of "filing that claim"? (b) From both articles state the "validity" of the claim. (c) What is there to be said for not "pressing the claim" now?

III. The Delhi Telegram.

1. Summarize the points which the telegram "particularly emphasizes."
2. Explain what you mean by "guaranteeing the neutrality of the Dardanelles." Show how the question of the Dardanelles has entered into (a) European history before 1914, (b) the World War, (c) the peace treaties.
3. Answer the question in regard to "sovereignty of the Sultan over holy places" being "consistent with the sovereignty of King Feisal of Irak and King Hussein of Hedjaz . . . or with a British mandate over Palestine, or with French rule in Syria."
4. Review the history of the Turks under some such general topics as (a) the growth of Turkish power to its greatest extent, (b) the States which have emerged as Turkish power has receded, (c) the weaknesses of Turkish rule, (d) the history of the Turkish policies of Russia, England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, etc., (e) Turkey's part in the World War, (f) the main features of the Treaty of Sévres.

IV. The Rand Strike.

1. What factors besides the economic questions were present in the strike?
2. Review the history of the region included in the present Union of South Africa. Describe its government, including its relation to the British Empire.

V. Rights and Wrongs of Speculation.

1. Can you prove that "a 'free and open' market for securities is a necessary part of the country's financial structure"?
2. What is meant by a "free and open market"?
3. State the arguments for and against the idea that speculation has economic value.
4. Is it "better to have the (New York) Stock Exchange as it is or to subject it to 'regulation' by means of 'incorporation'?" Why is this question of importance to people outside of New York City?

VI. The St. Lawrence Waterway Problem.

1. Summarize the "more salient angles" upon which the article attempts "to throw a little light."
2. What problems enter into "the physical practicability of the route"?
3. Explain how various factors enter into the traffic competition of railroad and water routes.
4. Locate on a map the area "economically tributary to the St. Lawrence waterway." Make some estimate of how the different states and provinces contribute to the production of "the principal items of export named."

VII. What Is Happening in Russia? Lenin Will Retreat No Farther, The Life Line of the A. R. A.

1. Summarize the present situation in Russia.
2. Explain the feeling of "gratitude and warm friendship" for America.

VIII. The Bankers Say.

1. Underline the briefest possible number of words which give striking statements of (a) the economic results of the bonus, (b) the results upon the soldiers themselves (c) the explanation of the demand for a bonus.

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

April 1, 1922



Success in Life and Success in Living

What to Expect of a College Education

By Guy Emerson

Vice-President National Bank of Commerce, New York

BUSINESS experience leads to the conclusion that the knowledge acquired in college contributes little to success in business, and, speaking generally, that an academic course may often be a detriment rather than an aid to achievement along purely money-making lines.

Many college men make money in spite of culture. But the qualities which spell fortune in business today lie deeper than formal education: a native doggedness, a single-minded determination to succeed, often a willingness to sacrifice health, comfort, and all the gentler side of life in the process. The business man with no outside interest gives his day, and often most of his night, to his work. Whatever his shortcomings, he excels through persistency, and in "infinite capacity for taking pains." But even these qualities avail him little unless they be based upon another attribute, quite definite, but hard to define exactly, which may be called business acumen. It is the subtle sense for making five dollars grow where only one grew before, the *flair* for success, the downright human ability which a man either has or has not. Not even a Business School can teach it. Only the school of experience can bring it out if it exists. Certainly a course in the liberal arts often dulls it, by throwing the emphasis and balance of a man's interest over to other things.

Now, exceptions can be found to all generalizations of this sort. Who's Who shows a striking proportion of success among college graduates in all varieties of activity. But it is none the less a fair general statement that the men who succeed in business, whether they are college graduates or not, must be devoted, with an almost religious ardor and often to the practical exclusion of all else, to the life of trade. It is well they are so devoted; for the physical comfort of millions of people depends upon the proper functioning of the great machinery of trade and finance.

Probably the absorbing economic life of the country will always draw into its highly competitive circle much of the cream of our young manhood. The trouble has been that during the past generation or two the rapid and dramatic material growth of America has afforded a field of effort full of the lure of creative work and quick profits; and this work has drawn to itself more than its fair share of our best men. Our intellectual,

social, religious, and political needs have not had their full measure of devotion. The balance is not true. We must direct our attention once more to the vital fact that the reason for setting up this great material structure of trade is simply to produce the basic essentials of comfortable living, and thus to release the individual, so that the essentials of life, the spiritual and intellectual development of men and women, may have an opportunity to be realized. As a nation we have made an end in itself of what is in reality only a means to an end.

What, then, are colleges for? The answer is evident, though a failure to see it is today blocking the success of a high proportion of college careers. The simple and commonplace answer is this: a man's inner life is at least as important to his happiness, and to his ultimate value to mankind, as is his outer life. If he plunges into the stress of business with no personal religion, no clearly thought out body of ethical convictions, no knowledge of the story of his tribe or the history of the various races of mankind, no accurate knowledge of, or sense of responsibility for, the political system under which he lives, no love for the ideals and aspirations of the world which have been woven into its literature, its poetry, its painting, its music, its sculpture, its architecture, no knowledge of the great outdoors, through which he is at home in a boat, on a horse, in the woods, or with a fishing-rod in his hand; in short, if he has built for himself a colorful habitation of the spirit in which he can rejoice and grow great, even if he be condemned to live in the utter desolation of the waste places of the earth—such a man is, in a greater or less degree, a shell of himself, an empty parody of what he might have been. He may win great riches; but they will be ashes in his mouth.

The confusion of thought which would test the success of all education by its immediate dollar value is widespread. In the New York *Tribune* of December 13 reference was made editorially to a prominent woman who had recently entered the field of business. Said the editor: "To flourish in competitive enterprises one must have an education deeper and more practical than can be gained by books." This assumes that the avowed object of education gained from books is the promotion of success in competitive enterprises. One is reminded

of the old Oxford professor who at a college banquet proposed this toast: "Here's to pure mathematics: May it never be worth a damn to anybody." The school of agriculture attempts to teach the rudiments of farming, the military school the science of war; the engineering school, the law school, the medical school, the school of domestic science, each offers a definite form of practical instruction. This is a tendency of the time and within limits a sound tendency. But let us rejoice that it is still possible in the undergraduate departments of some of our colleges to educate the human mind without applying a dollar test to the results. And let us be willing to stand up and defend such education, within its due limits, as a priceless heritage of civilization.

What, then, should a man aim to do in college? At least this: he should make friends, close friends. Acquaintances are a pleasant pastime, but the half dozen lasting friendships of a college career may outweigh almost all successes in after life. He should learn thoroughly some cultural subject—history is especially well adapted for a life-long hobby, or the drama, or poetry—or some branch of science. This should be done for one reason only, namely, the happiness it will bring to the individual, and with no thought that it will ever bring a penny in material profits. If it proves of value later as a background for sound statesmanship or other public service, or as a basis for creative work along artistic or

literary lines, so much the better. And, more often than not, such a result will follow. But first of all let the subject be studied for itself alone, and let the understanding and enjoyment be its own reward.

Another important thing to be done in college is to lay the basis, however small, for a personal library. Books bought when the student has time to cover his subject in outline, may not be read for ten or fifteen years thereafter. But they are at hand for a fortunate hour. And if not bought then, they may never be bought. A final objective is a sound physical development and a habit of perfect health. The man who follows this programme will not only stand a chance of winning some distinction in his college work, but he will during his college career lay the basis for the highest personal happiness in after life.

In conclusion: to the mooted question, "Is the college man a success in business?" the answer should be, "No—not unless he would have been a success in business if he had not gone to college." The important question is, "Will the college man succeed in the much more difficult business of *living*?" Here the answer is that, provided he has the right stuff in him to start with, if the college graduate does not so succeed it is because he has cruelly wasted golden years and priceless opportunities to establish in leisure the foundations of a measure of happiness which unfortunately it is given to all too few mortal men to gain.

A Portrait of Coal

The Human Stake in the Geography of Carbon

By Benjamin Baker

HERE is a portrait of American Coal, by the Geological Survey. Like all portraits, it tells something less than all the truth about the subject. And also, like the best Sargent portraits, it tells a surprising lot about the character that shapes the face. Many persons say, "I don't know anything about art, but I know what I like"; but that attitude is unsuited to the present exhibition. You won't like this rather grim-looking visage of the Greatest American. Yet the portrait is full of the art that portrays character: and careful study of it, with the aid of a few biographical notes, will well repay you.

The portrait (or map, if you like) shows the coal-producing areas of the country east of the Mississippi, and covers all of the industry in which a general strike beginning April 1 would be of real consequence to the general public. The figures on the cross-hatched areas show in millions of tons the total production of bituminous coal in each state in 1918. The heavy, arrow-tipped lines show where coal is shipped ~~from~~ each of the larger producing areas into other States, the varying width of these lines indicating the volume of shipments. For those who care to study details so closely, the portion of each State's production that is used within the State is shown by the underlined figures: the portion used by railroads is shown by the figures in circles.

Included, and almost lost, in the larger picture is the comparatively minute anthracite field of Eastern Pennsylvania. Because nearly all householders in the Eastern and New England States burn anthracite for house-heating, they habitually think of "coal" as anthracite, and they mistakenly apply news reports and propaganda that really concern only soft coal to their own special fuel. The Pennsylvania anthracite fields (the only real supply in the country) cover 480 square miles. The mines have reached full development, and the maximum production is about 90,000,000 tons a year; the excess of nearly 10,000,000 in 1918

came from the waste piles, fine sizes usable only for steam boilers. Three-quarters of the annual production is in the hands of eight companies. The mines are tightly unionized, and will remain so. A strike in these mines is not a certainty. As this article is written the operators and the miners' delegates are meeting in New York to consider the wage issues, and it is not improbable that the peace will be kept. Anthracite is really a monopoly, and the public will have to pay any prices that are necessary to harmony.

The main part of the picture is therefore concerned with soft coal, and the situation as to that is utterly different from the anthracite case. In the whole country, the soft coal areas amount to 458,000 square miles—practically a thousand times that of anthracite. It is nearly true to say that almost any landowner in the great central valley of the country can open his own mine and go into the coal market. In 1918 there were 11,000 soft coal mines in operation. Half of this number produced that year 2.2 per cent. of the total production of 566,000,000 tons. The country's normal requirement at present is about 500,000,000 tons, while the mines actually opened can supply 700,000,000 if they can find a market. These figures show the serious over-development of the soft coal industry. The superfluity is shown by the fact that last year 654 companies (not all of them large) produced 133,000,000 tons—nearly one-third of the total consumption for the year.

As the picture shows, the main bulk of the soft coal mining is done in the great Appalachian folds. There are two strong reasons for this. The Appalachian coal is nearer than that of other fields to the chief consumers of soft coal, the industries. And it is better coal. Bituminous beds are thick—generally at least six to eight feet—throughout the country: but the building processes of the Appalachian Mountains squeezed out of the coal beds there some of the water and volatile components that make Illinois coal, for



instance, less desirable in several ways. The Appalachian soft coals become dryer and less volatile from the western side towards the east. On the eastern border the curing processes of compression have produced the super-bituminous coals such as Pocahontas, New River and George's Creek. Carried still further, the curing processes resulted in the hard anthracite of Eastern Pennsylvania. The curing process was also applied to the soft coal in south-western Arkansas, part of Oklahoma, and northward into Kansas, and the coals of that region are therefore superior to those of the middle valley.

Nearness to markets, as the map shows, is partly an affair of distance, partly one of transportation costs. It is evident that the Appalachian basins must supply all the territory to the east of them, and that Central coal has no market there because of the greater cost of the longer rail haul. But the arrow-tipped lines show that Appalachian coals, carried by boats on the Great Lakes, supply a large part of the demand in the northwest, though the Illinois coals are much nearer to these markets. The difference is due to the much lower cost of water transport. The great fields of Illinois and Indiana, producing 120,000,000 tons in 1918 (over a fifth of the total), have been of vast importance in building up the railroads and the manufacturing industries of the Middle West, and their coal is making its way by rail into the Northwest.

Division into Union and Non-Union depends in large part on the severity in different regions of the seasonal fluctuations, which are the gravest burden of the soft coal industry—though the aggressiveness of the Mine Workers' Union has modified the application of the principle. Indiana and Illinois are solidly union and closed shop, and it is on this field that the slack demand of summer and the disadvantages of rail transport cost bear most heavily. For thirty years past, the entire industry has had an average of ninety-three no-work days a year, about eighty of these being the average loss due to seasonal slackening of demand. In the seven years 1913-1919, which included the peak of the war demand, the Central Competitive Field, covering Illinois-Indiana, Eastern Ohio, and a piece of Western Pennsylvania, averaged 107.4 lost days, against only fifty-eight lost days for the largely non-union fields of the Southern Appalachian region.

This difference, though it is not the whole story, has a very important bearing on the present struggle between the Mine Workers' Union and the soft coal operators.

The operators of the Central field were driven into making contracts with the Union by means of strikes and the favorable legislation that the miners were able to secure from the State legislatures. These contracts, by raising wages, increased the producing cost of Central coal and thereby increased the danger of competition from the really better coals of the Appalachian fields, especially from the non-union fields where production costs were lower. Of Pennsylvania's 1918 total of 178,000,000 tons, 63,000,000 were non-union; of West Virginia's total of 90,000,000, sixty were non-union. Twenty millions non-union came from Kentucky, ten from Virginia, and nearly five from Maryland. When Central Field mines were shut down for lack of orders, or by strikes, the idle miners could see non-union Appalachian coal coming in trains into and through their own country, where the local coals were unable to compete. Such a situation made the Central operators "sore"; and the Union by way of return for its contracts with the Central operators, has done its utmost for years past to unionize the non-union fields so as to even up the conditions of competition.

The present conflict in the soft coal industry is due to the severe depression resulting from slackened manufacturing throughout the country. The operators running their mines on the union basis see the competing non-union mines with lower production costs getting the advantage in the markets. They see the total production of the non-union mines increasing until it has now reached nearly a half of the country's normal demand. With the average wage rate of the union miner around \$7.50 a day, and the union resisting any decrease, the union operators not unnaturally feel that the present slump is the best time to break away from the restrictions of the union contracts. The operators have disregarded their pledge in the contract with the Union to confer on new wage agreements, and apparently are determined on a finish fight. The coal consumers of the country will probably not suffer, for immense reserve stocks have been laid up in anticipation of the struggle. For the individual union miner the outlook is different. His present position is "uneconomic," and probably untenable. It is one of the greatest evils of an inflated industry that his human rights are likely to suffer because the god of the economic machine is strictly impersonal.

A Letter from President Harding to the Religious Book Week Committee

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 27, 1922.

It is a pleasure to endorse the program of your organization for the wider circulation of books of a religious character.

I strongly feel that every good parent cares for his child's body, that the child may have a normal and healthy life and growth; cares for his child's mind, that the child may take his proper place in a world of thinking people; and such a parent must also train his child's character religiously, that the world may become morally fit. Unless this is done, trained bodies and trained minds may simply add to the destructive forces of the world.

Very sincerely,

Warren G. Harding



EDITORIAL



The Gentle Art of Averting Peace

A PROMINENT member of the New York Bar, a public-spirited citizen, a gentleman deeply interested in international affairs, Mr. Paul D. Cravath, happens to belong to a small social organization which meets occasionally at dinner to discuss the problems of world politics. The organization calls itself the Council on Foreign Relations, a somewhat pretentious if not presumptuous title which for the uninitiated carries a distinct flavor of officialdom and authority. But it has no such intent and its private and intimate character gives an opportunity for the frank interchange of views. Some months ago a dinner was held at which the subject of discussion was the Washington Conference. Mr. Cravath voiced his conviction that an important achievement of the Conference was the bringing about of a sympathetic understanding between the United States and Great Britain regarding the Far East and Pacific questions generally. He gave his hearers to understand that he based his conviction on conversations with men prominently identified with the Conference. We have repeatedly expressed the same view editorially, as well as our gratification at the promise of peace contained in this growth of better understanding between the two English-speaking peoples, and so far as we know no one has yet quoted us as an authority for the existence of a secret alliance or a deep-laid plot against Japan or the rest of the world.

Another lawyer, also interested in international affairs, sincere but ignorant, and an indefatigable seeker after the limelight, Mr. William E. Borah, happens to belong to an exclusive organization in Washington which meets with some regularity before and after dinner to discuss politics. This organization is known as the United States Senate, which august title expresses an authority and official character not always justified by the quality of the discussions taking place in it. It may be remarked in passing that the two organizations are not connected and do not exchange membership privileges, and that the Washington society is not in any way bound to accept the decisions of its New York contemporary.

Despite this fact, Mr. Borah possessed himself of a stenographic report of Mr. Cravath's impromptu remarks at a private meeting of the rival organization—not the report corrected and revised by Mr. Cravath, but the stenographer's original notes—and on the basis of this proclaimed to his own organization the existence of a sinister plot, a secret alliance to which England and America were committed. The assumption was that the American delegates to the Conference were a deceitful and traitorous lot and that the Four-Power Treaty concealed beneath its pacific surface some brazen imperialistic scheme calculated to embroil

us in war. Had the debate on the Treaty continued we should have expected Mr. Borah to quote the words of the chairman of the High School Debating Society of Boise to prove that the American delegates had concluded an offensive-defensive alliance with the Sultan of Sulu directed against the Dutch East Indies to aid Wall Street in rigging the bond market.

The American people, accustomed to the buncombe of party politics, look upon such absurdities in Senate discussions with amused tolerance, for they have the saving grace of humor. To them the allegations of Senator Borah, as well as the equally absurd allegations of Senator Johnson concerning an address of Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Ambassador, serve only to show the extremities to which the opponents of the Treaty were driven in their endeavor to make out a case. But when we consider the world at large and the effect on America's foreign relations, the utterance of such loose and unfounded statements in our highest legislative body takes on a different aspect. Abroad they are calculated to do America great harm; in some quarters they merely occasion ridicule, but in others they arouse suspicion and disgust.

The most striking feature of these extraordinary tactics of Senator Borah is their inconsistency. Borah professes to be in favor of peace and to believe that peace can be obtained by the simple act of disarmament. Yet on top of this he persists in following a course which, by sowing seeds of dissension and suspicion and by creating irritation through baseless charges of bad faith, is calculated to undo all the good work toward mutual understanding and confidence that the Conference accomplished. It is as if a noisy reformer in a community insisted on going through each house and seizing all firearms and then proceeded to set all the neighbors by the ears through the circulation of scandalous gossip. Will our Senators never learn that the United States is no longer an isolated provincial community in which they can harmlessly indulge their freakish propensities, but a great nation in a family of nations, concerned with its good repute among its neighbors and bearing on its shoulders its proper share of responsibility for the maintenance of peace and for the promotion of the welfare of all?

“Coöperative Competition”

PRACTICAL results of considerable public moment may reasonably be expected from the conference on April 12 between Secretary Hoover and representatives of the country's trade associations. The general situation is admirably stated by Mr. Hoover:

The problem involved is one that goes to the very foundation of our whole social and economic system. As a people, we are saying at the same time that we must maintain competition in order that we should maintain individual initiative; that we will not have profiteering; that we will keep free the law of supply and demand; that we should

have such a basis of business stability as prevents wholesale bankruptcy, with its attendant depressions and unemployment. These principles do not altogether conflict, but they will require careful harnessing if they are to be driven in team.

Trade associations have lately engaged the unfavorable attention of the country through the exposure of sinister practices made by the Lockwood Committee in New York, and the decision of the Supreme Court in the so-called Hardwood case. Yet the typical trade association (an organization of manufacturers or distributors in a single line) has been trying to accomplish for the single trade essentially what the coming conference will try to accomplish in some degree for the whole country—its first purpose has been to ensure the stability of the business.

The logical first step for the trade association is to coöperate in gathering the business facts which its members need, and which, for the most part, they can get only through coöperative action. Out of the armory of facts spring various policies of defense of the association's interests—including the "offensive-defensive," this latter category ranging all the way from exchanging credit information and opposing unfavorable legislation, to the positive abuses of price fixing and the choking off of competition. The problem before the coming conference is to see whether, and how, the basically sound methods of the trade association can be applied to the entire business of the country in conformity with the restraining principles which we believe the country is firmly determined to maintain.

The plea that business stability and prosperity require "liberalizing" of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law is again coming from many business men, and some economists. But we believe—and we take this to be Mr. Hoover's attitude—that the Sherman law expresses a public policy to which business must find a way to conform. The law was passed to prevent or remedy what the people of the country plainly considered an overwhelming evil. That it may not be *easy* to adjust business to this proclaimed standard of economic conduct is no answer to the public need for having the adjustment made. And with sufficient good-will on the part of business (aided by the counsel of the Attorney-General), we believe that the adjustment will prove less difficult than many now consider it. At all events, until the attempt at adjustment on a national scale has been honestly made, and has plainly failed, we believe the public interest requires the maintaining of the economic standard of conduct set up (even though in negative terms) by the Sherman law.

Moreover, there is a great administrative advantage in the present situation. If the Sherman law were relaxed, and the Washington Government were given a wide "discretion" in applying the diluted prohibition, we should throw upon administration a vast power with no corresponding accountability to the public. One of the gravest of our present troubles is that administration fails to apply and enforce adequately the comparatively simple policy we now have. To load upon administration a vast additional power of "discretion under the law," would be to break it down utterly. As things stand, the bulk of the administrative duty lies on the shoulders of business itself, held accountable under penal statute. No change should be made until there is proof, now lacking, of the impracticability of the present order of things.

The Soft Coal Crisis

THE threatened disruption of the soft coal industry ought to rouse the country to action that will put the industry on a just and stable basis. While agriculture is the basic primary industry of all the world, the supplying of power—in other words, soft coal—to a great industrial country like ours ranks almost with the supplying of food as a primary need. Without food, our industrial populations will starve: yet without coal for the factories they cannot earn the money nor produce the goods that pay for food. Nevertheless we allow all that depends on coal to be put in peril by endless contention, while we continue ignorant of the true remedy. What can be done about it?

First, we need to realize that all the serious troubles of the soft coal industry grow out of the fact of an available supply so much greater than the demand that the needed adjustments have not been worked out by the free play of economic forces. For a normal use of 500,000,000 tons we have a developed capacity of 700,000,000.

The over-development and under-profitableness of the industry was so serious in 1914 that the operators of the Central Competitive Field were appealing to the then new Federal Trade Commission to find the way to business salvation. The industry as a whole was nearly on the rocks. Then the war-time demand for coal temporarily relieved the industry; but at the same time it aggravated the basic maladjustments. It increased over-development, increased wages and labor costs, and heavily increased the price to the consumer—chiefly the industries of the country. Now, in a time of profound industrial depression, the industry has come to another day of reckoning; and the only issue that has been put before the country (and even this not clearly) is whether the industry shall be union or non-union. This is an important issue, but it is not real rock bottom.

The fundamental problem is whether we can so adjust the supply to the normal use as to get rid of the present excess of developed capacity, with its burdens of unemployment, profiteering, strikes, and social bitterness. It is this excess of developed capacity that makes the trouble.

Whether the vital difficulty above dwelt upon can be removed without public control, and if so, what other measures of regulation are desirable, is a question that must be decided in the light of full knowledge. This the Congress has power to secure. We therefore believe that the first and indispensable step to economic peace, justice, and efficiency in the soft coal industry is the creation of a national commission empowered and required to get and to make public in full *all the facts of the coal industry*.

The public, with its safety threatened by a chaotic industry, is entitled to the facts, and can have them if it insists. Incidentally, a public inquisition of this kind looms inevitably behind the Atlantic super-power plan. When the industries of several States are made dependent on a single system of interstate power supply, the Federal Government will be obliged to regulate its costs and prices, and by that fact will be compelled to undertake for a limited field the investigation it should now make for the whole coal industry. There is no reason for delay. Eventually—much better now.

Professors, Politeness First!

MR. EDISON has a grievance against Professor W. A. Scott, of the University of Wisconsin. Professor Scott, instead of undertaking to answer the questions addressed to him (and to other prominent economists) by Mr. Edison about the latter's proposed substitute for the gold standard, wrote a letter in which he stated his opinion of the matter as follows:

I find it difficult to understand how a man like yourself, if he has seriously studied any of the literature of the subject, can seriously ask such questions. They betray to me an utter lack of comprehension of even the A B C of the subject and I should consider that only a clear setting forth of the very elements of the subject would be adequate to set your mind straight.

Now we don't blame Mr. Edison for feeling hurt and resentful at such a reply. But neither do we blame Professor Scott for making it. If that is what he thought of the case—and there is no reason in the world to doubt his sincerity—that is just what he ought to have said. We ourselves do not altogether share Professor Scott's view; we believe that Mr. Edison is utterly wrong, but we find his questions, although wrong-headed, to have been framed with such ingenuity as indicates a considerable knowledge of the subject on the part of the man who got them up—presumably some person whom Mr. Edison engaged to do that work for him. But that is not the point just now at issue. The point is that if Mr. Scott thinks that nobody but a fool or an ignoramus could go so far wrong as did the writer of those questions, then his expression of that opinion is not only justifiable, but praiseworthy.

The dispatch that brought the news of Mr. Edison's protest against Professor Scott's letter states that members of the Board of Regents of the University who have received copies of the correspondence "intend to suggest an investigation of the matter at the next board meeting." If this be so, it is another illustration of the fact that, though much advance has been made in recent years in the understanding of the proper status of university professors, there still remains necessary a great deal of education of university boards on that point. To discipline Professor Scott for manfully asserting his opinion of an intellectual absurdity, to make him feel a moment's discomfort because he was not afraid to say an unpleasant thing to a big man, is to do precisely the opposite of what needs to be done about our university professors. The more you make them feel that to accept a professorship is to surrender your individuality, the smaller will be the breed of men who will be willing to go into university work. Usually the conflict between the outspoken professor and the regulator turns on a question of controversial opinion; in this case we have a question of the supposed requirements of good manners. But at bottom precisely the same issue is involved—the question whether we want our professors to be men or want them to be puppets. As between Mr. Edison and Professor Scott, it is quite possible that the professor was to blame for not being more polite in his letter, but it is just as intolerable that a professor should be held to account, like a child, for a breach of politeness of this kind as that he should

be muzzled in the expressions of his opinion on public questions. If we want our professors to be men, we must make them secure in the manifestation of their manhood. And if we want our students to get the inspiration they ought to get out of their university life, we must above all see to it that their professors are full-sized men.

Our Little Army

FROM some, at least, of its advances, civilization never retires. In America this bids fair to be true of our opinion of experts. We still smile at Artemus Ward's "perfessers," but we make distinctions. Even in military matters we have come to see that there is an expert knowledge not automatically conferred with commissions or achieved in a day. To this expert opinion must be referred the question of the numerical strength of our peace-time military establishment.

No point of principle is at stake in the question as to whether one hundred and fifty thousand men or one hundred and fifteen thousand shall constitute our "regular" army. All the oratory in the world cannot create an issue out of such a difference: there is no question of militarism *versus* pacifism, no question of a large *versus* a small establishment. Both figures represent a small establishment—less than one soldier to every two hundred square miles of our territory, not including the demands of the islands or of the Panama zone; including the establishments required at these points, about one soldier to every five hundred square miles of home territory.

There must be a figure below which the army cannot be efficient for its known duties, a figure above which it would constitute an encouragement to military loaferism. Also, there must be a figure that will give us an employed, efficient force with enough reserve strength to meet minor and sudden emergencies without recourse to a levy of citizen soldiery—a thing that is always exorbitantly costly and always a profound disturbance to economic life. The War Department experts have named what they believe to be that right figure, and no facts have been adduced to impugn their judgment.

The Secretary of War was one of the foremost of the Administration heads to take up the economy programme. Our rapid reduction of war-time military extravagances and excrescences has been achieved under his direction with a smoothness and absence of irritation that speak much for the efficiency of the accomplishment.

We have embarked as a people on a course that is neither imperialist nor pacifist, a course of peaceful development and firm maintenance of rights. The pursuit of this course is inconsistent with a militarist attitude; its success is endangered by pacifist propaganda. Little toleration is possible to the application of high-sounding arguments drawn from these serious issues to a question that is wholly one of economy and efficiency—a question for expert determination. It is no small matter to dull the meaning of a great argument and sully a great cause by the misapplication of its basic reasons to questions to which they have no relation.

The Story of the Week

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

The Domestic Budget

Army and Navy Legislation

THE House Committee on Military Affairs has reported a bill which would reduce the enlisted strength of the army to 115,000 and the officer personnel from the 17,000 required by the National Defense Act of 1920, to 11,000. Enactment of the bill would go far to nullify the more important provisions of the National Defense Act; those relating to organization and training of the National Guard and Organized Reserves. However, before passing the bill, Congress may obtain authentic information of the schedule of the Millennium.

The bill contains a provision that no part of the appropriation shall be used for troops in China, or for troops in excess of 500 in Europe, or for troops in excess of 5,000 in the Panama Canal Zone and 5,000 in Hawaii. It is a nice point whether or no such a provision would be an invasion of the President's constitutional authority as Commander-in-Chief of the Army. The disinterested passion of the House for economy in army and navy expenditures is continually reassuring to the citizen.

The House Naval Committee has reported a bill which proposes a maximum enlisted naval strength of 80,000, plus 6,000 apprentices; *i. e.*, 10,000 less than the strength declared by Secretary Denby to be the minimum required. The bill also provides that not more than 200 graduates of each of the Naval Academy classes of 1922, 1923, and 1924 shall be commissioned; and would reduce from five to two the appointments to the Naval Academy within the gift of each Congressman. There are 541 members of this year's graduating class at the Academy.

Strikes

Mr. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, has issued an order for a general strike of the 600,000 union workers in bituminous and anthracite fields. The order excepts those who are necessary "to insure the proper care and protection of all mining property." It is to take effect April 1. The referendum vote went overwhelmingly for a strike.

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A strike involving 25,000 workers in textile plants at Lawrence, Mass., has been ordered, to take effect March 27,

because of the announcement of a 20 per cent. wage reduction.

Secretary Hughes Files a Brief

Secretary Hughes has sent an identical note to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, and Japan, which is a closely argued legal brief in support of our claim that our right to be reimbursed by Germany for the costs of our Army of Occupation in Germany is on an equal footing with the similar Allied rights, and not in any way affected by our failure to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. The note ends pleasantly as follows:

The Government of the United States believes that its right to be paid the actual cost of its army of occupation *pari passu* with the cost of the armies of the Allied Powers is not only a clearly equitable right but is free from any technical objection.

This Government will welcome any suggestion from the Allied Governments for the reasonable adjustment of this matter. Upon receiving assurances of payment, this Government will be only too happy to proceed to the consideration of suitable means by which its just claim may be satisfied. Pending such consideration and adjustment, this Government earnestly hopes that the Allied Governments will be disposed to refrain from giving effect to any arrangements for the distribution of cash payments received from Germany to the exclusion of the claim of the United States.

Latest Phase of the Fox Hills Matter

It was proposed to transfer a considerable number of tuberculosis cases from Fox Hills Hospital, Staten

Island, New York (ordered abandoned as unsuitable), to excellent establishments in distant States. But a hullabaloo was raised about separating the men from their families and friends. Arrangements, therefore, have been made for transfer of those who object to going to distant States, to a hospital at Sea View, New Dorp, Staten Island. Those who are willing to be transferred to the salubrious climates of the Arizona and North Carolina and California mountains, will have the better chance of recovery.

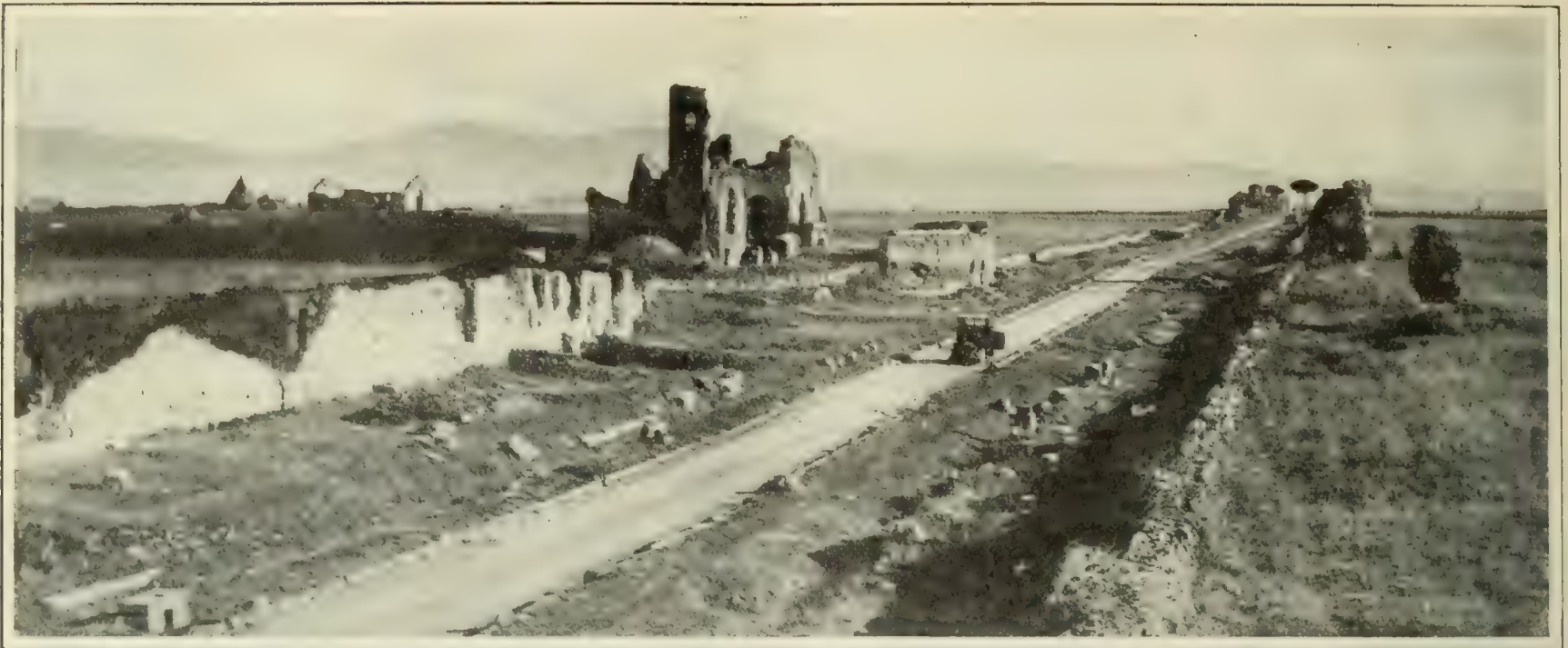
Secretary Hughes and Mesopotamia

Secretary Hughes is again pressing upon the attention of the British Government the American view with respect to "the Open Door and equality of Opportunity" in Mesopotamia. He is said to have refused to recognize the claim of the Turkish Petroleum Company (a British con-



Wide World

The clubhouse of the Panama Golf Club, Panama Canal Zone, called The 19th Hole, and said to be the oldest golf clubhouse in the Western Hemisphere



International

A glimpse of the Appian Way, Italy, which once resounded to the drums and trappings of the Roman legions and is now a perfect automobile roadway. It is as good as when built 2200 years ago

cern) to exclusive oil concessions in Mesopotamia, asserting that these alleged ante-bellum concessions have no legal basis (there being no formal contract or agreement, at most a loose and unconsummated understanding).

Mr. Bryan Speaks Again

The following, from a recent address by Mr. William Jennings Bryan, deserves such publicity as this journal may give:

Some of my friends have told me that I should have gone into the ministry instead of politics. Some Republicans wish I had.

I talk with God every day, and if He had wanted me for the ministry He had ample opportunity to tell me. I think I know why He preferred that I should enter politics. Ministers need defending by laymen, and as a layman I can say things for them which they out of modesty could not say for themselves.

I believe the time has come for ministers to stop playing second fiddle to scientists. I believe a man who speaks for God should not be pushed off the sidewalk by a man who thinks we are descended from apes.

The Evolutionists Win in Kentucky

The anti-evolutionists of Kentucky seem to have received the "kibosh," but by only the very narrowest of margins. A bill to "prohibit the teaching of Darwinism, atheism, agnosticism, infidelity, and evolution as relating to the origin of man," in the schools and colleges of Kentucky, was on March 9 defeated by 42 to 41. The champions of the measure made the singular claim that "Prussianism and Darwinism are closely akin." Publicity and advertisement figured largely in the campaign. It is asserted that there is "a million dollar fund behind a national movement akin to the Kentucky bill."

Governor Bone on Alaska

Governor Scott C. Bone says that, of the 600,000 square miles of Alaska, fully 100,000 are available for agricultural purposes; he suggests liberal grants to veterans. A great deal has been said about Alaska oil, but Governor Bone points out that the principal oil find is in the vicinity of Cape Simpson on the Arctic Ocean. The oil is there all right, but how to get it to the markets except at prohibitive cost, is the problem. There is plenty of coal, much more easily accessible than the Simpson oil, but none has ever been shipped out of Alaska for commercial purposes. The railroad, 467 miles in length, from Seward to Fairbanks, now complete except for a bridge over the Tanana, furnishes an outlet for a region rich in minerals and soil suitable for agriculture.

The Governor thinks that the chief need of Alaska is "a

coördinated and simplified system of administration."

With perfect connections, the journey from Washington City to Juneau, the capital of Alaska (4,000 inhabitants), can be made in eight days. And, lookye, you can make the trip from Valdez to Fairbanks by automobile (on the Richardson road, named after that extraordinary man, Colonel Richardson); and, glory of glories in this congested world, you can travel stretches of thirty miles on that road without seeing a human habitation or meeting a human being. Alas! if you and I go there, we shall be helping to spoil that Utopian condition.

A New University Course

It is reported that the College of Business Administration of Boston University is to give a six weeks' course for young men in preparation for work in summer hotels during the long vacation.

But don't speak lightly of Boston University. She beat Yale two seasons running in football, so that Yale (*eheu fugaces!* alack for the Yale of Heffelfinger and Hinkey!) dropped her from her schedule.

The "Biggest University in the World"

The total enrollment of Columbia University is 32,420 (last year's was 31,000). This total includes 9,953 university extension students and 11,809 students of the summer school. The number of Columbia College students is 2,024; of Barnard students, 732; of students in the graduate and professional schools, 8,193. The Columbia authorities having made the proud claim that Columbia is the biggest university in the world, the claim was at once challenged by the University of California, which boasts a registration of 43,266 (even excluding a University farm and summer students).

Helium Gas

The present cost of helium gas is 13 cents per cubic foot. It would have cost, at that rate, \$143,000 to fill the ill-fated "Roma's" bags with helium gas. But this is to be remembered: helium gas can be used over and over again, with practically no loss, only requiring purification from time to time. And the cost may be reduced. Presumably helium gas will be used in American service dirigibles in future.

The Unfortunate Country Baby

The country baby is presumed to be a red-cheeked small individual whose legs are sturdy from running over open fields and whose lungs are filled with wholesome air. But, according to Dr. Josephine Baker, the baby born in rural

districts has less chance of living to be the healthy young rascal that we like to think of than the child born in the most crowded city tenements. Dr. Baker, who is Director of the Bureau of Child Hygiene of the Health Department, gave figures at a meeting at the Town Hall on March 9, which showed that the death rate among newly born children in the city of New York is fifteen points lower than that of the country districts of New York State. Eighty-six out of every 1,000 babies in the State die before they are a year old, according to these figures, though half of them could have been saved with proper care. One county of 50,000 persons was found to be entirely without any sort of visiting or public health nurse. This state of things was set forth by Dr. Baker as a cogent argument in favor of the Sheppard-Towner maternity and infancy bill, in support of which the Town Hall meeting was called.

Brief Items

President Harding has ordered return to this country of all American troops now in Germany. As the very limited army transport service will be used, the evacuation will probably not be complete before July 1.

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The American Legion in New York is trying to raise \$2,500,000 for the endowment of a camp for veterans at

Tupper Lake in the Adirondacks. The camp ground of 1,500 acres, with twenty buildings thereon, has been purchased.

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After a long and bitter fight the New Jersey State Legislature has at last ratified the Federal Prohibition Amendment. Only two States now (Rhode Island and Connecticut) have not ratified.

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Admiral Sims is reported as declaring the battleship obsolete. "With long-range submarines and airplane carriers and the proper complement of airplanes, no hostile nation could approach within 200 miles of the American coast."

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Several large New York apartment houses are to be equipped with radio telephone service.

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Twenty years ago there were in the South 5,500,000 spindles; today there are 15,949,000. In the same period the number of spindles in Northern mills has increased from 14,700,000 to 20,776,000.

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A device ("inhalator") for resuscitating asphyxiated persons through feeding compressed oxygen to the lungs and stimulating respiration, has been brought to high efficiency by Prof. Yandell Henderson of Yale, who invented it during the war for the behoof of gassed soldiers.

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It is officially stated that good roads of a total mileage of 28,000 were built in the United States in 1921.

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On Thursday, the 23d, the House passed the Bonus Bill, 333 to 70.

The British Empire

Cost of Government

MR. P. W. WILSON, writing for the *New York Times*, gives the following interesting figures (conveniently translating pounds into dollars). Before the Great War the cost of the Government of the United Kingdom was about a billion dollars a year. Now the cost is about six billion dollars. By contrast, the cost of running our Government for a population two and a half times that of the United Kingdom, is only about four billions. The total income of the British people is estimated at twelve billions. That is, roughly speaking, and remembering that the rich are taxed much more heavily than the poor, the taxation is 33 per cent. of the income of the people (the same as after the Napoleonic wars); the "standard" income tax being 6 shillings to the pound. But, since two million workers are unemployed, or one wage-earner in every six, the burden of taxation is less equitably distributed than normally. The biggest item of the budget is the annual interest charge on the national debt of \$40,000,000,000; namely, \$2,000,000,000.

The Economy Commission headed by Sir Eric Geddes was able to recommend economies totaling only 345 millions, a certain part of which will certainly not be allowed. Mr. Wilson does not give figures to justify his expectation that the budget for the coming year will be cut down to the balanceable total of five billion dollars.

We have our burdens; but, thinking of others, shame forbids some of us to squeal too loud.

Reduction of the Services

The report, recently made public, of the Committee on National Economy, headed by Sir Eric Geddes, recommends drastic reductions in the personnel of the army, navy, and air forces of Great Britain. It proposes an army reduction of 54,000 officers and men, and a navy reduction of 35,000 officers and men.

Coördination of the army, navy, and air force under a Ministry of Defense is recommended.

The Government proposes to cut the army by 48,000 officers and men, instead of the 54,000 recommended by the committee. There would remain a total of 152,836 of all ranks, not counting the Indian and colonial establishments—the gross total being 215,000.

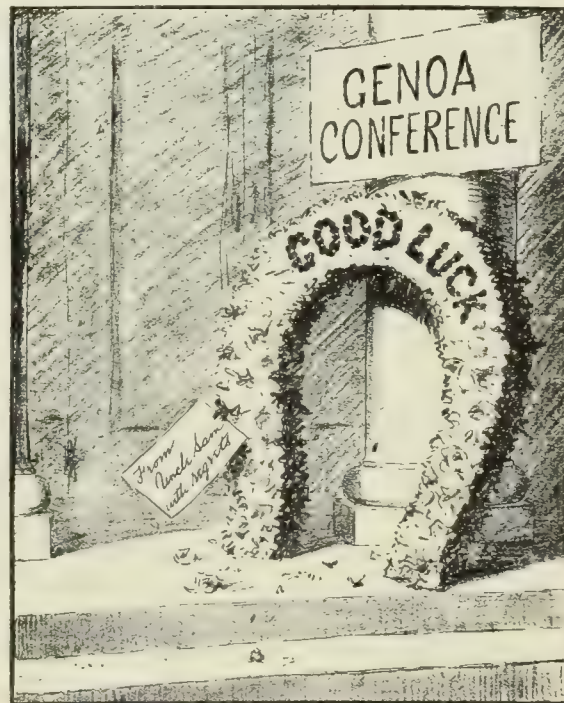
The present strength of the navy in officers and men is 98,000, as against 150,000 before the Great War.

Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, formerly Chief of the Imperial General Staff, now a member of the House of Commons for Ulster, is vigorously opposing in the Commons the proposed military reductions, contending that the Imperial military necessities are growing not less but greater in Ireland, India, and Egypt, and that Soviet Russia is no less a menace than heretofore. The Secretary of War declares that the contingents deemed necessary by Sir Henry can only be provided



Paul Thompson

The great boxwood tree under which Daniel Webster did much of his work, now being transported from the grounds of the old Webster home to the grounds of the Lincoln Memorial



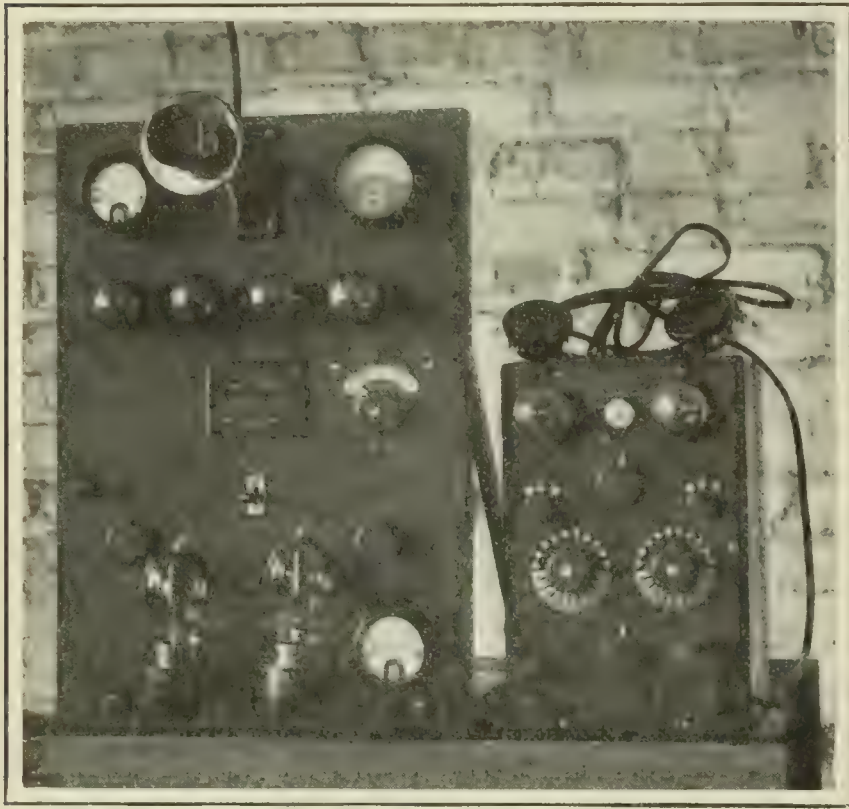
Nelson Harding

"Say It With Flowers"

or maintained by conscription, which is out of the question. The problem of maintenance of the British Empire is again in a phase of delicacy.

Rockefeller's Gifts to London

The Rockefeller Foundation has given £1,000,000 to the University of London and the University College Hospital. It has also made an offer of \$2,000,000 for buildings and equipment for a school of hygiene in London, on condition



Paul Thompson

A portable wireless telephone set (with transmitting and receiving panels) invented by Dr. Lee De Forest. The basic feature is the audion lamp

that the British Government make provision for teaching and maintenance. The offer has been accepted. These are substantial returns for sundry benefactions of Englishmen to our country in its struggling days.

The Irish Situation

The disorders in Belfast are getting more outrageous from day to day, and the border tension is at the breaking point. That great man, Sir Henry Wilson, has been appointed by the Ulster Premier to pacify the situation within Ulster, and to put the State in a proper posture of defense.

Both Republican Army troops and Ulster special constabulary are being rushed to the border, according to dispatches. Guerrilla fighting is on at a furious pace. Mr. Collins denies that Irish Republican troops of the twenty-six counties which comprise the area of the Free State have participated in the disorders, these apparently being due to sympathizers with the South within the six Ulster counties. The charge is made, not without color of probability, that the border situation is properly chargeable to the Belfast atrocities, chief blame for which is, rightly or wrongly, attributed by the Catholics to the Protestants.

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An Irish Republican Army Convention was to be held on March 26, apparently with the consent of Griffith and Collins. But Griffith discovered behind the proposal (on its face singular enough) an intention of extremists to usurp control of the army through the convention; he therefore forbade the meeting. Nevertheless, the extremists propose to hold it, or at any rate a meeting which shall declare itself representative of the army, shall repudiate the army's sworn allegiance to the Dail Eireann, shall reaffirm the army's allegiance to the Irish Republic, and shall elect its own executive. Those who are openly organizing the mutinous meeting say that they have 80 per cent. of the army

behind them. The statement is probably very wide of the truth, but if they have a considerable minority of "lawless resolute," backed by de Valera, there's no limit to the harm they can do.

The Trouble in British East Africa

There's no end to Britain's troubles. The other day a native of a certain town in the Kenia region of British East Africa was arrested by the police on a charge of sedition. Thereupon a strike of natives was declared, and a mob of several thousand natives attacked the police station, the riot act having previously been read. The King's African Rifles, who had gone to the assistance of the police, repelled the attack, killing twenty natives and injuring thirty. The British authorities are in some apprehension of consequences from this affair. There are in the Kenia highlands 6,000 British and about 4,000,000 natives. There are also some 30,000 Indian laborers; it is possible they may be behind the incident, though that is denied in dispatches. These Indians have started a little non-coöperation movement in imitation of the home article.

The chief cause, however, of the trouble is probably a system of forced native labor, which the natives strongly resent, and opposition to which has been voiced in Parliament. It is said that the Kenia upland is one of the finest agricultural regions in the world and peculiarly adapted to white settlement. The natives, one hears, own an antipathy to labor even beyond that of other African blacks; but that should be their business. No doubt Parliament will deal properly with a situation that smacks of slavery.

Gandhi Sentenced

Gandhi has been tried and sentenced to six years' imprisonment without hard labor. The Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee has passed a resolution declaring that the Swaraj and Khalifat causes have been promoted by the treatment of Gandhi and that individual civil disobedience will increase (mass civil disobedience was suspended some time ago).

Lord Peel Succeeds Montagu

Viscount Peel, grandson of the great Sir Robert, has been appointed Secretary of State for India, to succeed Mr. Montagu. Lord Peel is a Conservative, with considerable political and administrative experience. He has shown himself sound and able, but has never been accused of brilliancy. What is of first importance, however, he has the pride of empire in his blood; he is in the right line of imperial tradition.

End of the Moplah Affair

The Moplahs, that weird Mohammedan sect of Malabar (descendants of Arabs who settled on that coast in the third century after the Hegira), who rose last August against their infidel British overlords and Hindu brothers, are now pacified. In the course of the petty warfare some 2,300 of these pleasing fanatics were killed and 1,600 wounded.

Notes

The Rand strike is over, all the unions involved having so declared. Premier Smuts declares that the Afrikaner element of the population handsomely supported the Government.

* * *

The Prince of Wales ended his Indian tour on the 17th and at Karachi embarked on the "Renown" for Japan, to return the visit paid to England last year by the Japanese Crown Prince.

* * *

The British force in the Middle East has been cut down to 31,000 men from 41,000.

The Plesiosaurus in Politics

By Ellis Parker Butler

COURT-officer Durfey leaned on the rail in front of the desk of that eminent jurist, Justice of the Peace Lem Hooper, and asked a question.

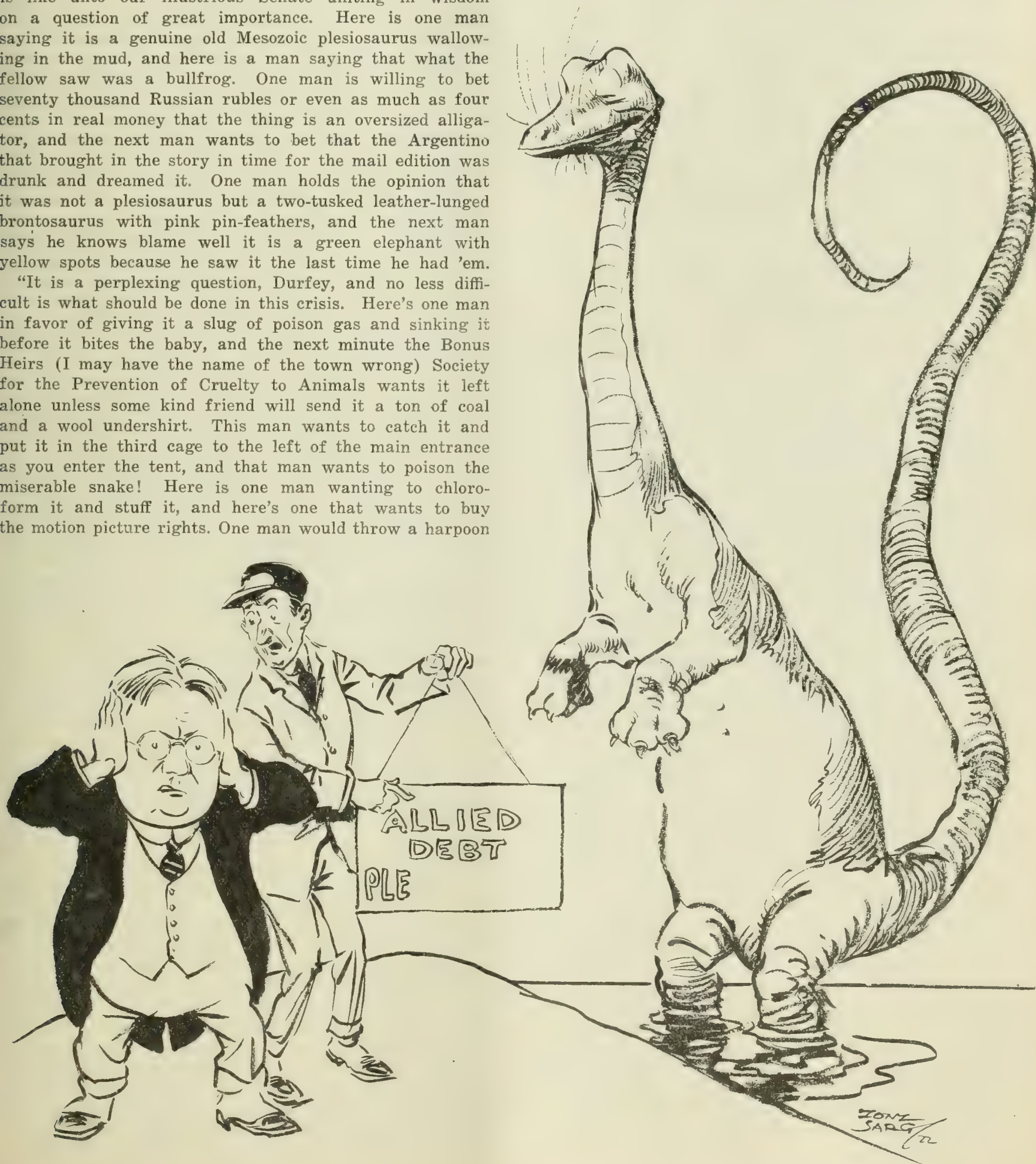
"Judge," he asked, "what do you think of this *plesiosaurus* that fellow said he saw down in Patagonia? Is it there or ain't it?"

"Durfey," replied Judge Hooper, "I hate to say. The evidence is slight and the difference of opinion is amazing. Some say it is and some say it isn't. The talk about it is like unto our illustrious Senate uniting in wisdom on a question of great importance. Here is one man saying it is a genuine old Mesozoic plesiosaurus wallowing in the mud, and here is a man saying that what the fellow saw was a bullfrog. One man is willing to bet seventy thousand Russian rubles or even as much as four cents in real money that the thing is an oversized alligator, and the next man wants to bet that the Argentino that brought in the story in time for the mail edition was drunk and dreamed it. One man holds the opinion that it was not a plesiosaurus but a two-tusked leather-lunged brontosaurus with pink pin-feathers, and the next man says he knows blame well it is a green elephant with yellow spots because he saw it the last time he had 'em.

"It is a perplexing question, Durfey, and no less difficult is what should be done in this crisis. Here's one man in favor of giving it a slug of poison gas and sinking it before it bites the baby, and the next minute the Bonus Heirs (I may have the name of the town wrong) Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals wants it left alone unless some kind friend will send it a ton of coal and a wool undershirt. This man wants to catch it and put it in the third cage to the left of the main entrance as you enter the tent, and that man wants to poison the miserable snake! Here is one man wanting to chloroform it and stuff it, and here's one that wants to buy the motion picture rights. One man would throw a harpoon

into it and boil it down for oil, and the next man would sneak up and put salt on its tail and take it home for the baby to play with.

"My own opinion, Durfey, is that this whole plesiosaurus business is no more than a cruel satire some fellow down there is using to poke fun at our august Senate. You've got to take the whole business parabolically, Durfey. There's some bitter satirists down yonder below the Equator. The whole thing is but their way of saying



that when our Senate gets hold of any problem bigger than 'Shall the dog-tax in the District of Columbia be boosted 50 cents?' it agrees the way folks agree about the plesiosaurus and what to do about it.

"You'd think, Durfey, that when the Senate has one of these whale-big, plesiosaurus-like questions on hand some of the great minds would run in the same channel, but do they? If every august Senator has not had a different way to raise the bonus money it is because some of them have been asleep, or every known way was mentioned before the middle of the list was reached. The only plan not suggested was to fine the ex-service men and pay them with the proceeds. That may come next.

"If the Senate hears of a treaty, Durfey, one Senator jumps up and swears it is a bloody-toothed plesiosaurus and the next vows it is a snow-breasted dove of peace. One bets it will put all war in the waste basket, and the next bets it will bring Armageddon on a japanned tray before next Tuesday. One says it will permit us to reduce the army to six generals and one private, and the next says it will have every one from the baby to grandpa in the trenches in a week. One says it is a noble-hearted British concession to American ideals and brings tears to the eyes, and the next says it is the iron-clad fist of the greedy Sassenach on our windpipe.

"In regard to the Allied Debt plesiosaurus,' says one Senator, 'I beg to say it is a debt and must be paid to us.' 'A debt nothing!' says the next; 'it was a present to our loving allies.' 'It must be paid to us in gold before sun-up to-morrow,' says one, and 'Take bonds for it,

payable a million years from tomorrow, and I hope to-morrow never comes,' says another. 'They owe us nothing,' says one. 'They owe us more than they owe us,' says another, 'but we'll cancel the debt.' 'Cancel nothing! We'll collect the money and give it to the starving Armenians,' says still another. 'And how can you do that,' says the next, 'when I've already promised the money to the ex-service men?' 'Gentlemen,' says the next Senator, 'you're all wrong. We will cancel the debt and collect the interest, using the deficit to buy plows for Russians so the Chinese can settle the strike in South Africa by turning Fiume over to the Poles, thus ending the Tacna-Arica difficulty for all time. 'To all of which I object,' says Senator Johnson, 'on the grounds that I did not think of it first.'

"And there you are, Durfey! My opinion is that much time could be saved and equally wise results obtained in Patagonia and Washington, D. C., by rolling two cubes of ivory with black spots on the six sides of them. The language used, if reported by Roy Octavus Cohen or Hugh Wiley, would be more interesting and increase the circulation of the Congressional Record."

"But what do you think about the plesiosaurus, Judge?" Mr. Durfey insisted.

"If you mean the one in Patagonia, Durfey," said Judge Hooper with his customary grin, "I refuse to be interviewed. If you mean the Allied Debt one I shouldn't wonder if, in the outcome, the Senate figured up how much the Allies owe us—principal and interest—and then sent them a check for it."

The Plight of Austria

IN September, 1921, the American arriving in Vienna was amazed to learn that the cost of food and clothing amounted, on the average, to two hundred and fifty times the prices of 1914. Sugar that was sold in 1914 at eighty hellers per kilo cost last September 120 crowns; a roll of white bread had risen in price from four hellers to eight crowns; a kilo of salt from five hellers to thirty-four crowns; a suit of clothes from eighty crowns to 20,000. Now, in the early days of March, after a little more than five months, the American finds the prices for the same articles about five times what they were in September. Sugar now costs 800 crowns per kilo; a roll of white bread forty-six crowns; a suit of clothes from 80,000 to 120,000 crowns. Food and clothing in Vienna today cost from twelve to fifteen hundred times what they cost in 1914.

A five-fold increase in less than six months—this seems to be approximately the rate of speed with which Vienna and Austria are going down hill.

Signs of luxury are very common in Vienna. The expensive cafés and restaurants are hardly less crowded than in Vienna's heyday; shops are full of costly fabrics and articles of every kind; more luxurious limousines cannot be found in any other city; operas, theatres, variety shows, and cinemas seem to be sold out at every performance. Very few of these spenders are from America or western Europe. Many of them come from Czecho-Slovakia, from Hungary, and from Jugo-Slavia. Many of them are Austrians and Viennese. Never famous for devotion to thrift and close economizing—on the contrary, noted and the more attractive for their love of life and pleasure—the Austrians find more justification now than ever for saving nothing. Why save a hundred crowns today when tomorrow they may be worth in purchasing value only fifty crowns or less? The chauffeur of a friend, who hoarded 100,000 crowns for the purchase of household furniture, now regrets his conservatism bitterly because he can buy today only a fifth of the articles he might have bought a few months ago.

Besides this thriftlessness many other signs of demoralization and disintegration stand out in Viennese life today. The streets are dirtier and in greater need of repair than ever; so too the houses, hotels, public buildings, and private dwellings. Cafés and restaurants for the middle and lower classes are more and more deserted. Factories are shutting down. Prices continue to mount steadily, often in long leaps. Beggars are everywhere, war-wounded, old men and women, ragged bony children. More patched clothing is seen on the backs of the ordinary man and woman on the street. In almost every conversation sounds a note of despair. For the last two or three years many Austrians have kept their heads above water only with the aid of the Quakers, the American Relief Association, and the Students' Aid, but these societies are withdrawing all or most of their support in the next few months—partly on account of a lack of funds, partly in order to turn to the greater need in Russia, partly because they see no end to the work in Austria and they cannot help indefinitely. When this support is withdrawn, many families and individuals will inevitably perish.

To prevent a general and complete collapse the Austrian Government and many individual Austrians are making heroic efforts through subsidies, better organization, and charity. They are running a race with the forces of disintegration, running with the odds against them. The Schober Government has the imponderable strength that derives from universal respect, but its hands are tied abroad by its inability to enter into commercial relations with its nearly worthless crown, at home by conflicting political parties and by the opposition of the old aristocracy and a large part of the educated middle classes, who will have nothing to do with a bourgeois-working-class Government. The people, never gifted with ability to organize and now confronted for the first time with the problems of self-government, will not acquire these arts, it seems, for many years. Meanwhile what will happen?

Vienna, March 4

GEORGE M. PRIEST

Music

Experiments at the Metropolitan—In the Concert World

By W. J. Henderson

THE series of experiments on the receptivity of the New York public which has been scientifically and successfully carried on at the Metropolitan Opera House during the entire administration of Mr. Giulio Gatti-Casazza, was continued on March 10, when a new coloratura soprano named Angeles Ottein was "tried out." The opera was Rossini's "Il Barbiere di Siviglia" and the singer, being a Spaniard of mature years and ripe experience, brought confidence and intelligence to the task of impersonating the volatile ward of Dr. Bartolo. The experiment appeared to be wholly successful. The audience applauded the lady vociferously. If she had been Adelina Patti or Ilma di Murska she could, and assuredly would, not have received more emphatic approval. The same soprano sang Gilda in "Rigoletto" on Saturday evening, March 18, with equal success.

With the so-called "success" of the soprano the writer of these passing comments has no direct concern. Mme. Ottein is a singer of less than mediocre ability, equipped with a voice badly broken into two quite separate and contrasting registers, with a style quite without distinction or technical finish and no skill as an actress. The record of her enthusiastic reception is made here to keep before the readers of this periodical the significant fact that the insidious undermining of public taste which has been going on in the Metropolitan Opera House for twelve years has not been discontinued, but is rather likely to be kept up, despite the plentiful proof that it is no longer necessary because the present audiences are just as well satisfied with Martinelli or Crimi as they were with Caruso.

Since the last review of music was printed in this place the Metropolitan Opera House has secured the services of Mr. Gatti-Casazza for more years and a record of his productions since he came to us has been made public. From this we learn that including revivals and new versions the impresario has introduced to the repertory ninety-five works, of which twenty-five remain. In justice to the director of our lyric temple it may be said that this is a record much better than it looks. More than 25 per cent. of his productions can be called successful. Broadway theatrical managers would pronounce that a highly laudable showing. On the heels of this came the production of Mozart's "Cosi fan tutte," of which something may be said in the next review in this journal. For the present it may be sufficient to declare that it required courage to present Mozart's fanciful and delicately written opera buffa to an audience which neither could nor would know what the intrigue was and which would have very little taste for music so unexciting, so little given to strenuousness, as Mozart's.

In the concert world no important event has invited profound critical consideration. Without doubt the most interesting new matter was John Alden Carpenter's "A Pilgrim Vision," performed here by the Philadelphia Orchestra on March 14. A deadly backhanded blow was dealt to the work by an eleventh hour rearrangement of the programme. Mr. Carpenter's vision had been announced as first on the list, but when the audience arrived it found that the order of the numbers had been changed so that three magnificent excerpts from Wagner's "Ring" cycle and the great B flat piano concerto of Brahms, with Ossip Gabrilowitsch as the soloist, preceded the untried composition of the native born son. The joke will be much enjoyed in Munich, where both Mr. Stokowski and Mr. Gabrilowitsch are popular.

Mr. Carpenter's composition was written for Philadelphia's celebration of the Mayflower tercentenary and is an instrumental portrayal of the embarkation, voyage, and landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. It is a good piece of music, built entirely in accordance with specifications bequeathed to us by the grandfathers of programme music and enriched with all the devices of modern orchestration and harmony. After having put Siegfried to sleep on his voyage down the Rhine, Mr. Stokowski kept the Pilgrims awake on their passage through the roaring forties.

Another American composer, Charles Martin Loeffler, fared better at the hands of Pierre Monteux, John McCormack, and the Boston Symphony Orchestra on March 15. Mr. Loeffler has written what he calls "Irish Fantasias for Voice and Orchestra" to poems by Yeats and others. There are five of them and on the evening mentioned Mr. McCormack sang three. They proved to be delightful creations of the scholarly musician of Medford. In "The Fiddler of Dooney" one could even detect some flavor of that ancient product of Medford upon which prohibition has laid its deadly curse. Of this lyric one could say with the foresters in "Robin Hood," "A jolly good song and jolly well sung." The other two lyrics were a little more serious, but all three were entirely Irish and the orchestral backgrounds throbbed with the lilt of the jig or skirled with the pipes. The same evening, just to show that he was not always living in the atmosphere of the Hippodrome, Mr. McCormack sang two airs from cantatas of Bach in a manner that would have stirred the world's authorities on Bach out in Bethlehem, Pa., very deeply. The eminent tenor has earned a fortune by singing ballads and popular songs, but he still cherishes artistic ideals.

At its concert on March 13 the Beethoven Association gave its friends an opportunity to hear the rarely performed horn trio of Brahms. The players were Alexander Schmuller, violin; William Bachaus, piano, and Xavier Reiter, horn. The choice of Mr. Schmuller was not entirely happy. His tone lacked the richness and masculinity needed to place it on a parity with that of the other players. Mr. Bachaus showed discretion in his treatment of the piano part, but without doubt Mr. Reiter was the star of the trio. He has long been known to music lovers as a virtuoso of the first rank, but had not been heard in chamber music. His performance was admirable in every respect. The trio is one of Brahms's most beautiful compositions in the department of chamber music and it was an unqualified joy to hear it.

On March 10 a young soprano called Ethel Hayden, a pupil of the famous Marcella Sembrich, made her debut in a recital in Aeolian Hall. It is quite within the bounds of likelihood that this young woman will make a career. She possesses the first and most important gift, namely, a voice of extraordinary beauty. This voice has been so skilfully trained that already the young singer has an excellence of attack, a purity of tone, and a delicately spun legato which would be a fortune to some of the more pretentious singers of the operatic stage.

At its final concert on March 18 the Boston Symphony Orchestra produced an "Overture to a Drama," by Franz Schreker, the newly discovered star of German musical art. They must be using telescopes of marvellous power in Germany to discover such stars. Such a prolonged proclamation of futility as this overture has not been heard in a decade.

New Books and Old

CLARE SHERIDAN'S "My American Diary" (Boni & Liveright) is lively, bright, sparkling, and *tinkling*—like a gay little brook winding through a pretty landscape, just as charming, and just as deep. She laughs merrily and delightfully—a pretty woman's laugh—at the stuffy old conservatives who are shocked at her friendship with those awful creatures, Trotsky and Lenin. What fun it is to horrify these old muffs! Some of the old conservatives can be quite charming personally—Senator Lodge, for instance. Do I really care one hurrah about the Bolsheviks, she seems to wonder. Heaven knows, but it gives a beautiful woman a wonderful additional charm supposedly to be the advocate of all manner of radical and revolutionary odd-fish—political, literary, and artistic. She meets "Barney" Baruch, thinks his name is Brooke, and asks if he is related to Rupert Brooke. It recalls the man who thought that euphony meant either a Jewish holiday or a panic on a ferry-boat, and that Ellen Key wrote the "Star-Spangled Banner." However, the film-picture, "The Birth of a Nation," taught Mrs. Sheridan "all I know of American history"—and she is perhaps as well-informed about us as the author of many another book. The important thing to have is not information, nor opinions formed after reflection, but glowing enthusiasms, and plenty of burblings, like the Jabberwock. And only those folks who care for real freedom and liberalism will be concerned to see it in danger of going down in chatter.

When Commander Georg von Hase, author of "Kiel and Jutland" (Dutton) is talking like a sailor-man he is a good fellow. He was first gunnery officer of the German battle-cruiser *Derfflinger* and was in her at the battle of Jutland. But when he begins to talk about "Frenchmen, Italians, and representatives of other races which are inferior to us intellectually, morally, and physically," when he begins the superman stuff, you understand how the terms Hun and Boche arose. The account of Jutland—which the Germans call the Skagerrak Battle—is interesting, and is made intelligible to the reader who is not a naval tactician.

Faith has been defined as belief in something that you know to be untrue, and the effect of patriotic poetry is to make you want to cheer for causes you are sure must be bad. I cannot read in Padraic Colum's "Anthology of Irish Verse" (Boni and Liveright) without beginning to shout for De Valera, although any sensible person knows that Mick Collins is twice the man—and a real Irishman at that. In this collection I advise you to read the engaging verses: "The Night Before Larry was Stretched." If Mr. Colum had not included "The County of Mayo" I should have quoted it just the same, for it is

one of the best of Irish poems. But why does he omit the great fourth stanza, in which the names, as somebody said (Colonel Higginson, I think), resound like a roll of drums? Here is the whole thing, with the last stanza dug up from my scrap-book:

THE COUNTY OF MAYO.

(Translated from the Irish of Thomas Lavelle, 17th century, by George Fox.)

On the deck of Patrick Lynch's boat I sit
in woeful plight,
Thro' my sighing all the weary day and
weeping all the night;
Were it not that full of sorrow from my
people forth I go,
By the blessed sun, 'tis royally I'd sing
thy praise, Mayo.

When I dwelt at home in plenty and my
gold did much abound,
In the company of fair young maids the
Spanish ale went round;
'Tis a bitter change from these gay days
that now I'm forced to go,
And must leave my bones in Santa Cruz
far from my own Mayo.

They are altered girls in Irrul now, 'tis
proud they're grown and high,
With their hair bags and their top knots,
for I pass their buckles by;
But it's little now I heed their airs, for
God will have it so.
That I must depart for foreign lands and
leave my sweet Mayo.

'Tis my grief that Patrick Loughlin is not
Earl in Irrul still,
And that Bryan Duff no longer rules as
lord upon the hill;
And that Colonel Hugh O'Grady should be
lying dead and low,
And I sailing, sailing swiftly from the
County of Mayo.

The Ancient Strain

THE HEAD OF THE HOUSE OF COOMBE. By Frances Hodgson Burnett. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company.

AN ORDEAL OF HONOR. By Anthony Pryde. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company.

THE PRISONERS OF HARTLING. By J. D. Beresford. New York: The Macmillan Company.

STRONGLY as foreign influences have been at work, since the middle nineties, on the English novel, they have, we now and then realize, by no means done for it. That is, though the Anglo-French and the Anglo-Russian types have gained foothold, the older strains persist, almost untouched if on a somewhat lower plane of literary society. Notably the Dickens strain persists, if now largely "below stairs." The movies are true to it. The best-seller, oftener than not, is at least strongly tintured with it. Nine novel-readers out of ten are openly or furtively responsive to what the tenth reader spurns as claptrap and sentimentalism. This would indicate that the tenth reader asks too much, or too little, of the novel. In his zest for the higher realism or the higher romance, he loses sight of the fact that their supreme merits do not make an outcast of the story-teller in the

bazaar. For nine novel-readers out of ten either can make nothing of sober interpretive art, or do not go to fiction for it. But they flock to the storyteller's booth, where the old situations and the old puppets are comfortably and legitimately dealt with. The real cause of irritation behind the frontal elevation of the tenth reader is, I suppose, the tendency on the part of the nine to confound the lollypop of their choice with the solid fare they might be getting.

However, there they are and have a right to be; and it is idle to assume that what the majority wants is worthless because it is different (and probably inferior) in kind, from what the minority wants. Even if we of the minority can't quite bring ourselves to beam upon the vogue of an Ethel M. Dell or a Harold Bell Wright, we ought to be able to observe without undue chagrin the successes of a Hall Caine, and a Frances Hodgson Burnett, and a William J. Locke. In the main they know what they are about, writers and readers alike; and if we prefer other company, that is our lookout. Mrs. Burnett, for instance, in "The Head of the House of Coombe" makes deliberate but not therefore insincere appeal to certain very ancient reactions of the story-listener: to his credulity, his sensibility, his strong preference for familiar types and situations. It is not her fault that he wants the tale of the May-Queen, or Jack and the Beanstalk, or Red Riding Hood, under such surface of novelty as will justify him in the pleasant make-believe that the whole affair is new, and "real." Take the Cophetua-motive, add the Rochester-motive, mix in a vamp-mother of the latest variety, and let the most frankly old-fashioned standards of female virtue and masculine honor rule unchallenged, and you have "The Head of the House of Coombe." Lord Coombe is the boggy-hero so dear to the heart of woman, a titled Rochester with a past no better than it should be, and a present much better than the heroine is permitted to see. Nobody could be more elegant, more imperturbable, more cynical of manner or golden of heart than he. He is, after all, not the hero. Mrs. Burnett likes them younger; and here is the beautiful Donal, a kilted Fauntleroy of the North, who is eventually to be the head of the House of Coombe, and to wed our charming Robin. On the last chapter of this narrative, the shadow of the War falls. In "Robin," the promised sequel, we shall see what Mrs. Burnett makes of her fairy-tale under a really difficult handicap!

In the dream-world of polite romance the middle ages still rule. Honor, as everybody knows, is in that world the duty of the female to preserve her "reputation" at all costs; and it is the duty of the male to violate happiness and common sense and if need be humanity in the name of a code. "An Ordeal of Honor" is based entirely on these antiquated but (for romantic

uses) by no means outworn formulæ. It is an after-the-war story with before-the-flood ingredients. Dodo is the vicar's daughter. Auburn is the reckless but secretly virtuous son of a wicked Lord. The young pair love and are betrothed. The wicked lord is murdered, and Auburn, with all the circumstantial evidence against him, is given a life-sentence as murderer. Dodo believes him innocent and remains faithful. But he is a prisoner at hard labor for many years before the accident of a girl's death brings about his vindication. All that has sent him to prison and kept him there is the fantastic mediaeval code of "honor." The honor (in this instance merely the good name) of a girl who has been among the casual victims of the wicked lord, must be protected. Therefore the girl's older sister, Auburn's old nurse and second mother, who has really killed the wicked lord, lets Auburn be convicted for life because if she were to confess herself the slayer of the wicked lord, his former relation with her sister might come out! And Dodo's brother lets him be convicted rather than break a promise made, before his knowledge of the crime, to the real murderess—who, after all, has only acted in self-defense and is therefore hardly a murderess at all! That is the sort of absurd mess the middle ages still get us into—according to the story-tellers. Auburn, it should be noted, is another of our strong, cynical, patrician heroes, akin in nature if not in conduct to the heroes of "Jane Eyre" and "The Amazing Marriage."

No artificial code of honor governs the action of "The Prisoners of Hartling." The reader may wonder at our bringing Mr. Beresford into this company. But this is the Beresford of "The Jervaise Comedy," not him of "Jacob Stahl." He has here written a novel with an idea, rather than a novel of interpretation. He takes a motto from Ecclesiastes, "There is a sore evil which I have seen under the sun: namely, riches kept for the owners thereof to their hurt." His is a familiar idea in British fiction, the idea of the enslavement of a large circle of blood-relations to the head of the family by reason of his autocratic powers for the ultimate disposal of that sacred possession, the family property. Mr. Beresford gives the situation a romantic turn by investing his ninety-five year old autocrat with almost uncanny powers of persuasion as well as of direct intimidation. His authority is a bubble; but it remains inviolate for generations, and only the dutch courage of love enables our hero to touch and shatter it. To tell the truth, our hero is not much of a hero, romantically speaking, and we don't quite make out what his Eleanor (who does very well as a heroine) sees in him. So far as the Kenyon tribe at large are concerned, the story ends with a punch worthy of our own most accomplished tale-smiths.

H. W. BOYNTON



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President
W. L. Douglas Shoe Co.,
169 Spark St., Brockton, Mass.

The Advertising Man's Responsibility

By Dwight W. Morrow

The advertising agency has become a national institution. Its power today for good or for evil is enormous. The advertising agency has all the facilities of that great giant of recent birth, Propaganda. Propaganda, as we know by the experience of the past few years, is capable on occasions of being a god, but more often a monster.

Mr. Dwight W. Morrow, of the house of J. P. Morgan & Company, in a speech the other day visualized in a most interesting way the opportunities which advertising men have to help keep business sober in prosperous days and cheerful when the prospects appear dark. He said, in part:

LARGE-scale production has not eliminated cycles in business activity. Some people think that it has increased the frequency of these cycles. In the old days, when the economic areas were small, when the means of communication were scanty, if a drought came in one section the mortality in that section was almost unbelievable. The rest of the world was practically without knowledge of the misery in the afflicted region. It is hard for us to appreciate that in the fourteenth century two-thirds of the people of England, and one-fourth of all the population of Europe, died of the Black Plague, a disease attributed to under-nourishment. Is it not apparent that with increasing large-scale production the business cycles—while falling less intensely upon particular regions—are likely to spread over greater and greater areas? If a collapse in prices starts in Japan in the spring of 1920 it soon spreads over the whole world because of the close inter-relations of the great commercial nations. As a matter of fact, it is amazing that what we regard as over-production does not come oftener than it does. Most of the processes of production extend over long periods. It is, therefore, necessary for every business man to determine, not the needs of a particular customer into whose face he can look, as was the custom with the individual dealer who made goods to order one hundred years ago, but he must guess from the best data available just what customers and how many will come along at the time his goods are ready for delivery. The man who is making goods, whether they be shoes, or textiles, or steel products, must make the best estimate he can of the demand for his goods. That estimate influences his plans for plant extension, it determines the volume of his inventories. Some of these estimates are made simply by rule of thumb from year to year, some are made by careful study. But all human beings are fallible and men are prone in times of optimism and rising prices to overestimate the period during which the demand will last, and in times of pessimism and depression they

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fear that the ordinary consumption of goods will never begin again. Moreover, when a great upheaval like the World War occurs, the calculations of the wisest people are thrown entirely out of gear.

What lesson can we learn from it all? The great majority of the people of this earth are sober, industrious people, eager to do their part in life in return for what life gives them. They are not gamblers, they are not speculators, they want to eliminate as much as they can the element of speculation from their business. If the real facts of large-scale production can be thoroughly understood it will be readily recognized that there are inherent risks that no human foresight can entirely eliminate. Those risks, however, can be rendered less burdensome if men will only accept the teachings of past experience. The over-production of goods of any particular kind, the maladjustment of production and prices brought about by the war and by the boom that followed it, will pass away. They will pass away by the operation of the same natural forces that have operated in such periods in the past. It is the business of sober and reasonable men to remember that in times of optimism men are inclined to think that a period of depression will never come, and in times of depression men of inexperience are inclined to think that there never again will be an adequate demand for goods. In good times, when there is 5 per cent. more demand than supply, that 5 per cent. is apt to look like 500 per cent. The same thing is true of bad times. When there is 5 per cent. more supply than demand, that over-supply is apt to look like 500 per cent.

With large-scale production, the advertising man becomes the ally and aid of both the producer and the consumer. It is the duty of the advertising man to tell people far away from the producer in just what way the producer can serve them. It is the duty of the advertising man to bring to the mind of the consumer the character and quality of goods and services that will best meet his needs. The advertising man is, therefore, a very distinct and definite link in the whole economic system. He shares in the general prosperity that comes with what we know as "good times." He shares in the adversity that comes with "bad times." He should use his influence with his customers in times of great expansion of business to keep them from expanding too rapidly. Correspondingly, he should use his influence in times when demands are light to keep up the courage of his clients. With courage, with patience, with tolerance, this great country with its manifold activities should soon pass through the period of acute depression which has lasted now for more than a year and a half. It is the duty of the advertising men who are the great interpreters between the producer and the consumer to help those groups to understand each other.

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Charles Scribner's Sons, Fifth Avenue, New York

Social Degeneration and the De Coverley Papers *Classics in the Light of Modern Conditions*

By Frederick Houk Law

IV.

"AN American scholar, for whose judgment I have high respect, told me he thought the prevailing tone in modern America was vulgarity." So wrote Professor William Lyon Phelps, of Yale University, in a recent issue of this journal. Much of a similar nature has been said concerning American novels, American verse, and American life.

The very criticism shows a healthy interest in culture. If there were no criticism; if we were blind to our faults; if we gloried in them, we might despair. Is the criticism true? Do our times show social degeneration? Does not any strong civilization imply excess and folly? Is not the heart of the people still sound?

In 1711 Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, in London, began the publication of a four-page daily paper, *The Spectator*, in every number presenting an editorial-like essay that laughed kindly at the follies and weaknesses of 1711. Curiously enough, the follies and weaknesses are those of today. *The Spectator's* vocabulary is more pedantic than our own; it speaks of Whigs and Tories instead of Democrats and Republicans; and talks of London and England instead of New York and the United States. Change the place-references and the rotundity of the style into American terms and you will hit sore spots in American daily life. Perhaps human nature always needs a tonic in the way of criticism, and we are not degenerating after all—simply alive to our faults and on the way to improvement, as they were in 1711.

Do our people scorn hard work on the farm and flock to an easier life in the city? *The Spectator* laughed at similar men two hundred years ago who would "rather see their children starve like gentlemen than thrive in a trade or profession that is beneath their quality."

Are we grieved at what Roosevelt called "malefactors of great wealth," remarkably able men who lack honesty? So was *The Spectator*, which said that more should be expected of men of such "fine parts" than of others, and that none but such men "deserve to be hanged." It adds that even if dishonest men gain "the satisfaction of luxury, of wealth, of ambition," they lose "the taste of good will, of friendship, of innocence."

Are we disturbed by those who know nothing of the candidates for whom they vote except that their names, on the ballot sheet, fall under a certain

party emblem; who know practically nothing concerning the lives or principles of nine out of ten of the men whom they would elect? So was *The Spectator* two hundred years ago. It urged men to vote for right regardless of party, to be independent, and said that such action was just as necessary as it is to affirm some such statement as the following: "We do solemnly declare that we believe two and two make four; and that we shall adjudge any man whatsoever to be our enemy who endeavors to persuade us to the contrary. We shall upon all occasions oppose such persons that upon any day of the year shall call black white, or white black, with the utmost peril of our lives and fortunes." The world is nearer to *The Spectator's* ideal of voting for right and not for party, but it still has a long way to go.

Do strikes and riots indicate lack of consideration for employees? *The Spectator* urges the employer to look upon the worker as a friend and comrade, entitled to all human consideration, and even to that love which begets love.

Are there among us those who go to law over every trifle; who waste inherited property; who show conceit because of ancestry; who are niggardly and mean; who are rude and offensive in public places; who would consider every one's faults except their own? There were such people in 1711, and *The Spectator* directed a shaft at every one.

In less important matters we hear the complaint that our times are degenerate. People say that exercise is a lost art except for the young and the idle. *The Spectator* said almost the same of 1711, urged the need of daily exercise, and remarked that a man has not "fulfilled the business of the day" unless he has exercised both mind and body. Do some of us glory in sets of finely bound books that we never read; cherish petty superstitions, like that of avoiding thirteen at a table; or indulge in foolish love affairs? If we do, we do no more than they did in the days of Addison and Steele, for those writers made fun of all these follies, and of many other follies that are ours as well as those of two hundred years ago.

In fact, strangely enough—or naturally enough—there is not an essay in *The Spectator* that does not apply to 1922 just as emphatically as it applied to 1711.

Are those critics right who call the present times degenerate? Only the future can tell, but the lesson of *The Spectator* is that every period has its virtues and its follies, and that human nature in one time is the same that it was in another. A stronger and better civilization succeeded that one which Addison and Steele ridiculed. Social degeneration today may be only apparent. It may be that we see our faults so clearly that we are leading the way to an age that will be as superior to 1922 as 1922 is superior to 1711.

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True, your Spring wardrobe is occupying a good deal of your time now. And is depleting your purse. But your home has felt the storms of winter. And is perhaps showing it in spots.

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How to Mix Paints, C. Godfrey	.44
House Painting, Glazing, Paper Hanging and Whitewashing, A. H. Sabin,	\$1.14
Everyman His Own Mechanic, J. Bernard	\$1.68
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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By *FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.*,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. Social Degeneration and the De Coverley Papers.

1. Give definite evidence that will tend to show that the American scholar, whose words Professor Phelps quotes, was right, or was wrong, in his criticism of American life.
2. How did *The Spectator* differ from a modern newspaper?
3. What was the purpose of the Sir Roger de Coverley essays?
4. Point out at least ten ways in which the Sir Roger de Coverley essays are applicable to present-day life.
5. Explain, one by one, the various quotations made from the Sir Roger de Coverley essays.
6. Why do "men of fine parts" most deserve to be hanged? Apply the implied principle to school life.
7. On what grounds did *The Spectator* attack party spirit? What principle does *The Spectator* indicate should govern all voting?
8. What present-day writings somewhat resemble the Sir Roger de Coverley essays?

II. Success in Life and Success in Living.

1. In single paragraph summarize what the article says concerning the relation of education and business success.
2. Write a paragraph in which you explain how success is related to "an infinite capacity for taking pains." Prove that the relationship holds in school life.
3. Develop a paragraph from the following topic sentence: "Our intellectual, social, religious and political needs have not had their full measure of devotion."
4. Name and explain six characteristics that should mark every person who wishes to be "well-balanced."
5. Explain the advantage of study that does not increase money-earning power.
6. What four purposes should every person aim to accomplish in school or in college?

III. New Books and Old. Book Reviews.

1. What suggestions for method in writing school essays can you find in the criticism of *Clare Sheridan's* new book?
2. Explain why "The County of Mayo" is well worth quoting.
3. The first paragraph of "The Ancient Strain" says: "The Dickens strain persists. The 'movies' are true to it. The best-seller, oftener than not, is tinged with it." What is "the Dickens strain"? What of "the Dickens strain" have you noticed in the "movies"?
4. Read what is said in the third paragraph of "Book Reviews" concerning unity. Of what value is unity in a book? What kind of books do not need unity?

IV. A Letter From President Harding.

1. Read aloud the President's letter. Explain in full the significance of the last sentence.
2. Prepare a list of five famous books of a religious character with which it would be profitable to become familiar.

V. A Portrait of Coal.

1. Write an exposition that will point out the various differences between bituminous coal and anthracite coal.
2. Without using notes, give a talk on the production of coal in the United States.
3. Give a clear exposition of the differences that have arisen in the coal industry.

VI. The Plesiosaurus in Politics.

1. Explain the fact in current news on which Mr. Butler founded his essay.
2. Prepare a talk on "The Plesiosaurus and Its Contemporaries." You will find information in any encyclopedia.
3. Explain how Mr. Butler applies the incident of the Plesiosaurus to present-day politics.

VII. The Advertising Man's Responsibilities.

1. In what ways may advertising be a force either for good or for evil?
2. Make a list of the principal points in Mr. Morrow's speech. Give a clear explanation of every point you name.
3. What benefit does advertising confer upon a community or a country?

VIII. The Plight of Austria.

1. Write an original short story in which you show your principal character involved in the conditions pointed out in the article.

History, Civics and Economics

By *AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.*,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. Methods Suggestion.

1. Keep a separate summary of each large topic that you know will continue to appear. A loose-leaf notebook makes it easy to keep these summaries classified. Add to each the most important points of development each week.
2. For instance, under the appropriate topic summarize this week's developments on The Ratification of the Treaties of the Washington Conference, the Bonus, Ireland, Austria, India, Africa, Alaska, Oil, Army Occupation Costs.

II. Success in Life and Success in Living.

1. State the author's opinion on the relation of a college education to success in business and explain the grounds for his opinion.
2. Granted approximate equality of basic business qualities, do you think a college education would make a difference in either rapidity of rise or final money success?
3. Can you harmonize this opinion with the growing popularity of economic studies and schools of business administration for students intending to enter business?
4. What success in life, larger than money success, does the author emphasize as the product of a college education?
5. Do you think that the author's conclusion in relation to business would hold true for money success in the professions?
6. Do you think that for money success a business man should give not only his day but "often most of his night, to his work"?

III. A Portrait of Coal, The Soft Coal Crisis.

1. Transfer to a large map of the United States the portrait of coal. Put in the figures indicating the amounts of production of coal in the order of size beginning with the greatest. What conclusions do you draw? What conclusions do you draw from the figures showing "the portion used by the railroads"? From the map show where the chief cities of the country got their coal in 1918.
2. State the relation of monopoly to hard and soft coal production and account for it.
3. Show the factors which enter into the competition of coal from different areas? How do you account for the differences in the quality of coal?
4. Account for the seasonal nature of the coal industry.
5. Explain the relation of the unionization of miners and the coal situation.
6. Explain as fully as you can the reasons for "the present conflict." What is the editor's opinion of "the fundamental problem"?

IV. Our Little Army, Army and Navy Legislation, The British Empire.

1. Summarize the proposals in England and America for the reduction of the military establishment. Account for these proposals.
2. Explain the constitutional question involved in America. Reviewing recent illustrations, discuss fully the powers of the President in America. Compare them with the powers of the English King or the French President. Compare his position with that of the English Prime Minister.

V. Co-operative Competition.

1. What were the bad practices of trade associations that were revealed by the Lockwood Committee and the Hardwood Case?
2. What practices of trade associations make competition (a) less free, (b) more free?
3. What "liberalizing" of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law is suggested for trade associations?
4. State the editor's opinion on the liberalizing of the law and explain his reasons.

VI. The Unfortunate Country Baby.

1. Compare the advantages of the country baby and the city baby in the matter of health.
2. How do you account for the fact that the baby in New York City has a better chance of life than the baby in the country districts of New York State? What is true of the corresponding situation in your State?
3. Explain the system of "visiting or public health" nurses. What is the advantage of them? Do you have them in your community? Are they properly supported?

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

April 8, 1922



Good-Night Ladies

By Agnes Repplier

WHEN Mr. W. L. George was in this country three years ago picking up the glittering fragments which were to compose the inevitable "book about America," he wanted very much to talk to American men about American women, and found to his amazement that "they didn't like the subject much." Mr. George is of the opinion that this was because he looks upon women as human beings, whereas the men of this country persist in regarding them as abstract embodiments of excellence; and the reason they so persist is because women place this high but chilling valuation on themselves.

I dare say that Mr. George is correct in surmising that his carefully introduced topic failed to awaken interest; but he goes too far afield in assigning a reason for this failure. The instinct of self-preservation warns us to steer clear of our neighbor's hobbies, and Mr. George's pre-occupation with women is familiar to us all. He has exploited them exhaustively; he has dissolved them into their component parts; he has reduced them to their least common denominator. Whether he knows more about them, or merely talks more about them, than do other men, it would be invidious to say. His heaviest asset has always been an air of finality. When he pronounces America to be "definitely a woman's country," nobody offers a contradiction; but nobody feels any burning desire to discuss the subject with him. Did anyone ever want to discuss systems of taxation with the late Mr. Henry George, or the authorship of Shakespeare's plays with the late Mr. Ignatius Donnelly? Does anyone lightly allude to race suicide in the presence of Mrs. Sanger? We live surrounded by perils and by plagues, but no sane man opens the floodgates of a dam, or of his neighbor's speech.

Heaven knows there is little novelty about woman. Adam was the only man to whom she was something new. Her "elemental inconsistencies" have lent color to every page of the world's history, and she has shown no disposition to conceal them. "Woman does not betray her secret," wrote Immanuel Kant ponderously, and with that truly German air of providing food for thought. Just what he expected her to betray, just what anybody expects her to betray, has never been made manifest. The cat is the only one of God's creatures that suggests reserve and perhaps secrecy. I have sometimes thought that half-shut eyes and the immobility of relaxed nerves may be responsible for the suggestion, and that this self-contained little beast is less mysterious than it looks. Woman does not even

look mysterious save in the veiled East. In the West all her efforts tend to revelation. Her secret is as easily kept as are the secrets of the cat and of the Freemasons, and for the same reason. The only thing she does not tell is how she is going to vote. This makes her interesting to the politicians, if not to the world at large. The basic principles of party politics have not yet taken firm hold of her intelligence. By-paths and side issues seduce her from the main-traveled roads over which the male voter sturdily trudges.

It was inevitable that the first question put by American reporters to Madame Curie, when that hunted and harried lady was running the gauntlet of American hospitality, was "Do you think women as intelligent as men?" To which she answered with refreshing candor that she did not know. To spare herself the trouble of forming opinions when she had no data upon which to base them seemed a simple thing to Madame Curie, who had lived all her life among the proven facts of science; but it was disconcerting to the reporters who were not seeking information but ideas. The heaviest clamor can always be raised over undemonstrable points. When Mr. Arnold Bennett wrote what was called a "challenging" book about women, he explained that he did so because it was a possible thing to do. He could no more write a book about men, he said, than he could write a book about the multiplication table. Nobody would challenge five times five.

Mr. Bennett proclaims himself "a feminist to the point of passionateness"; but he is agreeably convinced of man's vast superiority. "In the region of creative intellect there are things which men almost habitually do, but which women have not done, and give no sign of ever being able to do. . . . Every man knows in his heart, and every woman knows in her heart that the average man has more intellectual power than the average woman. It is a fact imminent in the households of the world."

This is the language of all male feminists, with the possible exception of Emile Faguet; and Mr. Bennett agrees with M. Faguet in refusing to assign any moral ascendancy to either sex. His unfeeling logical inferences are exempt from sensibility. He does not pose as that destructive thing, a champion. Consequently he does not try to take away from woman something she wants, and promise her something she doesn't. It will be remembered that John Burns, believing and desiring that husbands should support their wives, proposed to hasten the

millennium by barring married women from paid industries, especially from factory and educational work. He seemed to think that by excluding them from labor he assured them a comfortable domesticity. Their own desires and predilections counted for nothing in his mind. It is on the same principle that sentimental senators from western states (largely populated by men) keep "Mother's Day," and strive to prevent daughters from smoking in public. They believe that women are far too good to have their own way.

Some months ago Mr. Joseph Hergesheimer, writing for the "Yale Review," protested bitterly against the intrusion of woman's superfluous goodness into American letters. The magazines, he said, have ten thousand women readers to one man (figures *can lie*), and these readers will not tolerate truth. "Feeling, beauty and romance are delivered to a feminine supervision which promptly syndicates them into the corporation of dressmakers, candy manufacturers and jewelers." Women write magazine stories, and women read them. "Literature in the United States is being strangled with a petticoat."

It was to be expected that these accusations would provoke vigorous denials. Earnest ladies pointed out to Mr. Hergesheimer that a fair proportion of improper books are written every year by the petticoated, and assured him that they read these books with as much relish as do men. Cynics suggested that Mr. Hergesheimer's feminine world must be composed of the elderly; and that the flapper, who is a moral shock-absorber, and who is needlessly counseled by Mr. Bennett never to read the books which cater to her grandmother, has not yet crossed his vision. Thoughtful people who have been long aware of the thin-

ness of magazine fiction, asked themselves for the thousandth time whether this was because the editors—at the bidding of the publishers—watered it, or because they could not get it stronger. Women have so much to answer for in a world which they have always helped to run that I should hate to hold them responsible for the lack of the imaginative quality in American stories. Perhaps if American magazines would banish once and forever the inane female heads which decorate so many of their covers, they would suggest less persistently to the world the idea of "feminine supervision."

And the banishment of these sugary pictures might have a double significance. It might be taken to indicate a respite from the unceasing chatter about women which has added little to our knowledge and nothing to our wisdom. Such a respite would be very tranquilizing. Church conferences might then inveigh less bitterly against woman's harmless follies. Male feminists might stop talking about the "unfathomable wonder of her sex," which is no more wonderful today than it has always been. Female feminists might bewail less piteously the long centuries of repression, which are now comfortably over. The "Woman's Who's Who?" might go the way of the "Woman's Bible," and other superfluous segregations. Mr. Georges' complacent denunciation of men, "From the days of the anthropoid ape we have developed nothing in women but the passionate quality," might be forgotten in view of the more useful qualities which women have developed in themselves. And why harp eternally on one theme? The whole subject is staled by repetition. Why not ring down the curtain for a spell, and breathe the welcome word, "good-night."

Bertrand Russell's Love of Truth

By Fabian Franklin

A CERTAIN nobility of tone characterizes the utterances of Mr. Bertrand Russell. A certain nobility of feeling, I am quite sure, is the source of that nobility of tone. That he has an extraordinary gift for keen and subtle thought has been shown by his researches in the philosophy of mathematics. Add to these qualities a remarkable command of effective expression, and we have a combination difficult to match.

It is not surprising, therefore, that almost simultaneously two of our three intellectual radical weeklies have printed, with unusual prominence, articles in which Mr. Russell sets forth his judgment of what America is, and what her present predominance in the world's affairs promises—or threatens—to signify. It is not my purpose to discuss, or even to summarize, these articles. But their main intent is to impress his readers with the conviction that, in spite of many virtues which he admits, America is under the sway of two fatal drawbacks to high and worthy action—the control of the nation by selfish financial interests and a rooted unwillingness to hear the truth, or even to permit it to be expressed. To discuss the degree in which these assertions are justified by the facts would require a volume rather than a page; but to discuss the weight to which Mr. Russell's *assertion* of the facts is entitled is a much harder task, for the articles themselves furnish internal evidence amply sufficient for that purpose. Of this evidence I propose to give a few examples.

The very first remark upon American characteristics that Mr. Russell makes in his *Freeman* article is this:

I know there is in America a great deal of what is called

"idealism." But what are its manifestations? Prohibition certainly is due to "idealism." Now there are many good arguments in favor of prohibition and I am not myself prepared to oppose it, but no student of modern psychology will suppose that these arguments were what persuaded the nation. Apart from the interests of those who make non-alcoholic drinks, and the hopes of employers that their men would work harder, it must have been the case that there were more people who found pleasure in preventing others from drinking than people who found pleasure in drinking themselves.

Now I myself am an ardent opponent of the Eighteenth Amendment, and have both read and written many severe things about it. But I have never come across anything even remotely approaching the grotesque absurdity of this representation of the way in which it came to be adopted. The primary force behind the prohibition movement was the conviction that drink is a terrible and devastating evil; the number of persons who supported it because they "found pleasure in preventing other people from drinking" was too small to be worth even mentioning, and yet to Mr. Russell they were the whole thing. As for the "people who found pleasure in drinking themselves," the trouble with them was that they did not take enough interest in preserving that pleasure to make a fight for it. Indeed, Mr. Russell's statement is so manifestly silly that one feels a little ashamed to controvert it as though it were merely false.

Mr. Russell's next illustration relates to the treatment of Socialists. He has a good point in the exclusion of the Socialist Assemblymen at Albany two years ago; but while here he has something, instead of nothing, to work upon,

he works his material for infinitely more than it is worth:

The Bible says "Thou shalt not steal," but Socialists believe that civilization can only be preserved by confiscation of private property. Therefore they are immoral men, who must not be allowed to sit in a Legislature to which they have been duly elected and whose heads may be bashed in by loyal mobs who invade their houses. Sacco and Vanzetti are accused of a murder, and there is no conclusive evidence that they committed it; but their political opinions are undesirable, so that no one is interested in the mere question of fact: Did they, or did they not, commit the murder?

As a picture of America's treatment of Socialists, this is only a shade less extravagant than Mr. Russell's account of prohibition: one man's "head bashed in" suffices for his verdict on a nation of a hundred million people; that that same nation trusts the fairness of a jury, and of the courts which have given Sacco and Vanzetti the benefit of every resource of appeal and delay, is proof that it is willing to see two innocent men hanged as murderers because it doesn't like their opinions; on the other hand, the fact that thousands of Socialists go their way unmolested, and that scores of Socialist newspapers, printed in a dozen languages, are published undisturbed, is to Mr. Russell a circumstance too trifling to be thought of.

One might take up in turn every illustration Mr. Russell offers of his thesis, and show how it violates the fundamental requirement of truthful portrayal of the facts. But I will content myself with citing just one more instance:

An extraordinary object lesson has been afforded by Russia. I suppose it is now generally known that the Bolsheviks were no worse than any other Russian party as regards atrocities or morals, and that they were making an honest attempt to establish a system which they, in common with many other people, believe to be better than capitalism. But they repudiated the Russian debt. Therefore Great Britain, France, Japan and America were willing to inflict death by slow starvation upon the population of Russia. (Great Britain, it is true, drew back when we saw that the Bolsheviks could menace our position in India; but this can hardly be called an idealistic motive.) When the failure of the harvest made it clear that the powers *could* inflict death by starvation, the Bolsheviks announced that they would assume responsibility for the debt and abandon the parts of their system which were most offensive to the big capitalists. Immediately the scene changed, and *we find the nations tumbling over each other in their eagerness to relieve starving Russia.*

I do not quote this passage for the purpose of challenging Mr. Russell's account of the alleged "policy of slow starvation" adopted by the great Powers; false as that account is, there is at least room for some kind of controversy about it. But what ought to arrest the attention of anybody whose mental processes are not wholly in abeyance, is the statement about the *abandonment* of that policy, which I have put in italics. The fact here is too simple for dispute. The transformation scene which Mr. Russell presents so dramatically, and which furnishes the whole point of his "extraordinary object lesson," took place only in his own imagination. So far from "the nations tumbling over each other in their eagerness to relieve starving Russia," relief has been furnished almost exclusively by America, which has almost no interest in the question of Russia's repudiation of her debt. That this relief was sent when, and because, the full horror of the famine became known—that it was sent from motives of humanity and not of cold-blooded calculation—everybody knows who has not given himself over to a strong delusion; but, be that as it may, Mr. Russell's statement about the nations, when they found it to their own interest, "tumbling over each other in their eagerness to relieve starving Russia," is so palpably false that it is difficult to see how it could have been made by any person in his senses.

Now, there is nothing on which Mr. Bertrand Russell more prides himself than his love of truth, nothing that so distresses him as the absence of that attribute in other

people. "The two qualities," he tells us, "which I consider superlatively important are love of truth and love of our neighbor. I find love of truth obscured in America by commercialism." How comes it that, in the face of this consuming love of truth, Mr. Russell goes up and down the world uttering gross and reckless falsehoods? It would be an easy answer to say that there is in him a morbid streak that accounts for this strange anomaly. It would be easy to pronounce some catchword of the very latest psychology, to invoke the jargon of complexes, by way of explanation. But I have little confidence in the catchwords of the very latest psychology, and a profound contempt for the jargon of complexes. I have no explanation to offer that has any savor either of scientific or of pseudo-scientific authority. But I can make a simple conjecture which seems to me to go far towards accounting for the phenomenon. Mr. Russell does think that he loves the truth; but he flatters himself that all that is essential about the truth is contained in certain sweeping conclusions which he arrived at long ago. The same thing may be true of most of us; but we don't go about burning incense to ourselves as sacred repositories of the love of truth, and looking down with condescending tolerance upon those whose conclusions are different from our own. And the consequence is that, though we may fall far short of that scrupulous conscientiousness which is the imperative requirement of a genuine love of truth, we do pay a certain decent respect to facts when we undertake to talk about facts. To Mr. Russell and his tribe—a tribe amply represented in our intellectual radical press—facts that point away from their preconceived conclusions are merely trivial accidents, worthy of no notice even though their name be legion and their authenticity unquestionable; while everything pointing their way that has even the superficial appearance of being a fact, and even anything that presents itself to their imagination as a possible fact, at once assumes the character of a profoundly significant truth. Ordinary vulgar lying is far below the spiritual plane on which they live; but unfortunately ordinary vulgar truthfulness—the sense of responsibility which is binding on ordinary everyday men—is equally remote from their exalted level. They have paid in advance the whole price of truth, in adopting the noble principles to which they consecrate their pens; from the petty installments which the rest of us feel under obligation to pay, on each separate occasion when love of truth demands it of us, they have exempted themselves once for all.

Whether this or some other be the explanation of the unscrupulousness which so many of the radical intelligentsia habitually exhibit in their dealings with the truth, the unscrupulousness itself is unmistakable, and is one of the most serious elements in the intellectual situation of our time. It is precisely because it has none of the earmarks of ordinary lying—precisely because it is an accompaniment not of ignoble but of noble sentiment—that it is so dangerous. The young people—and many older people, too, but it is the young people who count for most in this—the young people who are carried along in the flow of Mr. Russell's eloquence and logic do not stop to exercise their critical faculties. They scarcely note, if they note at all, even such palpable falsehoods and absurdities as those pointed out above. And thus when they come to Mr. Russell's dictum—no less false and baseless, only not so obviously so—about why America stayed out of the war and why she went into it, or about the control of our Government by the financiers, they swallow it bait, hook, and sinker. Is it too much to hope that some of them at least will ask themselves the simple question, How much confidence is to be placed, in regard to profound world issues, upon the judgment of those who show themselves recklessly untruthful in their assertions about simple and outstanding facts?

EDITORIAL

The Bolshevist Object Lesson

THE ghastly spectacle of Russia has long ceased to furnish much material for controversy as to the facts. The reports that come out of Bolshevism present an almost monotonous uniformity in essentials. As far back as almost two years ago, H. G. Wells, who has certainly no prejudice against Utopias, came back from Russia with a tale but little different from that which had been told all along by conservative journalists. The latest thing is the story by Emma Goldman which is coming out in the *New York World*. This revolutionist of revolutionists makes a report which differs from that recently made by Charles R. Crane, a typical American business man, only in painting the situation in even darker colors and commenting upon it in language even more damning. And it is not the famine, be it well understood, that these people have been talking about; it is the horror and wretchedness that prevailed long before the famine set in.

About the facts, then, there is fairly general and substantial agreement; but about the assessment of blame, the analysis of cause, there is all the variation you please. No contrast could be greater, for example, than that between Mr. Wells's view of the Bolshevist Government's responsibility and the view held by Emma Goldman. Mr. Wells fully admitted the fact of economic failure and social despotism, of want and starvation, but held that all this would have been sure to happen, in the circumstances, no matter who had been in power. The Bolsheviki, he said, "have done upon principle what any other Government would have had to do from necessity." Emma Goldman's view is precisely the opposite of this. She exhausts the resources of language in branding the Bolshevist Government—its brutality, its stupidity, its rottenness—as the prime cause of Russia's desperate plight. Here is a specimen of her denunciation:

Under such enslaving and degrading conditions one need not be surprised that the people shirked the work, because they hated it and the way they were driven to it. They began to look upon the Communist State as the new leech that was sapping their life-blood.

In one respect, to be sure, there may be said to be a sort of agreement between Miss Goldman's view and that of Mr. Wells. The one places the blame on the methods of the Bolshevist rulers, the other puts it on the situation with which they were confronted; but both alike shut their eyes to the possibility that the principles underlying the Bolshevist régime may be the predominant cause of its ghastly failure.

We ourselves do not regard the failure of the Communist experiment in Russia as conclusive proof that Communism cannot be made to work. A single experience, even under normal conditions, cannot suffice to demonstrate a general proposition of this character; still less can it do so under such abnormal conditions as those that have existed in Russia. But "the man in the street" who sets down the failure as conclusive is in-

finitely nearer right in his thinking than is the shallow *illuminatus* who complacently ignores the question altogether. The man in the street may not formulate all the reasons for his conclusion; but in the back of his head there are reasons which influence his judgment over and above the mere fact of recorded failure. He knows that the vast organism of civilized society, under which hundreds of millions of human beings live in a certain degree of contentment and happiness, does not function by accident. He knows that people go about their business, and maintain their complex relations with one another and with their environment, under the influence of motives which, in the main, arise spontaneously in the mind and heart of each individual. The desire to advance in the world, the fear of falling back, an honest pride in at least keeping one's head above water without being beholden to any one—these are perhaps not very exalted springs of action, but they have the tremendous merit of being well-nigh universal and of keeping the world going. Now, the man in the street very justly holds that if a set of people propose to dispense with all this, to take away the very heart of the organism and put something else in its place, the burden of proof is on them to show that it can be done. When they make an appalling failure, the man in the street doesn't say that taking out the heart of the organism had nothing to do with the failure; he knows that it had a tremendous deal to do with the failure—that it was, in fact, the essential cause of the failure. If he goes a step farther and asserts positively that nobody will ever make a success of the operation, he goes farther than a strict logic can approve; but he is fully justified in regarding the failure as strengthening the overwhelming presumption that there was against the experiment before it was made. The trouble with the easy-going *illuminati* is that they imagine there is no presumption worth considering in favor of a system which has actually, for hundreds of years, accomplished the miracle of keeping so complex a thing as civilized society going, and has supplied to a steadily increasing proportion of the population a steadily increasing degree of ease and comfort.

Crime and Punishment

IN the closing rush of the New York Legislature's recent session a bill was passed, without discussion or examination, which makes an extraordinary and sweeping extension of the parole system. It places at the discretion of the Parole Board the paroling of any first offender, however serious his crime, at the end of one year of his prison term. The way in which the bill was rushed through—to say nothing of the charge that it was designed especially to bring about the liberation of Brindell, whose atrocious system of blackmail in the building trades was exposed and brought to an end by the strenuous exertions of Mr. Untermeyer—is in itself sufficient ground for the killing

of the bill by a pocket veto, which it is hoped Governor Miller will decide upon. But the discussion of it brings forward questions of vital interest relating not to the particular measure but to the general principles governing the treatment of crime.

Bills of the nature of the one to which we have referred are, broadly speaking, advocated on the ground that they are applications of the principle of the indeterminate sentence. And the reasons for objecting to them are chiefly two: First, that they are not really and truly applications of that principle; and secondly, that that principle itself must not be regarded as an absolute dogma, but as a practical principle, excellent within certain limits but unjustified beyond those limits.

Thoroughgoing champions of the indeterminate-sentence principle usually rest their case upon the assumption that the sole justified object of imprisoning a criminal is to protect society from the danger to which his being at large would expose it; that accordingly he should be confined until that danger has been removed by satisfactory proof of his reformation, but no longer; that punishment, simply as punishment, should have no place in our system of dealing with crime.

Now this theory, excellent as are some of its applications, is fundamentally unsound. The reformation of the criminal, his restoration to the community in such shape as to give him a chance of being a decent and useful member of society, is an object that must always be kept in view, and advances of inestimable value in this direction have been made in the last few decades. But the primary object of the criminal code is not to reform those who are already criminals, but to deter others from becoming criminals. In so far as both objects can be attained, they must both be pursued; but it would be a disastrous error to forget the primary purpose in the pursuit of the secondary.

The spectacle of persons who had committed atrocious or revolting crimes being freed after the serving of a short term of imprisonment, simply because they had given evidence of being reformed, would diminish beyond all calculation the deterrent effect of the whole system of criminal law. How great that effect is, there is no possible way of computing on the basis of prison statistics; for the deterrence is measured not by the record of those who have been criminals but by the unknown story of the multitude who have refrained from crimes which there has been strong temptation to commit. And what does more than anything else to keep those who are weak, and those who are inclined to crime, from yielding to these temptations, is the instinctive association of the idea of the crime with the idea of punishment—and in the case of a heinous crime the idea of a terrible punishment.

This invaluable association of ideas would be extirpated if the principle of the indeterminate sentence were to be applied to all classes of crime. And in the classes of crimes to which it does properly apply, it is essential that it shall be applied with the most conscientious care and the soundest judgment. To turn over to a Board of Parole thousands of cases of every conceivable degree of seriousness would mean not a careful, conscientious, minute inquiry into the nature and history of each case, but an almost haphazard decision, based on superficial evidence and probably very often on mere personal influence. If we are to have the

indeterminate-sentence principle genuinely and wholesomely put into practice we must do two things: we must provide the large body of able and devoted prison officials necessary to its intelligent administration, and we must confine its operation to classes of crime in which it does not interfere with the imperative claims of effective deterrence.

England and Russia : A Tragedy of Misunderstanding

NO thoughtful student of the history of the Nineteenth Century, tracing the ambitions, the jealousies, and the conflicts of the great Powers, but must reflect on the tragic irony of the situation which Britain now faces in India and Turkey. In it he sees the avoidable consequences of a great historic lie, the results of a misunderstanding as stupid as that of the two knights looking upon opposite sides of the same shield. The lie was the forged "Will of Peter the Great," which Napoleon had concocted to further his purposes in his struggle against England, and the misunderstanding that grew out of it was England's obsession that the objective of all Russian policy was the conquest of India.

Throughout the Nineteenth Century the suspicion born of this obsession was the background of all Anglo-Russian relations. Thus, for example, when Nicholas I, sincerely anxious to solve the Eastern question in a manner compatible with the aspirations of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, approached the British Ambassador confidentially on the subject of the "Sick Man of Europe," this was at once taken as evidence of a deep-laid scheme against England. There is no reason to believe that the Russian Government at any time cherished designs on India, yet his belief, fostered assiduously by numerous writers, precipitated many a dangerous crisis in which war was narrowly averted.

It is the irony of history that after the persistence of this delusion for a century, the Soviet Government, which has broken with all the traditions of Russian policy, should now definitely adopt the very policy which England attributed to their predecessors. There is ample evidence that millions of Soviet gold have been devoted to stirring up revolution in India and that Soviet diplomacy and dispositions in Central Asia have been directed toward an attack on the British *Raj*.

While there is undoubtedly much trouble in store for England in her Indian Empire, the present Soviet régime and its subversive policy will pass. It is a pity therefore that so much of British policy toward Russia since the Revolution should have been influenced by the old obsession. It has seemed as if English statesmen were bent upon taking advantage of Russia's present difficulties to hamstring her for the future. We believe that England's best interests and those of a world desiring peace lie in the abandonment of the mistaken policy generally associated with the name of Beaconsfield. The Russia which arises from the present chaos will have its hands full for many a long year with its own internal development. Only a bitter struggle to recover her unity can turn aside energies into militaristic channels. By a wise policy of coöperation and assistance to Russia in realizing her natural aspirations

Great Britain can make of Russia a firm friend; by attempting to thwart her legitimate desires by dismemberment and repression or by giving aid and comfort to her Bolshevik oppressors, she will raise up a potential enemy and renew an old and baseless feud.

Reinstating the Turk

A GENERATION that recalls with a thrill of horror MacGahan's exposure of the Bulgarian atrocities, and before whose eyes is still fresh the awful picture of the Armenian massacres—unequalled since the days of Jengis Khan and Tamerlane—a generation that was led to believe that one beneficent result of the great war was to be the elimination of the Turk from Europe, will read with amazed disappointment of the Near East agreement arrived at by the recent conference in Paris. By it the Treaty of Sèvres is virtually rewritten to the advantage of the defeated enemy. The Turks are to resume their national existence with Constantinople as their capital, and the secular and religious authority of the Sultan is restored. The Greeks, to be sure, are to have Adrianople and most of Thrace, Smyrna is to be under a special régime, and the Straits are to be demilitarized and kept open. The Armenians—if any remain alive—are to become a special charge of the Council of the League of Nations.

The Greeks perforce have accepted the new arrangement, and the Sultan at Constantinople likewise. Mustapha Kemal, at Angora, whose power has become more autocratic in recent months and whose arrogance has grown with the Mussulman unrest in India and the conflict of British and French ambitions in the Near East, is inclined to refuse it. He is not satisfied to see Adrianople in the hands of the Greeks, and Mecca and Medina under the King of the Hedjaz. Eventually he will come into line and another of those make-shift arrangements for which European diplomacy is famous will be put into effect. That the expedient can bring lasting peace even the most optimistic will doubt.

But this amazing reversal of Allied policy, this going back on all the virtuous protestations that the unspeakable Turk was to be driven back to his native habitat in Asia and his centuries of misrule over Christian populations were to end, is not a mere caprice of European politics. Nor is it due wholly or even largely to an attempt to adjust Anglo-French rivalries. Its true basis is the recognition of the existence of a vast force in the world, a force that must be reckoned with, the power of Islam. Kemal himself in the forbidding plateau of Anatolia might be defeated or ignored, but four hundred million followers of the Prophet, spread over Asia and Africa and looking to the Sultan as Caliph, are not thus to be dealt with. They are a stern reality before which, in the present distracted state of the world, many sentimental and moral considerations must yield.

Of the many interesting speculations to which the settlement gives rise, one or two may be specially noted. Most noteworthy is the effect, historically, of the collapse of Russia. Here is an enormous population occupying a vast and potentially rich domain whose economic future is bound up with the question of the outlet through the Straits and for whom Constantinople has a peculiar religious significance. Yet the fall of the Tsar, the failure of the Provisional Gov-

ernment, and the withdrawal from the war have left Russia no voice in a settlement that touches her most vital interests. It may be taken as a foregone conclusion that as soon as she recovers her power and influence she will demand and force a revision.

Again, as to India, the settlement may mollify the leaders of the Khalifat movement and to that extent may justify the concessions of the British; but we are inclined to believe that the strength of this movement has been greatly exaggerated and that the concessions may be interpreted as a sign of weakness.

Poor Armenia! We all remember the pious declaration for her independence and national home. We also remember how the Powers sought to shift the responsibility for carrying this out to President Wilson and America. And the diplomatic game of "passing the buck" still continues. The straggling remnants of this harassed people are placed again under Turkish sovereignty with the futile assurance that they are to be a special charge of the Council of the League of Nations—a sorry jest.

The Near East agreement and the restoration of the Turk is a sad commentary on the post-war statesmanship of Europe. The Turkish peasant is a good citizen—better, according to most observers, than his neighbors; but Turkish rule, Turkish administration, is an anachronism and it is appalling to think that no way has been found for putting an end to the subjection of Christian populations to its devastating sway.

The Coal Strike Prospect

ON the eve of the coal strike there are clear indications that in the outcome there will be a reduction of the war-time wage-rates now paid to mine workers. These, together with the railroad workers and those of the building trades, represent a wage-peak rising conspicuously above the lowered level of other wages. The householder has before him six months when he will want little coal. The industrial consumer, with business very slack, is in much the same position. And it is tolerably clear that the soft coal operators feel that this is the time to break the power of the Mine Workers' Union. The union operators have suffered severely during the past year from the competition of non-union mines, which were able to lower their wage-rates in the middle of 1921. The Union has refused to consider a wage reduction, and the operators have realized that the economic situation makes this the time for a finish fight.

It is an unfortunate fact—for which labor leaders are not solely responsible—that the modern trade union is by its nature an inclusive labor monopoly, usually devoid of any will (and perhaps of any power) to adjust its policy to the promotion of the welfare of its trade *as an industry*. One of the chief evils in the soft coal industry is an excess of workers much inclined to erratic working habits. Like the longshore industry, too many men are trying to live upon it. Yet this evil cannot be remedied by itself—the remedy depends, at least in the soft coal industry, on other conditions to produce which the whole industry needs to be reformed. It would be a thousand pities if this present struggle should produce another "famous victory" of which no one could recall the meaning.

The Story of the Week

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

The Domestic Budget

The Army Bill

THE President having informally expressed disapproval of the provision of the House Army bill which directed that no part of the Army appropriation should be used for maintenance of troops in China or for maintenance of more than 500 troops in Europe or 5,000 troops in the Panama Canal Zone or 5,000 troops in Hawaii, and having denounced it as an invasion of his constitutional prerogatives as Commander-in-Chief of the Army; and the inference being shrewdly drawn that he would veto the bill should it be presented to him with that provision as a part thereof: the offensive provision was eliminated from the bill.

The bill was passed by the House on March 29. It provides that by July 1 the enlisted strength of the army be reduced to 115,000 men plus 7,000 Philippine scouts, and the officer strength to 11,000.

General Harbord has made some very pertinent comments on certain features of the bill:

Our unpreparedness at the outbreak of a war entails tremendous expense, amounting in the World War, for example, to approximately \$24,000,000,000.

After the war the size of our debt incurred through unpreparedness brings a demand for economy and we continue unprepared. Thus unpreparedness brings the debt and the debt continues unpreparedness.

Referring to the War Department estimate of \$3,500,000 as required for fifteen days' training of 28,000 reserve officers and 20,000 enlisted reserves, the general observed:

The House bill carries \$250,000 for reserve officers and \$100 for enlisted reserves. A reserve of 1,000 officers and one enlisted man can be trained for the sum provided. At that rate, the enlisted reserve would never be trained and it would take over sixty years to give the 65,000 reserve officers fifteen days' training each.

It seems that the War Department plans for the National Guard call for about \$30,000,000 for field training, armory drills, and so on. On this head the general remarked:

The \$6,500,000 carried by the House bill will leave about one-third of the National Guard without field training this year. It will permit no rifle matches, no preliminary camps, and the attendance at service schools of but a fraction of the National Guard officers who had hoped to go. . . . The \$21,000,000 provided by the House bill will limit the National Guard to 100,000 men, whereas 144,000 men are now in the service and 20,000 more would have been in the service by the end of June.

There are now 7,000 soldiers in the Panama Canal Zone and 12,000 in Hawaii. The War Department declares that

there should be at least a full division (26,000 men) in each. The War Department statement is extremely conservative.

Clean-up of the Four-Power Treaty

After an idle debate the Senate, by a vote of 73 to 0, ratified the supplement to the Four-Power Treaty which interprets that treaty as not applying to Japan proper, and the declaratory statement which reserves United States policy as to Pacific mandates and excludes from the "controversies" which may fall under the provisions of the Four-Power Treaty "questions which, according to principles of international law, lie exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the respective powers." The immigration question, of course, is the chief of these questions.

The United States and the Reparations Commission

It is rumored that the President is convinced of the necessity to our interests of having an official American representative on the Reparations Commission. The resolution ratifying the Berlin Treaty requires express authorization from Congress for such appointment. The President might ask for the authorization, and then proceed to appoint, or he might nominate a representative and ask for his confirmation by Congress.

America to the Fore in Aeronautics

The new General Air Service Company of the United States has bought from the Schuette-Lanz Airship Company of Germany the manufacturers' and patent rights of the latter company covering

the entire world. It is said that this practically means transfer to this country of the German rigid airship industry. At any rate it will, if Dr. Schuette is to be believed, give the United States "the premier position in the aeronautics of the world."

The Increase of Suicides

The Save-a-Life League has issued a report on suicide for the year 1921. The League officials have definite information of 12,000 suicides, and they estimate that at least 8,000 occurred which were not reported to them. The report declares that suicides were 23 per cent. more numerous in 1921 than in 1920, and contains the following observation:

The growing complexity of our modern life, the feverish unrest, crimes, divorce, bizarre and questionable dress and other things have caused deranged nerves, depression and less self-control.

The suicides reported include "10 editors, 10 well-known writers, 40 college students, 51 school teachers, 21 clergy-



International

An aeroboot and a motorboat racing off Miami

men, 57 judges and lawyers, 7 mayors, 93 bankers, and 88 presidents of large business concerns."

The Post-Basket-Makers of Arizona

An expedition working under the auspices of the Peabody Museum of Harvard claims to have discovered in north-eastern Arizona evidences of a people intermediate in culture between the Arizona "basket-makers" and cliff-dwellers. Probably not a distinct people; probably the basket-makers in a later phase. The "basket-makers" had no permanent dwellings; their successors or descendants lived either in caves enlarged into suitable dwellings or in stone houses in the open. These post-basket-makers had pottery, fired and crudely decorated. They grew corn; they had dogs—real sure-enough dogs, not domesticated coyotes; two dog-mummies have been found. They were rather dolicocephalous, like the basket-makers, but unlike the "cliff-dwellers," who tended to brachycephaly.

Lincoln as a Military Genius

General Pershing has discovered that Abraham Lincoln was a military genius. This gift the general attributes, in the main, to the abundant supply of common sense with which the great President was endowed. "After all," he says, "military sagacity is but the application of common sense, through the exercise of which all principles of strategy have been evolved." And, in addition to this basic gift of common sense, the general finds in Lincoln a power of concentration, an ability to think things through, and an unwavering confidence in the triumph of right, which rendered it possible for a man, untrained in the conduct of war, to make important strategical decisions, which Lincoln, as Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the North, was more than once called upon to make.

Brief Items

On March 29 the Senate, by a vote of 74 to 1, ratified the Naval Treaty and unanimously ratified the treaty relating to submarines and noxious gases; in each case without reservations.

On March 30 the Senate ratified the two treaties relating to China, one unanimously, the other with only one dissenting vote; thus completing ratification of the six treaties and one declaration which resulted from the Washington Conference.

The textile strike situation in New England has not materially changed since last week. There is no new development of importance to record in the coal situation. The long-threatened strike of the anthracite coal miners and unionized bituminous coal miners began on April 1.

On March 29 the House, by 142 to 50, passed the bill authorizing postponement for twenty-five years of payment by Austria of her debt to our Government of \$25,000,000 for grain purchased through the United States Grain Corporation.

The contract for construction of a vehicular

tunnel under the Hudson River has been awarded, the successful bid being \$19,331,723.50. Work will begin about May 1; the tunnel must be completed within thirty-six months from the date of signature of the contract.

* * *

Eighty-three per cent. of the 12,588,949 motor vehicles in the world are in the United States.

The British Empire

The Irish Situation

A MEETING (forbidden by Collins and Griffith) of Republican Army extremists was held, as scheduled, in Dublin, on Sunday the 26th; and not in Dublin merely, but in the Mansion House, Dublin. Two hundred took part; claiming to be accredited delegates of forty-nine Republican Army brigades; mostly lads in the late teens or early twenties. They came armed; some came in armored cars with machine guns. The meeting was secret, but the following has leaked out, or at any rate is presented as authentic by the press:

The "delegates" repudiated the sworn allegiance of the army to the Dail Eireann. They declared allegiance of the army to the Irish Republic. They elected an executive committee of sixteen to control the army, and authorized it to draft a constitution to be submitted to a subsequent convention and to reestablish and enforce the Belfast boycott.

What part of the army these fiery juvenals represent (there were some old heads present, but few), and how really important this meeting was, it remains to see. Some other queer things happened in Dublin that day; but, whereas almost all important doings in Ireland are queer, not all queer doings are important. One would like to know what kind of constitution the Committee of Sixteen is to draw up; a constitution for the army or a constitution for the republic? Richard Mulcahy has declared the mutinous "delegates" suspended from the army.

* * *

On March 30 Sir James Craig, Premier of Ulster, Michael Collins, head of the Provisional Government of the Irish Free State, and Arthur Griffith, President of the Dail Eireann, conferred in London with representatives of the British Government and with each other upon the conditions in Belfast and on the border which hold menace of war between North and South. They signed an agreement which, if cordially carried out, should bring immediate peace to Belfast and the border; which paves the way for a settlement of the boundary between Ulster and the Free State without recourse to the Boundary Commission (so obnoxious to Ulster) prescribed by the London Agreement which called the Free State into being; and which even mentions the possibility of Irish union. Sir James undertakes to reorganize the Ulster special police so as to include a proper proportion of Catholics, and to procure reinstatement, as soon as industrial conditions will permit, of discharged Catholic workmen; and the British representatives agree to ask Parliament for a generous grant for public works in Ulster, to furnish employment to both Catholics and Protestants.

Altogether it was a fine day's work, and one especially creditable to Sir James Craig, who discovers himself not to be the uncompromising marplot of frequent description.

"Stalky" on India

Who that was a boy thirty years ago does not remember with vivid satisfaction Stalky, Kipling's Stalky? This identical Stalky, now known as Major General L. C. Dunsterville, C.B., C.S.I., writes for the current *Fortnightly Review* quite the best estimate of the present situation in India that has appeared.

This is what General Dunsterville has to say about that



George Matthew Adams

Cutting down the big stick



International

A load of wool on the way to an Australian seaport

"voice of India" of which certain "Liberals" talk glibly:

The term "India" is a political and geographical expression, implying the area under British rule from the Pamirs to Ceylon and from the eastern frontier of Persia to the western frontier of the Chinese province of Yunnan. It must be borne in mind that this great tract of country has never in previous history been under one rule, and a failure to realize this leads to false deductions being made (as they frequently are) when comparing the India of today with the India of medieval and ancient history.

An Indian is an inhabitant of this area of nearly 2,000,000 square miles. We thus class together the Aryan Hindus, the Arab, Afghan, Mughal and Persian Mahomedans, the Negroid hill tribes, the Dravidians of Southern India and the Indo-Chinese of Assam and Burmah. And we speak of these people as having "a" voice, and Mr. Gandhi kindly tells us what that voice says—an effort far surpassing that of the most gifted spiritualistic medium.

After thirty-five years in India and possessing a deep sympathy with the inhabitants of that vast country, may I pit my intuitive ability against that of Mr. Gandhi and tell you what the voice of India says?

"We are not interested in forms of government and only ask to be allowed to till our fields in peace. We neither love the English nor hate them, but we respect them. We prefer their rule to any other because they are a race apart, and consequently stand aloof from our racial animosities and religious differences. We can trust them, therefore, to be impartial, as we could trust none of our own. We realize that they rule justly and we are grateful to them for the safety of life and property which was quite unknown under any former rule. We like nothing so little as the political agitators who claim to speak for us, and we should respect our present Government very much more if it treated them more according to the summary methods of the great Akbar."

Our Liberals are apt to be as bitter as the Indian agitators themselves upon the head of the social discrimination alleged to be shown by the British against the Indians. But listen to this true explanation from General Dunsterville:

There is no racial hatred among the ordinary people except that artificially fostered by political agitators, but among what may be called the M.A. and B.A. class it is almost universal. Their high standard of education leads them to expect terms of social equality which are denied to them. The social gulf (created by the Indians, not by us) is so enormous that nothing can bridge it.

They are frequently charming companions and good sportsmen, but those are not the sole requirements for social equality. They wish to mingle in our society, in which our womenfolk hold a prominent place, while they keep their ladies in the strictest seclusion. They cannot eat with us on account of their caste rules, nor can they even, as a rule, eat with each other. And the fact that an Englishman is an eater of beef renders him odious in the eyes of people who worship the cow. These caste rules are put on one side by the few who visit England, but are generally resumed in full force on return to India. They are never for one moment put aside by the 300,000,000 peasants.

Very few persons, one ventures to say, know that General Dunsterville led the most dare-devilish, adventurous, weird, humorous, Stalkyish, expedition of the Great War, into the Caucasus region.

Indian Notes

According to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, there are "twenty-five main vernaculars and several hundred dialects" in India. English is the only common language, so that, though only 1 per cent. of the population knows it, it is the language used in all the legislative bodies, and the language in which Gandhi's propaganda is originally issued. The "politically minded" Indians are the 1 per cent. who know English, and thus make their own the elegant western technique of political and social agitation. Only six persons in every hundred can so much as write their names in any language.

Germany

Ratification of the Wiesbaden Agreement

THE Finance Ministers of the Allies at their recent meeting ratified the Wiesbaden agreement (drawn up many months ago by M. Loucheur for France and Dr. Rathenau for Germany); limiting, however, its duration to three years, and limiting German supplies to France of raw materials and manufactured articles to the value of 350,000,000 gold marks in 1922, and 750,000,000 gold marks in each of the two following years.

The Allied Control Commissions

By the Versailles Treaty, after May 1 Germany will no longer be required to pay the expenses of Allied control commissions whose function it is to supervise German execution of the treaty clauses relating to army, navy, and air forces. She must, however, facilitate (without expense to herself) investigation of German "preparedness" by League of Nations commissions.

Poor Germany, Cruel France!

Mr. Edwin L. James, writing for the *New York Times*, makes the following simple and eloquent statement:

This year every man, woman and child in France contributes the equivalent of \$35 gold for repair of the devastation the Germans wrought in France. This year every man, woman and child in Germany is asked by the Reparations Commission to contribute the equivalent of \$3 gold in cash and \$6 gold in materials. And the German Chancellor replies that Germany cannot.

Since the end of the war every man, woman and child in France has paid the equivalent of \$200 gold for reconstruction. The total of all the German reparation payments to all the Allies is equivalent to \$40 gold for every man, woman and child in Germany.

Soviet Russia

Famine Figures

THE Soviet Commissioner of Health has recently issued an estimate of deaths from famine and a prediction of future famine mortality, the figures of which are far below Nansen's figures. He bases his estimate and predic-

tion on Ufa statistics, which, he claims, are fairly accurate. Should the famine death rate, as estimated, be maintained for a year, the total famine mortality would, he predicts, be about 1,000,000. Should the rate be increased to the maximum probable limit, the total would not exceed 2,000,000. He estimates the total number of famine-stricken as between 12,000,000 and 15,000,000.

Famine Notes

A French steamer is on the way to Odessa with foodstuffs for the famine area given by the French Government. The Italian Red Cross is about to dispatch a steamer with medicines and foodstuffs for the same destination. Switzerland is organizing a hospital relief expedition for the Volga.

The region about Odessa is now officially designated a "famine district" by the Soviet authorities. It is feared that Turkestan must soon receive the same dismal distinction.

End of the Karelian Revolt

The movement against Soviet rule in Karelia (northwest Russia) has been completely crushed by Red troops. As to the extent to which the movement has been kept alive by filibustering expeditions from Finland, the Helsingfors and Moscow authorities differ. As to the sympathy of Finland with the rebels, there can be no doubt. The Karelians are Finno-Ugrians in blood, like the majority of the inhabitants of Finland.

The Genoa Delegation

The Soviet delegation to the Genoa Conference, headed by Chicherin, is at Riga, whence it will proceed to Berlin. Lenin remains in Moscow, not because of illness, as was given out, but because the critical posture of affairs in Russia forbids his absence.

What's to Be Done About Turkey?

IN a brief conference at Paris which ended on March 26, the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy drew up and signed a statement of the general terms which should in their opinion form the basis of a treaty to supersede the Treaty of Sèvres. According to a vague press dispatch, the following are the chief items of the statement:

Turkey to resume full sovereignty of Constantinople and a considerable portion of Eastern Thrace, and of Asia Minor: except that Smyrna is to have a special régime (whatever that may mean), that special minority provisions will protect the Armenians and other non-Turks under Turkish sovereignty, and that the Armenians are especially commended to the care of the League of Nations. The whimsical hope is expressed that the League of Nations may find a way to satisfy the Armenians' "national aspirations." The suggestion is made that a "special régime" for Adrianople might be permitted. The statement contains important recommendations on Turkish finance and revision or abolition of the Capitulations; but the press references thereto are unintelligible. Demilitarization of a Straits' Zone and supervision of that Utopian status by an Interallied Commission (backed by a small Allied force) is of course re-recommended. "Greece is to receive compensation for her sacrifices for the Allied cause." That is sufficiently enigmatic.

Copies of the statement are being sent to the Governments of Athens, Constantinople, and Angora, which are to be invited to send representatives within a few weeks to a city not yet designated, to join the British, Italian, and French High Commissioners in Constantinople in negotiating a new treaty. Presumably such a meeting is conditional on acceptance by the Angora Government of the Foreign Ministers' telegraphic proposal (sent March 22) of a three weeks' armistice between the Greek and Turkish Nationalist forces. The Greeks have accepted that proposal; Angora still deliberates it.

A not too confident press report states that the new line proposed in Eastern Thrace runs approximately north and south from east of Kirk Kilisseh to west of Rodosto. That arrangement would transfer to Turkey the Black Sea coast of Thrace and make Turkey march once more with Bulgaria (important), but would leave in Greek hands Adrianople (one of the "Holy Places" of Islam), the Gallipoli peninsula, and a strip of the Marmora coast. The quidnuncs doubt that Mustapha Kemal will consent to anything less than full Turkish sovereignty in Adrianople.

The scheme is a botched one, but may possibly serve as a working basis for a treaty which the Greeks and Turks will ratify, with whatever "mental reservations."

A Plan for Reduction of Land Armaments

THE Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations has submitted to the Governments participating in the League a plan for limitation of European land armaments, of which the following description is given by Mr. Edwin L. James in the *New York Times*:

The commission's plan, which was presented at a recent meeting by Lord Esher, representing England, embraces all European countries except the Central Powers, whose armies are limited by the peace treaties and Russia. The unit taken is 30,000 men. There would be the following allotment of units: Belgium, 2; Czechoslovakia, 3; Denmark, 2; France, 6; Great Britain, 3; Holland, 3; Norway, 2; Poland, 4; Portugal, 1; Rumania, 3; Sweden, 2; Spain, 3; Switzerland, 2.

This would mean forty-six units, or a total of 1,380,000 soldiers for Europe, which would be a reduction of about 50 per cent. under the present armies.

The League Commission also has under consideration another plan to apply the ratios of the Washington naval treaties to the navies of the League members not parties to the Washington agreement.

The weakest point of the League plan is the absence of Russia from it. Russia not being a member of the League, the commission naturally could not lay down the size of her army. It is the intention of the League leaders to try to get Russia into limitation negotiations and some statesmen hope to raise the matter at Genoa.

As the plan stands, it will meet the opposition of France. France's probable reply to it will be a demand that the League be given some sort of Federal force to enable it to insure observance of the terms of any such limitation agreement.

Lenin Stays at Home

ONE hoped that Lenin would attend the Genoa Conference, so that one might know at last which is the more magnetic personality, Lenin or Lloyd George. Lloyd George was a bold 'un to court the comparison. One may, to be sure, choose between Chicherin and Lord Curzon; but one has done that long ago.



Dorr

Castello da Pena Cintra (painting by Ernest Peixotto at the Hispanic Museum)

How the Farmer Feels Now

By Charles Moreau Harger

AT a banker-farmer meeting in Iowa last summer, after various speakers had voiced complaints and outlined remedies for the financial depression affecting producers, a lanky individual arose in the back of the hall. "We entered this situation through the gate of extravagance," he remarked, "and there is just one way out—through the gate of thrift and economy." To some extent this idea has permeated the producer's consciousness, and his cautious buying during the past year has been not so much because of intent to visit punishment on business as because a casting up of accounts showed his buying power diminished. So he has lessened his purchasing, and has especially refrained from all things classed as luxuries. Along with this he has repaired his machinery, refused to buy new implements, and in general put a brake on his outgo.

But events gradually brought their transformation in his condition. He hurried his grain to market last autumn, fearing the price would drop to pre-war levels, then saw its value increase as winter advanced because the supply in this country was lessened. Other products began to show growing demand in the market, and by spring something of a new vision spread before the farmer, setting him upon a stronger financial foundation. The figures are startling. In the ninety days preceding April 1, according to an authority, the advance in values of grain and livestock totaled \$1,049,000,000, half of this being credited to grain, the remainder to livestock. Since the low point in 1921 wheat increased 23.1 per cent, corn 20.4 per cent., hogs 47.7 per cent., cattle 11.7 per cent., and other products correspondingly. These changes alone are sufficient to put heart into the plans for the coming season, and when it is remembered that farm labor is lower than in a half-decade it means a season with a fair prospect for net profits—something looked upon a few months ago as hopeless.

But the financial condition with its improvement is only one side of the picture. Out of the experience has come a psychological change not easily to be overturned. The producer gathered out of his period of depression and earnest study of conditions a determination to set aright some things in marketing and government that he believed unjust. The education that came while he was struggling with debts and low prices was a forceful one. He realized that thrift and economy were his portion, but at the same time resolved to establish on a new basis the methods of handling his affairs.

Hence we have arising in the farm country a series of movements fathered by the leaders of the producing population and having for their object the improvement of financial conditions. These are partly political and partly economic. The former take the form of demands for legislation in the interest of economy—taxpayers' unions insisting that unnecessary boards and commissions must go, that public expenses must be reduced, and that a fairer method of tax assessment must be adopted. This is nothing particularly new, but the vehemence of the demand is more noticeable as the income of the producer has declined. All through the farmer States this movement exists. That it will result in the election of an increased number of farmer legislators is probable. That it will effect any great change in maintenance of public undertakings is not so sure, for the agricultural States are as a whole managed with moderate budgets. In these days of expensive living, and with increase of crime calling for larger appropriations, it is doubtful if the basic expense of any State can

be greatly reduced. What can be done is to spend the tax money more systematically and with less waste—and this will be attempted.

The working out of the economic idea may cause some disaster to political hopes, and bring to the front men who have been unknown in politics. One element expects it to bring also legislation devoted to farmer interests. This includes coöperative banks, lower rates for public utilities, and fixing of prices for products. Were it not for the fiasco in North Dakota, with its aftermath of wasted public money and weakened State standing, we should probably see a tendency toward State participation in some lines of business, such as elevators, flour mills, packing houses. Rural credit systems are also in prospect, the idea that the State can assist the borrower by going into the loan field being prominent in the farming sections.

The reaction to the deflation period has been to revive to some extent the old-time antagonism to Eastern financial centres, dormant for many years of Western development. Again have been heard the mutterings against "Wall Street" and the "money interests." The average Western producer is either a member of one of the farm organizations or is in touch with their literature. These bodies are not primarily political; mostly they are based upon securing better methods in crop raising and the breeding of livestock. But they do become a medium for distribution of propaganda tending to unite farm interests and, in the hands of unwise advisers, may be used as political weapons. However, the level-headed farmer has refused to be led into movements fathered by extremists. He has taken thought for himself and is acting on his own initiative.

So the producer is steadily coming back to a normal outlook on events. He is realizing that, after all, he is not the only sufferer in the readjustment experience—the reports of business embarrassments tell him that. Taking stock of his possessions, he finds that he has the basic wealth with which to build his new structure. Few of his investments made during the war, when he bought Liberty Bonds liberally, have been sold. Had he refrained from the speculative urge that took millions of dollars into wildcat oil and promotion enterprises, he would today be in the best position of any single class in this country. Land booms and gorgeous stock certificates made a large hole in Middle West bank balances; failure to take advantage of high prices for grain had their effect, but the permanent improvements and the sound securities laid away in deposit boxes remain. Their possession is one stabilizing factor that prevents action tending to upset business or credit.

The producer of the agricultural States has plenty of problems to solve. He has yet to place his business back on a normal plane. The course of foreign trade, the revival of industrial activity, the trend of employment supply, are to have an influence on his progress. But whatever the excited announcement of some interpreters of his mental and financial position, the truth is that there exists a sane and sensible outlook, and the average individual has no intention of leading any revolt that will affect unfavorably the interests of the country as a whole. Indications are that as we advance toward normal conditions the sympathy between East and West will increase, and the unity of business effort will be established more strongly. The Interior is today taking a broad view of affairs and is considering the country as a whole rather than yielding to sectionalism.

Abilene, Kansas

From Our Readers

Senator Walsh on the Newberry Case

To the Editors:

In your issue of February 18 appeared a brief article from Senator George Wharton Pepper, setting forth his reasons for voting to confirm Truman H. Newberry in his seat in the Senate. The enviable reputation enjoyed by the new Senator from Pennsylvania, to which you appropriately refer, the unique character of the position he occupies in having come to the Senate on the very eve of the vote, with other circumstances, contribute at once to awaken public interest in his utterances on the subject and to lend weight to the same.

But it is all too obvious to any one familiar with the facts that Senator Pepper has accepted the current newspaper apology for the Newberry campaign instead of being guided by the record in the case. He advances:

(1) That the huge sum spent in it, denounced alike by the majority and by the minority report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, as well as by the resolution seating Newberry, was justifiably spent, necessarily spent, in order to defeat Henry Ford, contending for the Republican nomination.

The facts are, as disclosed by the record, that as early as March 6 Paul King openly took charge of Newberry's campaign and that it was not until June 14, 1918, that Ford's candidacy was announced, no intimation having been given theretofore that he would seek the nomination on the Republican ticket. Meanwhile the Newberry campaign was directed against such unimpeachable Republicans as ex-Governor Warner, three times elected chief executive of Michigan; ex-Governor Osborn, who remained in the race to the last; William Alden Smith, who had a long and honorable career in both houses of Congress, and C. B. Warren, now Ambassador to Japan. Governor Osborn wrote to Newberry as follows: "The plea cannot be honestly made that you spent money in excess because you were fighting Ford, because you had begun your reckless campaign long before Ford was mentioned." It was against the pretensions of these formidable contenders that the Newberry campaign was organized, as is fully disclosed by the letters that passed almost daily between Newberry in New York and King and others in Michigan.

(2) That Newberry, being "continuously absent from the State" during the campaign, "the committee" raised and spent about \$195,000.

It is true that Newberry was in New York during the campaign, a fact from which, if it has any importance at all, the reader is to assume that he was ignorant of what was going on in Michigan and had no part in it. The fact is that he had repeated conferences in New York touching his candidacy be-

fore "the committee" began its work upon his campaign, that he had daily reports by wire from his private confidential agent concerning the campaign, as well as from the manager thereof, who communicated with him by letter almost daily. He was as thoroughly advised as to what was going on as if he were a daily habitué of the headquarters in Detroit.

"The committee" was no committee. They were simply Newberry's agents, selected by him. They represented no one else. "The committee" neither raised nor expended any funds, save that after a public uproar was raised in Michigan about the scandalous expenditure some effort was made by one or two members to solicit subscriptions.

(3) "This money was all spent for purposes authorized by the Michigan statute governing election expenses."

One J. Scott Hunter got \$600 of the Newberry money, which he says he spent for liquor and cigars. One John E. Kern visited Detroit headquarters, where during a conference there was laid before him on a table a sealed envelope. He opened it on the way home and found it to contain \$400. One Hanson had slipped to him, either in or under a magazine, a \$50 bill. Frank P. Bohn testified that he paid fifteen men \$5 apiece "to get their support and vote for Newberry."

Instances like these might be multiplied indefinitely, but it is unnecessary, since the whole campaign was conducted in defiance of "the Michigan statute governing election expenses."

The Michigan statute provides that:

Section 45. Every person who, directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person in his behalf, gives . . . or promises . . . to or for any person in order to induce or have such person induce any voter to . . . support or oppose any candidate . . . every person who by any means receives . . . any money on account of doing or agreeing to do or having done any campaign work, electioneering, soliciting votes for such candidates on primary day or prior thereto . . . shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor.

(5) "Thereupon (that is upon the filing of the report) the Ford machine attacked the expenditure as unjustifiable and the subject was discussed all over the State for two months."

That sentence conveys a wholly erroneous impression. On August 8, nearly three weeks before the primary, the editor of the Grand Rapids *Herald* addressed a letter to Newberry, to which publicity was given, in which he said:

Dear Sir: I desire to direct your attention to certain phases of the Michigan Republican Senatorial campaign which seem to demand very clear and explicit public statement from you well in advance of primary election day . . .

I direct your attention to these specific charges which have appeared in responsible newspapers. There are charges, furthermore, which find kinship in very general rumor and report. I fully realize that gossip is deadly and a ruthless as-

sassin. But gossip, in this instance, is too widespread to be longer ignored. It charges you and your associates with the expenditure of money running into six figures in the erection of your Senatorial organization. Such a situation must be as intolerable for you, if these reports are false, as it is intolerable for the State if the reports are true. Therefore, it is a situation which must be challenged, because if not challenged by you it will have to be challenged by the electorate.

To this very pointed letter Newberry replied in a communication which he characterized in a letter to Paul King as follows:

I am enclosing a copy of my non-committal reply to the Grand Rapids people, which covers the situation in a rather flimsy manner.

It is aside from the purpose of this communication to attack the course of reasoning by which Senator Pepper defends his vote upon the assumption that the facts are as he recites them. Neither will the argument be followed that, however reprehensible were the means by which his nomination was accomplished, the voters of Michigan condoned the offense by giving him a majority of less than 5000 votes in an overwhelmingly Republican State which has never elected a Democratic Senator since the days of Lewis Cass.

It is quite evident from recent newspaper reports that some effort will be made in the ensuing campaign by Republican leaders to secure from the people of Michigan a revision of their judgment notwithstanding "the subject was vehemently discussed all over the State for two months," considering that little save rumor and gossip was available then, while the facts as revealed by the trial at Grand Rapids and before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections can now be made the basis of discussion.

T. J. WALSH

Washington, D. C.

[In our editorial on the Newberry case (January 28) we stated our opinion that "a great deal of the money was spent in ways which, if not corrupt, were corrupting," that "Newberry knew enough of what was going on to make him practically a participant in it," and that "accordingly, in adjudging Newberry entitled to his seat, the Senate failed to assert a proper standard of personal qualification." But we showed that the view, so often asserted, that the Newberry money accounted for the control of the Senate by the Republicans, was fundamentally false. "The plain truth is," we said, "that the *political*, as distinguished from the *personal*, representation of Michigan in the Senate was precisely what the people of the State overwhelmingly desired." No charge is made of improper use of money in the *election*, as distinguished from the *primary*; and it is evident from all the facts that, had there been no Newberry-Ford affair, a Republican Senator would have been elected by a very heavy majority.—EDITORS.]

Bluebirds Philosophically Considered

By J. Brooks Atkinson

BLUEBIRDS! If we were all as intellectually unprejudiced as Rémy de Gourmont, and if like him we could dissociate our ideas, distinguishing truth from prejudice, I fancy the bluebirds would be less warmly applauded as they come North each year. The hocus-pocus of sentimental bird study as opposed to scientific ornithology has given the bluebirds artificial publicity. About this time of year the rural correspondents write in: "Bluebirds were seen in Squatters' Hollow last Wednesday." What they mean to say is: "The vernal equinox is close at hand." If Rémy de Gourmont had set the nimble machinery of his mind at work upon the idea of "bluebird" he would no doubt find it made up in equal parts of a thrush with a blue back and brown breast (awkward alliteration!), a few warm days, snow melting on the hillsides, brooks babbling melodiously, gentle skies and soothing winds. The man who can thus dissociate those ideas is by that token set free. But at what price! Let us rather go on controlling matter through the mind. Even Gourmont conceded that, fortunate as intellectual liberation may be for an individual, it is often disastrous for a people.

By this time the bluebird is firmly stamped in familiar lore as the symbol of spring; and he serves thereby as the perennial motive for a bit of platitudinous reflection. When Bradford Torrey saw the first bluebirds in 1903, he wrote as "Clerk of the Woods" for two newspapers: "What a sweet voice the bluebird's is! Calling or singing, it is the very soul of music. And the spring was really open. I went home in high spirits." Ten years earlier when Frank Bolles found the first bluebirds in Weston, Massachusetts, he wrote: "As I rounded the corner of the bitten bank, Spring herself stepped out to meet me, for twelve bluebirds rose in a flock and flew into the cedars and apple-trees which surmounted the cutting. It was 1.30 p. m., and as every cloud had vanished from the sky the sunlight brought out the coloring of these beautiful birds with marvelous intensity. It is hard to say which is the loveliest, the cerulean flash from their backs, or the chestnut warmth of their round breasts. I watched and listened to these birds for more than an hour. They were joyously happy. . . ." Nowhere else in these volumes is there a panegyric of bluebirds equal to those ecstatic accounts of their first return. "Hope springs eternal in the human breast." When the bluebirds come back, what reason is there to suppose that this year does not promise more of joy than any which has preceded it? In these two men of the out-of-doors, "bluebird" is closely allied with the rebirth of nature and the glorious future which always lurks just around the corner for mankind.

Of all the writers for whom the open was the point of departure we may expect to find Thoreau the most clear-minded. "Rather than love, than money, than fame," he wrote, "give me truth." Truth! Yet even Thoreau was not so out of tune with the commonplaces of human nature that the first birds to return in the spring did not stir his stoic breast. "The first sparrow of spring!" he exclaimed in "Walden." "The year beginning with younger hope than ever! The faint silvery warblings heard over the partially bare and moist fields from the bluebird, the song sparrow and the red-wing, as if the flakes of winter tinkled as they fell!" By such gossamer threads depend the emotions of mankind. For as Thoreau penned these lines the ice was still a foot thick on Walden Pond, and the chilly breath of winter had not subsided.

Listening to all this prattle about bluebirds—not unsympathetically—one would suppose that there were no other signs of spring equally infallible. As a matter of cold

fact, however, the bluebird is often a false prophet. How many times does he come North in February or March at the cost of his life in a late spring sleet storm? Indeed, if one placed one's confidence in swallows and phoebes, one would have less reason to regret it. When they come back Spring is no longer the coy, shy maiden who dares not assert herself against the last sledge-hammer blows of Winter. Moreover, according to my observation the bluebird is never the first to return to the woods and fields of my neighborhood. Sometimes a full two weeks before I see the first daring individuals flashing their blue backs—pure Gainsborough blue—against the unlovely drab of spring trees, the song sparrows, modest of plumage and unassuming of manner, are already brightening the roadsides and frosty marshes with cheerful, if somewhat tinny, voices. Perhaps Thoreau had them affectionately in mind when he led off with, "The first sparrow of spring!" In my perverse neighborhood it is the song sparrow who first braves the windy bluster of March. Why does no poet celebrate his valor? Alas! here we chance upon a cosmic truth. Valor does not penetrate the human breast like beauty; for, as the philosophers say, beauty is the promise of happiness.



I am grateful to these first song-sparrows. In mild winters, to be sure, an occasional stout-hearted chap stays North and sings a melancholy snatch of his lyric on the sunnier days. Most of them are spring birds. When they come back in numbers (a score seem to arrive over-night) and let their full song burst from throats as swollen as the birds on a Christmas card—the biting sneer of winter begins to vanish. But it is the first bluebird who sets my pulse throbbing when I hear his *sotto voce* carol. For two or three weeks they are as obviously new arrivals as the first summer people at the populous resorts. They examine the holes in the trees and the bird-boxes with a view to the season's occupancy, looking out from the entrances as though they were fastidious about the view. Advance agents for the "big show," they put the neighborhood in the proper expectant and reverential mood; they are engaging without being offensive. Later in the Spring I confess I do not think highly of the bluebirds. When the countryside is alive with orioles, grosbeaks, thrushes, and gay-colored warblers I begin to look upon the bluebirds as the middle-class bourgeois. With the robins they are the backbone of the nation; but never brilliant, dazzling, fascinating. The "big show" has come. We are applauding the prima donnas and exchanging wise, critical remarks in the lobby. I have not dissociated my idea of "bluebird" with scientific clarity; when I see the first ones in the spring the millennium is close at hand.

Music

Russian Opera in America

By Charles Henry Meltzer

IT is truly an ill wind "that blows nobody good." As one proof of this, I may point to the performances of the Russian company now giving Russian opera in Chicago. An ill wind of a tragic, awful kind some months ago compelled the members of this wandering group to flee from Russia. They had to do so to escape from Bolshevism. And they have had no reason until now to regret their journey.

A month hence you may hear this Russian company on Broadway. It has already made its mark in various cities in our great Republic. On landing, half distraught, in San Francisco, the fugitives were absolutely penniless. Their stock in trade consisted of some sticks and shreds of scenery, their voices, and some ten or fifteen scores. The scenery was seized at once by the unfeeling custom house. And for a time things looked black for the poor singers. But—well, a Providence does shape our ends and ways. An intelligent manager came to the rescue. The scenery was released, the company was reorganized, and ever since the company has been more than fairly prosperous.

The singers are stray remnants of what once were the far-famed Imperial companies of Petrograd, and Moscow, and Odessa. Not, possibly, the "stars" of those organizations; but, by and large, made up of quite enough good artists to assure creditable, satisfying, and often most spirited interpretations of various works, familiar to their countrymen as household words, but, with the exception of "Eugene Onegin," "Snegurochka," "Pique-Dame," and "Boris Godunov," till now unknown here. In Chicago they have been so well received at the Olympic Theatre—not at the vast Auditorium—that they have lengthened their stay by at least a week. Their audiences have welcomed them with joy. Their critics have been rather more than friendly. By way of change they have been very interesting. For, though their achievements have not had the care and finish of our own great companies, they have been spirited and honest.

The repertory of these Russians, so far as it has been revealed to us, includes, besides the four operas I have named, the "Russalka" (or "Water Sprite") of Dargomirsky (one of the oldest standard favorites in Russia); the "Demon," of Rubinstein; the "Tsar's Bride," of Rimsky-Korsakoff; and the "Dubrovsky" of Napravnik. I am told that there is also in reserve a work by Rachmaninoff, which may or may not be performed before the singers leave Chicago for New York. With these and "Carmen" (as to which I need not speak, for it is ill-suited to the style and art of Russia) the company has for the past two weeks charmed many jaded and less jaded souls here. The presentation of each work has been an evidence of what can be accomplished with resources, of a material kind, so modest as almost to set one smiling. An orchestra of twenty by no means contenting players has accompanied the singers in their efforts. But all the costumes have been accurate and picturesque, the dances have often been very pleasing, and, above all, the leading soloists have been helped by a remarkably fine chorus, including several men and women who deserve much bigger rôles than they have filled.

Among these minor but important chorus people there is a basso of extraordinary range, who touches cavernous depths and yet is always musical. The chief soloists are, like the works which they interpret, strange here. One of the best is an amazingly fine tenor, Mr. Danileff, whose

tender rendering of the Tsar's air in the wonderful third act of "Snegurochka," I feel sure, could not have been outdone by any tenor at the Metropolitan. Another artist of exceptional ability and vocal excellence is a bass-baritone, named Lukin. He is of the same school and type as Mr. Didur. But his voice is fresher and his acting not perhaps quite as impressive. The tenors in the company are weak and of unpleasant quality. Fortunately, in Russia most composers do not hitch their wagons only to star tenors. They give the baritones and basses their fit places in their operatic schemes. Nor can I sing the praises of the sopranos and contraltos in the company. The chief soprano is a lady named Burskaya, who has done well enough with Carmen once or twice here.

As for the operas. "The Demon" is a dull work, not really Muscovite enough to satisfy the Russians, and yet too Muscovite wholly to please our ears. It is, as Rubinstein himself was, a clear compromise between the styles of East and West. "The Tsar's Bride" and "Russalka," on the other hand, are largely national—built up at many points on Russian folk songs, frankly and utterly melodic. As in the instance of the glorious "Boris" of Moussorgsky, the orchestration is of vastly less importance than the songs and declamation. In both, the chorus and the ballet play great parts. To them, more than to even the best soloists in the casts, should go the credit for the successes of the company. The melodies are usually tinged with the strange melancholy charm that marks most Russian music. The dances have the artless, reckless rhythms so typical of Russian peasant people. The songs of Dargomirsky and Rimsky-Korsakoff in many cases have been set to measures which invite to dancing. In many, though, one hears a note of sadness, the voice of a strange nation held in chains. I have been told by friends who know the life of Russia that there are countless singers in the countless villages of that mysterious land who could do just as well as, and perhaps much better than, the delightful chorus of this company. If that be true, the Russians must be greatly musical. And so, I have no doubt, they really are.

The same settings have been used for several operas we have heard this past month. No one complained, though; no one seemed to mind the cheapness or the crudeness of those backgrounds. It is a pity that Americans insist so much on costly scenery. If they could bring themselves to think first of the works they hear, of their right meaning and correct interpretation, it might be easier than it is to give our own composers a fair chance in their hard fight.

I am assured by men who profess to be authorities that to facilitate smooth singing in these Russian operas librettists write their words in special ways, to tone down the effect of the rude consonants so frequent in the language of their country. To most—maybe to half—of those who go to hear these operas sung "in the original"—which, I may say in passing, is very different from the "translations" so inconsistently approved of at the Metropolitan, that high temple of "grand opera in the original"—("Boris" in Italian, "Prodazha Nevesti" in German, and "Snegurochka" in French are among the evidences of the sincerity of the Metropolitan management), the words are meaningless. But they are not unpleasant. And, now and then, the ear grasps sounds and phrases which might be—plain English.

Chicago, March 31

New Books and Old

Books of the Week

IF, by Lord Dunsany. Putnam's.

A play in four acts.

MY BOYHOOD, by John Burroughs. Doubleday, Page.

Part of an autobiography, with a conclusion by his son, Julian Burroughs.

HIS SERENE HIGHNESS, by H. C. Bailey. Dutton.

A novel, by the author of that admirable yarn, "The Sea Captain."

MY MEMORIES OF EIGHTY YEARS, by Chauncey M. Depew. Scribner.

Recollections of eminent and interesting personages from the days of the Civil War to the present.

WHY EUROPE LEAVES HOME, by Kenneth L. Roberts. Bobbs.

A readable and lively account of emigration, of unrest in Europe, and of Pussyfoot's progress in Scotland.

THE RED HOUSE MYSTERY, by A. A. Milne. Dutton.

The kind of a book you would expect it to be—but written by a humorist.

ONE of the settled and persistent stupidities of publishers is their insistence upon what they call "unity" in a book. The most cherished and *re-read* books in the world are the ones that ramble along about an infinity of subjects, with no string to tie them together except, perhaps, the title. And yet publishers' readers, as if they were pledged to worship the precepts of Mr. Vincent Crummies, like to talk forever about the "unities." Accordingly, Mr. Richardson Wright, author of "Truly Rural" (Houghton) pretends that he has observed the unities—to get his manuscript by that publisher's reader—and that he is going to discuss the advantage of living in the country, how to furnish a country home, and how to make its garden. He says that he was getting stout in the city (*l'enfant dit vrai!*) and he may be trying to spread the illusion that he is getting slender and lissome in the country. But he has fooled the publishers about the unities and filled a most attractive looking little book with comment about gardens and country houses, it is true, but also about books, and home-brew, and cosmetics, and marmalade, and what T. R. thought of Thomas Jefferson, and about heaven, and breakfasts, and a number of other things.

After reading William T. Tilden, 2nd's "It's All in the Game" (Doubleday), a collection of tennis tales, I can honestly say that I never expect to see a greater tennis player than Mr. Tilden. Everybody who is interested in tennis must be grateful to him for bringing the world's championship to America. There is something appealing in the

small figure and quiet court presence of one of his greatest rivals, William M. Johnston, but the mere fact that Mr. Tilden is six feet five, or six, or seven, has never lessened my admiration for his game. Nobody ever showed more courage and determination than he did last September when he snatched victory from the jaws of defeat and beat his Japanese opponent, Mr. Shimidzu.

All that I really know about Mr. Milne's "The Red House Mystery" (Dutton) is that I am prejudiced in favor of anything by this writer; that the chapter I read in its serial form was stimulating; and that a reader of the novel who filched it from me, and sat for two hours absorbed in its pages and oblivious to my clicking typewriter, finally closed the book with the remark: "That is certainly a startling and unusual *denouement!*" But I mean to know more than this.

There are many books—a wearisome number—about the changing social and economic conditions in Europe. There are a few which make me wish to read them, and one of these is Kenneth L. Roberts's "Why Europe Leaves Home" (Bobbs-Merrill). Mr. Roberts writes not only of the emigration to America, but of the shifting (and shift) populations of certain parts of Europe, of red-hot Grecian politics, and of equally red-hot Britons discussing prohibition advocates from America. Of this book, in words of the age of Queen Anne: more anon.

Murder trials continue respectable with publishers in the British Isles, but outside the pale with us. In that excellent series, "Notable British Trials," now appears "Trial of Steinie Morrison" (Wm. Hodge & Co., London and Edinburgh), edited by the Hon. H. Fletcher Moulton, B. A., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. The alleged murder of one Russian Jew by another on Clapham Common, it differs from most of the other trials in this series, as they are nearly all more domestic in their *dramatis personae*. The outcome, here, was also unusual. The record of the trial affords some opportunity to test the quality of the sadly overrated wit of my Lord, Justice Darling.

In "Abroad with Mark Twain and Eugene Field" (Nicholas L. Brown), by Henry W. Fisher, I suspect that there is more of Mr. Fisher than of Mark Twain. The Eugene Field section occupies only about the last twenty pages of the book, and I have not reached it yet. Occasionally these brief anecdotes and reports of Mark Twain's conversation sound like the man, as he is generally reported. (It may be that the usual reporters are all wrong.) But the continual use of slang phrases which were unknown until after Mark Twain's death ("hard-boiled," for instance), together with many other indications, make me conclude that this book is a specimen of the "rough-stuff" method in biography,

which some writers and critics profess to enjoy and think desirable. A recent book, "The Ordeal of Mark Twain," lamented that certain refining and Puritanical influences emasculated and hampered the real Twain. The writer of it suffered from what his school of philosophers would call a Puritan complex—he saw Puritans on every tree and behind every bush, and went about with a chip on his shoulder in the fear that somebody would use a pretty word when there was a nasty one to take its place. The author of "The Ordeal" should like "Abroad with Mark Twain." I do not; it sounds to me unreal and it rings false, both artistically, and as a picture of the man.

Sir Ross Smith had served his country as an aviator in the Great War. When it was all over, and he thought of returning to his home in Australia, the strangest whim seized him—like the man in Chesterton's "Ballade of Suicide." He said: "I believe I will go back by air!" So he flew in an airplane from London to Melbourne. The story of the voyage is told in his "14,000 Miles Through the Air" (Macmillan).

I admire the man who suddenly sits down and says: "I will write a book all about the moon"—or all about asparagus, or pessimism, or zebras, or lobster salad. The trouble is not always that people tackle subjects too large for them; often they need still larger subjects. It expands the mind. (See "The Castle of Bim" by Frank R. Stockton.) Now Mr. A. Hyatt Verrill has written "Rivers and Their Mysteries" (Duffield). There is a great deal to be said for rivers, and about rivers, and it would not be surprising to find that Mr. Verrill had said it all.

If you will turn—and I advise you to turn—to Robert Cortes Holliday's "Turns About Town" (Doran), you may read therein how a humorist misfitted at a murder trial. Called on the panel for jury duty, he was found to be a humorous writer—"like Don Markee." The lawyer for the defense instantly challenged him, *peremptorily*. How much better—or worse—as the case may be—it is to be a writer beyond suspicion of frivolity and levity! When the writer of this took his turn, recently, to qualify as a juror in a murder case, the only thing that puzzled the counsel on both sides was the nature of his occupation. "How was that, Mr. Pearson?" said the prisoner's counsel, "will you give your occupation again?" Mr. Pearson then bawled, for the third time, that he is editor of publications in a public library. This seemed to settle his reputation for integrity, sound judgment, and impartiality. "Satisfactory!" shouted both the District Attorney and the other, and he found himself, in five seconds, in the jury box—and that may account for any undue seriousness found on this page today.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

Book Reviews

Miss Guiney

LOUISE IMOGEN GUINEY. By Alice Brown. New York: The Macmillan Company.

IT is an established canon of criticism that a book should be judged in accordance with its own aim and that we should not condemn it for not giving what it had no design to give. Miss Brown does for her friend what Francis Thompson did for Shelley: she has written a eulogy in high poetical language, a kind of dithyramb one might call it, which, though it sails perilously near the "intense inane" now and then, does on the whole evoke the subtly ecstatic spirit that runs through the best of Miss Guiney's own writings. The text is a fitting comment on the exquisite portrait engraving by Timothy Cole that forms the frontispiece of the little book. Yet one cannot help regretting that Miss Brown has not written a life as well as a rhapsody; she tells us so little of the poet's daily doings. There are indeed vivid pictures here and there through the volume, as, for instance, this:

One remembers her on a Midland road, sticking a pheasant's feather in her hat and swaggering rakishly, or walking into Shrewsbury, so dishevelled from the rain and dust of varied weathers that landladies looked askance, and one, more admittedly curious than the rest, queried: "Is there a play tonight?"

One likes that; it is in tune with much of the venturesome prose and verse of the author of "Patrins"; but one craves to know also—and in no mood of mean curiosity—more about her homes and her people, how she went about in the world of common folk, how she talked when seated on a chair and not on the tripod.

Other things Miss Brown tells us, as this of her correspondence:

To speak of her letters, those floating immortalities she cast about with so prodigal a hand, is to wonder anew at an imaginative brilliancy even beyond what she put into her considered work. To open one was an event. Almost you were miserly over the envelope itself, and treasured it, the script on it was of so rare a beauty. For her handwriting had an individual distinction. Done in haste or at leisure, it was the same. . . . And the subject matter! it was as varied as flowers and jewels and shells.

The one or two notes of Miss Guiney in the possession of the writer of this review are not sprinkled with jewels and shells, they are concerned with the business rather than the play of literature, but he is sure that a volume of her correspondence, not too large, would be a rare treat. Perhaps we shall have it in time.

In fact anything we may possess from or about Miss Guiney will be a thing to treasure. She was not a widely popular author; the magazine editors were perhaps a little afraid of her muse as of a lady too ethereal for the mass of readers, or, should we say, for their own mechanized taste. Nor had

she in any sense of the word a great or compelling genius; she does not belong on quite so lofty a pedestal as some of her friends would place her. But her poems and essays will be remembered by readers who have room in their hearts for things rare and fine and preciously wrought as well as for the more masterful creations that take care of themselves. She will be, for some years at least, a tradition for the few. She could write a preface that one reads with sustained delight: witness her introduction to the poems of Clarence Mangan. She could do a bit of journalism that fairly leaps out of the page: witness her obituary of Lionel Johnson. Her brief biography of "Blessed Edmund Campion" is itself a blessed thing. Her larger volume on Hurrell Froude is one of the most notable after-products of the Oxford Movement. She was preparing an exhaustive work on Henry Vaughan—but that we shall never have. 'Tis pity, for few writers of our age have joined careful scholarship with the lighter gifts of grace and buoyancy as she was able to do. There was in her something of the swift morning light, as there was in her favorite poet of the Usk; and that light, for us, has faded forever.

PAUL E. MORE

Shadow and Substance

SILVER CROSS. By Mary Johnston. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

VANDEMARK'S FOLLY. By Herbert Quick. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co.

"HISTORICAL romance" has, we are told, a steady if limited constituency. There are people who not only consent to read, but like to read anything that is even fairly good in this kind. It is their chosen way of escape or of holiday. But a good many of us, and I am one, rather resist the historical novel as such. It is too conscious and artificial a product. It bridges too fussily and clumsily the gap between present and past. It plays heavily with costume and mincingly with dialogue, and profanely, often, with the memory of greatness. It begs the question of interpretation and tries to put us off with a flourish of the "picturesque." It has the presumption to be second-rate in a field where there is no half-way between success and failure. A pretty good historical novel is about as conceivable as a pretty good symphony.

Miss Johnston is one of the most assiduous American traffickers in the past. There is nothing frivolous about either her purpose or her method. She honestly aspires towards the realm of high romance. Her chief obstacle is not frivolity, but a sort of deadly seriousness. She is always on the high horse, always in full regalia. Every page, every sentence, is marked by the same hectic intensity. She never lets up, or down, on the emotional strain; never deviates from her truncated oracular utterance into plain English. In "Silver Cross," her mannerism grows upon her: "Jankin regarded workroom, re-

garded street, through wide, low window. 'Well, I will! I'd like to watch tree break flowerpot!'" Within the first few pages, one of her characters "moved a tall man of forty-odd"; another "showed a short, dark, wistful man." The substance of this story is highly artificial, a romantic fable of medieval chicanery and superstition centering in the figures of a godlike monk and an admirable harlot. It is not the kind of story to support a patent artificiality of style. The necessary artifice must conceal itself in apparent artlessness the task for a Hewlett; Miss Johnston is never quite equal to it.

Such also, I must own, has been my impression of Miss Johnston's romances of American history, as well as of nine-tenths of the similar work hitherto turned out by other hands. It didn't occur to me till I had nearly finished it that "Vandemark's Folly" was really a "historical" kind of thing. The history of it is solidly embedded in the story, as it is in "Henry Esmond" or "The Scarlet Letter" or "Lorna Doone." Concerning it I could almost make the riskiest of guesses—that it may take its place among the handful of American classics in its kind. It is the work of a mature writer. None of our brisk young literary fireworkers could conceivably have written it. It has the mellowed and tempered quality of which youth, with all its ardor and all its cleverness, has never been able to counterfeit.

And it has ease, poise, consistency. Within its romantic boundaries it moves secure. Grant that it bears a more than superficial analogy to, say, "Lorna Doone," with the physical prowess of its hero, his literal and innocent air in telling his own tale, the idyllic (and, from the realistic point of view, preposterous) love story. But, after all, who is there with soul so dead, or so newly-born, that he would not rather *re-read* "Lorna Doone" than "Main Street"? The old yarn is here, and the old glamour about it. But the yarn is not all. Enfolding it, enfolding by it, is the body of the past, our American past, "come alive." It is a story of Iowa, of the author's own country; and the product of a local saturation based, no doubt, primarily on direct observation and hearsay and only secondarily on research and collation. He was born on an Iowa farm; his own parents, we may suppose, were among the prairie pioneers, contemporaries of the Vandemark of our story. At all events, it is clear that out of all his familiar knowledge and his affectionate study of that region, its scene, its people, its social and political history, this rich and imaginative narrative has emerged, not been painfully dragged forth. Its exceptional art lies in the subordination of those data and exhibits of history which stud the pages of the ordinary historical romance, to the detriment of the story as a story, and to small advantage otherwise.

H. W. BOYNTON

Drama

New Forms and New Playwrights

THE HAIRY APE. By Eugene O'Neill. Provincetown Players.

THE FIRST MAN. By Eugene O'Neill. Neighborhood Playhouse.

TO THE LADIES! By George S. Kaufman and Marc Connelly. Liberty Theatre.

THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS. By Henry Myers. Princess Theatre.

VOLTAIRE. By Leila Taylor and Gertrude Purcell. Plymouth Theatre.

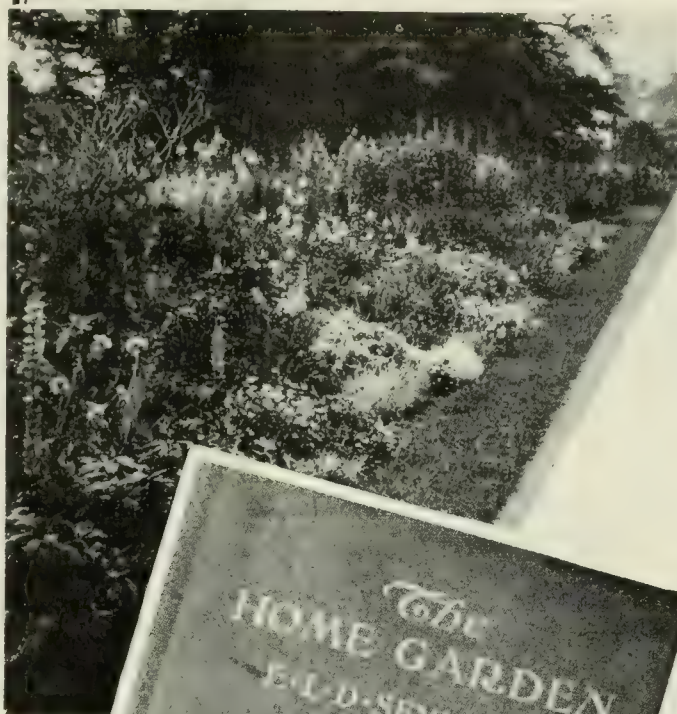
MADELEINE AND THE MOVIES. By George M. Cohan. Gaiety Theatre.

IN these recently exhibited specimens of the industry of the indigenous playwright it is difficult to discover any common quality by which we may define American drama of the 100 per cent. variety. One trait is, however, emphasized. The new generation of playwrights is apparently learning to forget those traditional definitions of dramatic structure we were all taught in school and college—definitions we associate with the name of Freytag and that well-known diagram of the rise and fall of dramatic action that always appeared on the blackboard when we studied "Julius Cæsar" or "The Merchant of Venice." Such Aristotelian virtues of the three unities have also been discarded; and even the division into three or four acts no longer seems necessary.

Those new playwrights who are convinced that old traditional rules and regulations shackled the full expression of the dramatist and acted as hindrances to the full flight of the imagination are now relying upon new forms, new types of dramatic structure. But their finished products are not in every case convincing. On the contrary: they arouse the feeling that true drama is neither a thing of finished academic structure nor one of mere novelty and originality of form. The true essence of drama is to be discovered rather in the freshness of point of view, the vitality of the dramatist's ideation, the surprise and suddenness of his revelation. If he possesses these indispensable qualities, he may make the old conventional structure tingle with youth and vitality. If he lacks them, he may devise a thousand new forms and each one of them will prove as tiresome and dead as any last year's "novelty." Everything depends on how skillfully the young dramatist is able to unite his matter and form, how successfully he can organize them and thus accentuate the revelation he has to make.

Of those who break away from the traditional type of "well made" play Eugene O'Neill is by all means the most impressive and the most successful. But, in this case, it is never the external structure of the play that has swept him from one success to another. Rather it is the relentless intensity of his attack. "The Hairy Ape," in

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eight short scenes, suggests the metaphor of the prize ring. The antagonists are the author and the audience. He shocks us; he attacks our cultured sensibilities; he lashes us with profanity; he strikes the solar plexus of our prejudices. The miracle lies in the fact that, as audience, we like it. As a matter of fact, his audience is placed very much in the position of that supercilious Pittsburgh heiress of the play who, in search of a new thrill, is made to descend into the stoke-hole of a Transatlantic liner, there to gaze upon a sweating proletarian Narcissus in his grimy inferno. Like this girl, the audience is thrilled and shocked by the sight of this brawny, half-naked "hairy ape." In picturesque but discreetly selected profanity the stoker curses out the lady; but the cutting sting of his castigation actually falls upon us in the audience. So it is throughout these eight scenes in which the inarticulate Caliban bellows his protest against the *bourgeois* world, the world in short of the audience itself! Who but a skilled alchemist of the theatre and an almost uncannily subtle psychologist like Eugene O'Neill could have realized that audiences would actually cheer such a frenetic attack upon their world!

"The First Man," an earlier play of Mr. O'Neill's, produced at the Neighborhood Playhouse by Augustin Duncan, is significant only as it indicates that this dramatist is ill at ease and unsuccessful in the attempt to marshal his vigorous imaginings into more conventional forms of the drama. "The First Man" is perhaps the least interesting of all the plays of Mr. O'Neill's yet produced. Such a production is one of the penalties the popular dramatist must pay for recognition.

There are but two characters in "The First Fifty Years," an unusual new play by Henry Myers. It is a study of marriage in Harlem, disclosed in seven significant scenes; the end of the honeymoon, the first anniversary, the fifth or "wooden wedding"; the tenth, the crystal wedding, the silver wedding, and finally the golden, at the end of the fifty years of marriage. In the hands of Miss Clare Eames and Mr. Tom Powers, this little play becomes interesting as a *tour de force*; the author has imposed upon himself—or is it herself?—a difficult set of rules and has written these seven episodes with admirable fidelity. What is lacking in the end is some sudden, some surprising revelation about human nature, some quick sharp probing to the heart of life. As soon as we had guessed the formula, the intention, there was nothing left to do but to sit back and watch the development. There was in this effort a tendency to monotony, of conflict without contrast; and not evident a deep enough sense of the compensating realities of life to justify the rigor of the structure. However drab and dull and gray life may be,

there should be high lights even if only to accentuate the depths of bitterness into which Martin and his wife Anne drove each other.

In lighter vein, but suggestive of all sorts of interesting possibilities, is Messrs. Kaufman and Connelly's "To the Ladies!" For an act and a half the authors of "Dulcy" clumsily and almost mechanically worked at the foundation of their comedy. There was an exposition *ad nauseam*. But the second scene of the second act was devoted to a banquet scene that carried this comedy to success. It was a business banquet done with the broad telling strokes of the cartoonist, with none of the fruits of benign American fatuity left ungathered. The last act was swept successfully along by the momentum of this banquet scene, about which and for which the whole play must have been written. The authors have respected the current traditions. In their case, a departure might have been justified. One hopes from these authors a dramatic satirical revue, a sort of dramatic cartoon, since they are so eminently more successful in this vein than in that of domestic comedy as exemplified in the earlier part of "To the Ladies!" Such a revue we should anticipate with pleasure.

"Voltaire," written by two ambitious young ladies, is an attempt to summarize the character and personality of Voltaire into the happenings of a day at Ferney. Schooled undoubtedly in all the rules of dramatic structure, these youthful playwrights have respected the unities of time and place. They have diligently and industriously patched together all the celebrated sayings of a writer who has always been overrated; but the result, unfortunately, is never bad enough to be ridiculous and amusing, and never good enough to merit production. Magnificently costumed and mounted by Robert Edmond Jones, under the direction of Arthur Hopkins, the play aroused no interest except the regret that talent and time should be expended on such a colorless but uninspired exercise. If this is Mr. Hopkins's conception of encouraging the American drama, we can only hope that he may soon return to the gloomy Russians, who, no matter how disagreeable they become, are never guilty of the crime of being dull.

Mr. Cohan's latest effort is also a departure from the ordinary rules of the game. His new comedy "Madeleine and the Movies" begins with a prologue, in which the butler of a motion picture star begins to read a scenario. The action is that of the scenario, which consists of a good deal of mechanical trickery and threadbare situations. The assumption that this is the work of a romantic young girl in love with a screen star is hardly sufficient to excuse the banality of its episodes.

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Normalcy— “L’Allegro” and “Il Penseroso”

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By Frederick Houk Law

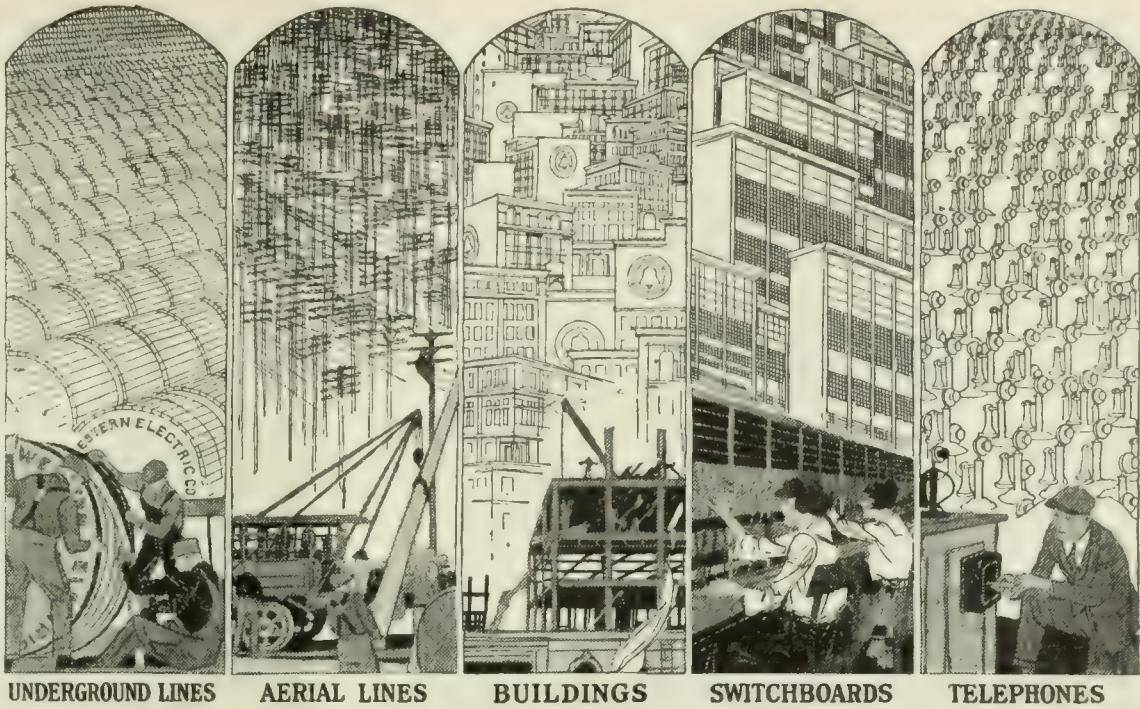
“NORMALCY” is a rare word to which President Harding gave emphasis when he expressed hope for the return to conditions that existed before the World War. The unusual word caught the public ear. “Normalcy!” people scoffed; “who ever heard of that!” The strong, unheard-of word woke people to the fact that times had changed; that life nowhere in the world is like life before the war; that the American people today are not the same as they were.

The war affected the psychology of every man who went into it: some men became level-headed heroes and developed into staunch manhood; some became melancholics or criminals. Dos Passos’s “Three Soldiers” is not all falsehood: war is really hell, and many men who go into it come out with the smell of sulphur.

The war affected the psychology of the people at home, whether men or women. Anxiety, worry, fear, grief, horror, indignation, ultra-enthusiasm, and ultra-patriotism, hate, distrust, high prices and high wages, silk shirts for workmen and staggering taxes for the rich, a feeling of national power and greatness, and everywhere a combination of waste, extravagance, and profit, changed the American people. They were not the same. They could not be the same. “Normalcy” had gone.

Bobbed hair, short skirts, and lipsticks would certainly have shocked Harriet Beecher Stowe. A series of unparalleled bank robberies, hold-ups, and murders—not in the Wild West but in great streets of great cities—would have seemed anarchy to President McKinley. The stage of the present day and the novels of the day would have been impossible in Longfellow’s time. The change has come, and it shows itself in a thousand ways, and in a hundred million people.

The greatest charge against the American people just now is extravagance, not only in money but in pleasure-seeking. “Give us the luxuries of life and we won’t bother about the necessities” is a creed that many believe in. Thousands of persons every evening fall asleep at the “movies” for fear they will be bored by plain, old-fashioned staying-at-home. Thousands of others waste health by staying up at night after night seeking some active form of pleasure. Perhaps even those women who hang by their toes from the trapeze bars hung under flying airplanes are hunting for mad pleasure; certainly the people whose lives move



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An antidote to our modern unbalanced pleasure-seeking appears in John Milton's two short poems, "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," written between 1633 and 1638. Taken together, those two poems give surprisingly happy directions for conduct in the search for pleasure.

The poems do not advocate a humdrum, conventional existence. Far from it; they encourage variety, wandering about, the pleasures of the city and the pleasures of the country, music, dancing, the theatre, long walks sometimes in the morning and sometimes in the night, study, and a deeper pleasure of worship, both of nature and of nature's God.

Such a list would seem to include pretty much all the wholesome pleasures and diversions that people enjoy today.

The one exclusion that Milton makes is what he calls "vain, deluding joys, the brood of folly"—the kind of joys that promise sweetness and give bitterness. Such joys deceive: the hook is baited with tempting pleasure; to swallow bait, hook, and all, is to be lifted into misery. Look, then, says Milton, for joy that is lasting; for joy that brings more and more pleasure "as the swift years roll."

That kind of pleasure, followed in moderation, and united with the pleasure of thought and contemplation—with love of nature and a reverent spirit—will satisfy. It will not permit every night to be given to "bridge" or "movies" or dancing, nor will it permit one to devote himself to a bookless or a churchless life.

"Laugh and grow fat," says Milton; "play jokes; dance; get up once in a while and see the sun rise; walk out into nature's beautiful places; make yourself one with country people; go into the city and rejoice in the sight of lovely ladies and great festivities; go to comic plays and light concerts, but at the same time keep a nature that will have time for thought, for evening walks under the moon and the stars, and time to wonder about the universe and its Maker; a nature that will lead you to study serious books written by men of thought and to become familiar with a little of the world's best literature; a nature that finds pleasure in staying at home on a rainy day or to wandering idly in the woods with a feeling that there is something greater than yourself present in the silence—a Something that makes you glad to go to church and there lift yourself a little higher into communion with the Unknown.

In fact, what Milton says is to give the common-sense advice: "Hunt for real pleasures, the kind that lasts; and lead a balanced life." That advice, taken to heart, would bring back "normalcy" in character—and therefore in business. It is as pertinent and applicable today as it was three centuries ago.

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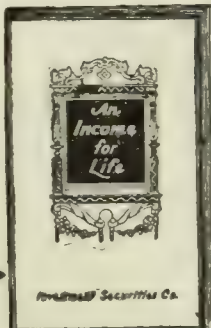
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Random Book Notes

"A Short History of the Irish People" (Longmans, \$7.00), by Mary Hayden and George A. Moonan, covers, in five or six hundred pages, Irish history from the earliest times to 1920. The authors are respectively professor of modern Irish history in the National University of Ireland and lecturer on history at the Leinster College of Irish.

The adaptations of certain short plays and stories for Stuart Walker's Portmanteau Theatre are given in his volume, "Portmanteau Adaptations" (Stewart Kidd, \$2.50). They were presented in New York and elsewhere, with great charm and skill, beginning in 1916. They include the old English comedy, "Gammer Gerton's Needle"; a dramatic version of Oscar Wilde's story, "The Birthday of the Infanta"; "Sir David Wears a Crown"; and "Nellijumbo."

The feudal element of the law, Puritanism and the law, the philosophy of law in the nineteenth century, and judicial empiricism are the subjects of some of the lectures gathered together in Professor Roscoe Pounds "The Spirit of the Common Law" (Marshall Jones).

What the author himself has to say is the important part of Edward E. Eagle's "The Hope of the Future" (Cornhill Publishing Co.). He writes about Anglo-American relations and friendship, and the polite but perfunctory messages from presidents and premiers, with which the book opens, are only another example of that delusion that courteous platitudes are worth publication, if uttered by famous or prominent men.

"Cotswold Characters" (Yale University Press) by John Drinkwater is a little book of about fifty pages, with descriptions of certain English villagers—the mason, the fisherman, the football player, and others. There are five wood engravings by Paul Nash, remarkable for a boldness and strength which is hard to distinguish from sheer glibness.

Travels in America by an English churchman make up a large portion of W. Leigh's "Other Days" (Macmillan). Dr. Leigh was the dean of Hereford. His recollections are of the Orient in the 1860's, the United States in the 70's as well as later, and England at other times. A capable, athletic, sincere, and practical parson, he has written with spirit and with modesty. The preface is by Owen Wister. Myself when young did eagerly frequent Doctor and Saint—

The folk in H. T. Sheringham's "Ourselves When Young" (Putnam) did not eagerly frequent the doctor and probably the saints not at all. For they are children, living that strange existence, near the earth, handy for the examination of a dead frog, or a long-eared rabbit, but removed from the world of grown-up folk. The book is a series of sketches about children, but for adult readers.

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THE Independent and the Weekly Review invites inquiries from its readers pertaining to travel for pleasure, health or business; the best hotels, large and small; the best routes to reach them, and the cost; trips by land and sea, European tours, etc. This department is under the supervision of an expert who has personally made many of the trips she recommends, and is able to speak from intimate knowledge of transportation lines, hotels, resorts, etc. Reservations will be made for you and tickets purchased if you desire.

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"The Independent may be congratulated on having a correspondent on its staff so full of information and so ready to impart it."

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The Independent Travel Bureau
140 Nassau St., New York City

How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. Normalcy—"L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso."

1. Define "normalcy." Explain how Milton's poems aid one to lead a normal life.
2. What changes have taken place, within the last few years, in the conditions of life?
3. Show how recent changes have affected various types of literary work.
4. Point out evidences of present unwise search for pleasure.
5. Explain what Milton means by "vain, deluding joys."
6. What pleasures does Milton name that are sometimes overlooked by modern men and women?

II. New Books and Old. Book Reviews.

1. What is an autobiography? Why does the autobiography of John Burroughs have especial interest for many people?
2. Give your reasons for believing that John Milton would, or would not, approve of what John Burroughs wrote.
3. "The most cherished and re-read books in the world are the ones that ramble along about an infinity of subjects, with no string to tie them together except, perhaps, the title." Name some of the books that the writer may have had in mind. What type of literature do they represent? What modern writers have written books of this kind?
4. What is a "canon of criticism"? Name and explain some of the canons of criticism.
5. Define the following terms: eulogy, dithyramb, rhapsody.
6. Read aloud what Miss Brown says concerning Miss Guiney's correspondence. Explain all that she says. What suggestions does the paragraph give for your own writing of letters?
7. Define "historical romance." Name at least three examples of historical romance.
8. Summarize the writer's criticism of historical romance. Explain why you agree, or disagree, with what he says.
9. In what respects is "Vandemark's Folly" an unusually satisfactory historical romance?

III. Drama.

1. Who was Freytag? Explain his "well-known diagram of the rise and fall of dramatic action."
2. What are "the three unities"? Prove that any one of Shakespeare's plays possesses, or does not possess, the three unities.
3. Prepare a report about the literary work of Aristotle. What is his influence as a critic?
4. What does the writer of the article believe to be "the true essence of drama"? Apply what he says to the criticism of any play that you have read, or seen on the stage.

IV. Good-Night, Ladies.

1. Select from the essay a number of suitable topics for essays or discussions.
2. On one of the topics that you select write an original essay, imitating as closely as you can Miss Repplier's style.
3. Explain in detail how Mr. Ignatius Donnelly endeavored to prove the authorship of the Shakespearean plays. Consult Sidney Lee's "Life of William Shakespeare."
4. To what extent does Miss Repplier make use of quotations in her essay? Why does she make such use of quotations?
5. What is a common belief concerning the influence of women on American magazines? Does Miss Repplier support or oppose this belief? What is your own view?
6. What constructive suggestions does Miss Repplier make for the improving of American magazines?
7. What is the principal point that Miss Repplier wishes to establish in her essay?

V. Bertrand Russell's Love of Truth.

1. Show in what respects the article illustrates the principles of refutation in debate.
2. Explain what the article teaches concerning the accepting of statements made by a writer or by a public speaker.
3. Read aloud the closing paragraph of the article. Explain exactly what the paragraph means.
4. How can you put into actual practice the principles taught in the article?

VI. Bluebirds Philosophically Considered.

1. Write a somewhat similar essay on bird life. Make an especial effort to be truthful, and to give detailed illustrations.

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. Methods Suggestion.

1. It is often an advantage to look up former references to a subject that now becomes particularly prominent. It is a good plan, therefore, to keep the numbers of *The Independent* and bind them into units of convenient size. There are many inexpensive binders, but a shoestring and two holes are all that is necessary. For instance, look up all the former references to the present coal situation, and make an abstract of the essential features.
- II. Add to your continuing summaries the week's comment on reduction of the military establishment, the treaties, Germany, Poland, the Newberry case, etc.

III. The Coal Strike Prospect.

1. Review all the elements of the situation which work against the chances of success by the miners.
2. What could be said for and against the payment to the union of \$1.49 a week by each worker?
3. Review the various economic questions involved in the strike. After you have investigated "the bare economic issue" farther than this number discusses, do you agree that "the operators quite clearly have the preponderance of right on their side"?
4. Look up "the human aspects of the struggle."
5. Why is "the modern trade union . . . by its nature an inclusive labor monopoly"?
6. Look up the great coal strike in President Roosevelt's administration and compare the situation then and now.

IV. Crime and Punishment.

1. Look up the indeterminate sentence, and the parole system.
2. Discuss the underlying theories on the treatment of criminals which are involved.
3. Explain the warning here sounded and show its relation to the New York law here mentioned.

V. Reinstating the Turk, What's to Be Done About Turkey?

1. With a map before you summarize the proposed terms to replace the Treaty of Sèvres.
2. Explain why the terms are "to the advantage of the defeated enemy."
3. Why have the Greeks accepted the new arrangement when it is so much to their disadvantage?
4. Explain the former "temporary makeshift arrangements (about Turkey) for which European diplomacy is famous." Explain the grounds for believing this settlement to be temporary.
5. Look up the relation of America to (a) the proposed mandate for Armenia, (b) boundary arbitration by President Wilson.
6. Describe the Bulgarian atrocities, the Armenian massacres, and "the days of Jenghis Khan."

VI. The Bolshevik Object-Lesson, Soviet Russia, England and Russia: A Tragedy of Misunderstanding.

1. Show how the belief "that the objective of all Russian policy was the conquest of India" has affected British policy.
2. Particularly explain the reference to Beaconsfield.
3. Contrast the explanations for the failure of the Bolsheviks given by H. C. Wells, Emma Goldman, and the editor.
4. Why does the editor say that he "does not regard the failure of the Communist experiment in Russia as conclusive proof that Communism cannot be made to work"?
5. Summarize the other references to Soviet Russia.

VII. The British Empire.

1. Outline the chief features of the agreement between Sir James Craig and Arthur Griffith. Why does it give hope in the Irish situation?
2. Why is it difficult to estimate the importance of the action of the delegates of the Republican army brigades at Dublin?
3. Describe the India pictured by General Dunsterville.

VIII. How the Farmer Feels Now.

1. Explain how the farmer has "a fair prospect for net profits" in the coming season.
2. Show how the farmer's (a) speculation (b) sound investment has affected his condition.
3. State the economic and political movements which the article describes as the outcome of his recent experiences.

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

April 15, 1922



Housing Troubles and the Way Out

By Clara Savage Littledale

THE present housing shortage in New York does not bring suffering on any one class alone, but affects the mass of people, those who are very poor and those of moderate means alike.

What is going to be done about it? Is there any way out? Can the condition be remedied in the immediate future? Will the Lockwood Committee's recommended legislation for tax exemption on new construction really bring speedy relief? What may the woman home-hunter hope for and expect?

These were some of the questions I asked today of a man who for more than twenty-five years has been intimately concerned with this whole question of housing in New York City. There are few persons more familiar with housing conditions, and the serious consequences of the present overcrowding and shortage in homes, than is R. Fulton Cutting, for twenty-five years chairman of the City and Suburban Homes Company, and, for more years than that, a close student of housing and living conditions.

Tax-Exemption Essential

When asked to comment on the recent report and findings of the Lockwood Committee, Mr. Cutting declared himself in sympathy with their tax-exemption law affecting new building.

"Such a measure is absolutely essential to encourage building," said Mr. Cutting. "The demand for homes is apparent, but builders cannot afford to build under present conditions. If they do build, rents are bound to be exorbitant in order to offset the high cost of building."

Asked whether he favored the proposed State or municipal aid to encourage building, Mr. Cutting declared himself skeptical.

"I do not believe," he said, "that that is the way to tackle this house-shortage situation. Such legislation as has been proposed would require a Constitutional amendment and it would take two or more years to enact such an amendment. But the present house shortage is acute. We cannot wait two years or more before beginning to alleviate it.

"Personally, I do not believe that the solution of the housing deadlock lies in State or municipal aid. I believe that this is a problem which can best be handled by business companies composed of individuals who have the public good sufficiently at heart to be willing to accept a reasonable return on capital invested in building. I believe that such

companies, aided, it is true, by tax-exemption legislation, can achieve a speedy and businesslike relief of this house shortage."

City and Suburban Homes Company

Such an organization, Mr. Cutting pointed out, is the City and Suburban Homes Company, with which are connected the names of such men and women as Mrs. Willard Straight, Ogden Mills, Sam Lewisohn, Bishop and Mrs. Henry C. Potter, J. P. Morgan, Frederic B. Pratt, Isaac Seligman, Adrian Iselin, Alfred T. White, and others.

"The current opinion that this company is a philanthropic institution is entirely erroneous," explained Mr. Cutting. "It was organized twenty-five years ago on a purely business basis by practical men who, after thorough investigation, fully believed that proper housing facilities could be provided for the public and a reasonable return paid to capital. At the time of its organization, when the return was limited to 5 per cent., this amount was equal to the return on the assets of the trust companies of the State of New York.

"It is true that at the present moment its building operations have been suspended because of labor conditions and prices of material, but there is no doubt that a return to normal conditions will enable capital once more to enter this field assured of a reasonable return on the money invested. I am fully convinced that it is possible today to earn a return on capital involved in building that will encourage increased development and appeal to the investor, *but not to the profiteer.*"

Faced with figures and statistics on the housing situation of today in Greater New York, Mr. Cutting, while recognizing the seriousness of the situation, struck an optimistic note. He pointed out that in the years of his experience he has seen the passing of the old-time "front-and-back apartment" with its unspeakable sanitary arrangements, its lack of air, its overcrowding. Next came the so-called "dumb-bell apartments" which were still far from fulfilling modern ideas of proper living conditions.

Wretched Conditions Fifty Years Ago

"According to Valentine's Manual," Mr. Cutting pointed out, "as late as 1866 there were more than 3,800 unsewered dwellings in New York City, and many thousands of people were living in cellars. The inner rooms of the tenements were wholly without ventilation and lighted only by dim rays that struggled in through the outer rooms. There was

no prohibition of overcrowding, and many families were living in one or two rooms. In other words, the housing situation, which is now bad, used to be worse. We are undoubtedly making strides forward, and I believe that private capital, rightly invested, can save the present situation and provide better homes for the masses of the people."

A few days later, I went house-hunting for a friend who is moving to New York. I decided to visit the apartment houses which Mr. Cutting had listed as living up to the requirements of "improved, wholesome homes at reasonable rentals." Turning east I went first to an immense apartment house overlooking the East River. Walking into the office, I asked for the superintendent and was surprised to be introduced to a woman.

"Are you in charge of this entire building?" I asked her. (There are really two buildings, connected by a court and housing 1,051 families, or about 4,500 to 5,000 persons.)

"Yes," said Miss Effie Love. "I have been for several years."

A Woman Manager

You wouldn't suspect her of it. Miss Love is small, quiet, with none of the nervous, hard-faced efficiency which sometimes marks the woman holding a big job. And yet Miss Effie Love's position is really that of mayor of a small town, and she is apparently the whole police department and Judge of the Court of Domestic Relations rolled into one. Besides this, she knows every child in the two buildings by his first name and has the unqualified devotion and admiration of the women who work under her direction in the office of the building. A most remarkable person is Miss Effie Love!

She showed me about the two great buildings—through an immaculate cellar, past the great incinerators where all refuse is disposed of, into the room where is the laundry equipment consisting of set-tubs and clothes-driers; out into the court where the fire-escapes rose clean and unclogged; up spotless stairs; along as spotless halls.

"How do you do it?" I asked.

"Everyone knows that in order to stay here they must obey our laws of sanitation," explained Miss Love. "If a family offends, keeps the house dirty, insists on hanging and babies' clothes on the fire-escape and putting tin cans and milk bottles out there, they are warned. If they offend again, they are warned once more. The third time—out they go. But not many go. We have foreign families who have come from the poorest surroundings, but they value what is offered them here and learn from the example of neighbors, with the result that their standard of living takes an abrupt rise."

I was shown into various apartments. There were those of three rooms and those of four. They were all light, airy, convenient. Many of them had an enviable view of the river. I glanced over a list of tenants and found they represented almost every nationality and were from varied walks of life. Here was a public school teacher living next a plumber; here was a bank clerk living beside a barber; here was an unskilled laborer across the hall from an architect.

I also visited the Junior League Hotel with its accommodation for 338 women. Here a girl can live for an average of less than \$8.50 a week. This rate includes two meals on week-days and three on Sundays and holidays.

A visit to other apartment houses under the direction of this company proved worth while. There were some of the older type of apartment houses—cold water apartments where tenants supplied the heat. These were appreciably low in rent. There were two apartment houses for negroes, standing, conspicuously respectable, among the lamentable surroundings of the "San Juan" district. Everywhere, in all the apartments, were cleanliness, comfort, good air, light, minimum waste of space, and reasonable rentals.

Small wonder that the waiting-list of those who want to move in numbers up into the hundreds.

Now, in facts and figures and in results shown, how do these apartments and this experiment in "model housing" measure up? Does it point the way toward better homes at better prices in New York City? This company has been in existence twenty-five years. It now manages 2,948 apartments in Manhattan as well as the Junior League Hotel for Women, extensive property—chiefly small houses and a few apartments—in Brooklyn, and some property on Long Island. What conclusions can be drawn from these data?

Health and Self-Respect

"Our first principle in building," says Mr. Cutting, "is that the dwelling must be healthful. Do we stand this test? The Board of Health figures for 1921 show that the death rate in Manhattan was 12.94 per 1,000 inhabitants; in our Manhattan apartments the death rate was only 20 per 1,000 families. After making allowance for any possible peculiarity in the matter of size of families and of age-distribution, this is a most remarkable showing."

Other requirements which this company declares govern the construction of their buildings are: cheerfulness, cleanliness, comfort, "living conditions conducive to self-respect," and reasonable rents.

The fact that every window in the apartments opens on the street or a spacious courtyard, and that the force of plumbers, painters, and carpenters on the premises keep the apartments in constant repair and painted in light oil paints makes the fulfillment of the first three requirements possible. Except in the oldest buildings, heat is supplied to the living rooms from 6 a. m. to 10 p. m. and there is constant hot water for kitchens and baths. Tenants who do not have private bathrooms have the use of tubs and showers in the basement. There is also storage room for each family in the basement.

How can it be proved that these dwellings are "conducive to self-respect"? Mr. Cutting believes that there is a very practical test to be applied here. He says:

"One of the best proofs of any man's self-respect is the way in which he meets his financial obligations." He produced the following figures regarding the payment of rent by the tenants of these model dwellings:

For the year ending April 30, 1921, the uncollectible arrearage amounted to \$18 out of a total rent of \$826,483. For the past five years the loss from unpaid rents has averaged almost exactly \$30 per annum.

As to "reasonable rentals"? In the latest building every apartment has a bath and electric lights and rents average \$2.53 per room per week; in the other apartment houses the average is \$1.99. Thus this company, which is organized primarily for service, points the way to great help in the housing problem.

Renunciation

Since I renounced the rose,
And found the poppy best,
Now I would rest.

Because I wept, as those
Who have no hope do weep,
Now I would sleep.

Since deep within a grave
I laid my treasures by,
Now I would die.

And yet—because I gave
These things I had to give—
Now I can live!

MARY BRENT WHITESIDE.

"Broken Pledges" in the Coal Conflict

Pertinent Facts Surrounding the Failure of a Wage Conference

By Benjamin Baker

THE soft coal operators of the Central Competitive Field have incurred condemnation by their refusal to meet the miners in an interstate conference on a new wage scale. The miners, and other hostile critics of the operators, point to the concluding paragraph of the agreement of March, 1920, in which the miners and the operators embodied the awards of President Wilson's Bituminous Coal Commission. That paragraph reads:

Resolved, That an interstate joint conference be held prior to April 1, 1922; the time and place for holding such meeting is referred to a committee of two operators and two members from each State herein represented, together with the international officers of the United Mine Workers of America.

Is this a solemn and inescapable obligation upon the operators? Or does the status of it before the strike, as the operators now argue in substance, merely illustrate the saying that "circumstances alter cases"?

The first pertinent circumstance is the violation of the Commission's award by the miners in July, 1920, some three months after the award was signed. The Commission had increased the rates of "miners" (the men who actually dig coal from the vein) by 27 per cent., and the wages of other workers in the mines—common labor—by 20 per cent., bringing the day's wage of the latter to \$6. In July many of the day men, particularly in Illinois, struck for a higher wage rate.

President Wilson, whom the miners had asked to call a conference of operators to adjust the dispute, said in a letter to President Lewis of the miners (July 30, 1920):

It is with a feeling of profound regret and sorrow that I have learned that many members of your organization . . . have engaged in a strike in violation of the terms of the Bituminous Coal Commission and of your agreement with the Government that the findings of the commission would be accepted by you as final and binding.

Mr. Wilson refused to call the operators into conference unless the strikers first returned to work.

Work was therefore resumed, and a conference of miners' officials and operators of the Central Competitive Field began at Cleveland on August 13, 1920. The Union asked an increase of \$2 in the day wage rate. The operators offered an advance to equal the 27 per cent. given to the pick miners. The Union then came down to \$1.50 a day, while the operators stood on their first offer.

Then came the break which explains the recent statement by certain operators that they had been "double-crossed" by some of their own associates in the Central Field—for which reason they would never again enter an interstate wage conference. President Lewis's report to the Miners' Convention last summer says of this break:

By this time it was apparent to the miners' wage scale representatives that the coal operators of Illinois were willing to return home and settle with the district organization on the basis of \$1.50 a day in the day-labor schedule.

In fact, the Illinois operators were "up a tree." In 1920 there was a marked shortage of common labor, all the industries bidding sharply against one another. The Illinois operators, in this competition, were having great trouble in getting enough common labor to operate their mines. The strike was most serious in these mines. When the Illinois miners saw that the Illinois operators would yield if taken separately, they allowed the conference to break up, and accepted the \$1.50 advance by separate arrangement with their own district organization. The operators in other districts then found the same increase forced upon them by the defection of the Illinois operators—and hence the

charges of "double-crossing." The increase was announced by company notice posted at each mine: it was not written into the award-contract, nor put into a new contract.

The present day wage of \$7.50, on which the Union now insists, is therefore not a Government award.

"CLEVELAND CONFERENCE RESULTS IN DISRUPTION OF INTERSTATE JOINT WAGE MOVEMENT, BECAUSE OF COMPLICATIONS THAT DEVELOPED IN DISTRICT No. 12" [Illinois]. Under this heading the *Mine Workers' Journal* (official organ of the miners) announced in its issue for September 1, 1920, the outcome of the Conference. It said in part:

The interstate joint wage movement of the miners and operators of the Central Competitive Field, which was in successful operation for so many years, was disrupted . . . because the operators were unable to agree among themselves on a continuance of the movement. *As a result, the various districts in the Central Competitive Field are working out individual agreements.* (Italics are mine.) . . . Much regret was expressed because of the disruption of the interstate wage movement, but the Illinois situation made it inevitable.

Next comes the indictment by the Federal Grand Jury at Indianapolis (February 24, 1921) of 127 operators and miners and ninety-nine companies, on charges that the wage agreements in the Central Competitive Field violated the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. It is still hanging over the operators and the companies. The operators say their legal advisers have told them that for legal reasons alone they should not enter an interstate wage conference.

Collective bargaining on the separate district basis has so far not been refused to the miners by the operators. The operators have offered to confer on the district basis to which the Union resorted in 1920 in order to secure the day wage increase. Some of the Central operators refused President Lewis's invitation to a conference last month on the ground that the announced demands of the Union for \$7.50 a day, a six-hour day, and a five-day week made negotiations futile in advance. Others would confer only if the whole Central Field was represented.

An "open shop" (non-union) movement apparently exists among the operators, but its size and strength are not at present discernible. Particular evidence of this has come to light in the fact that the suit of the Borderland Coal Company of West Virginia, which last autumn asked Judge Anderson at Indianapolis to forbid the "check-off" (collection of dues by the companies for the Union), and to dissolve the Union as an illegal conspiracy, was backed by a number of Indiana Union operators.

It is of course well known that under the terms of the "Chicago Agreement" of 1898 (by which the miners secured their first great gains in hours and wage-rates), the Union promised in return for these concessions to "protect" the operators against competing non-union fields by unionizing those fields, and so bring labor costs up to the Central Field level. The failure of the Union to control the West Virginia fields in particular has given rise to much heated bickering at the biennial conferences of the Union and the Central operators. Now that non-union coal practically makes the market for the hitherto union operators, it is natural for the latter to want to shake off the control the Union has held through the interstate wage agreement in the Central Field.

As to legal obligation, the failure of the operators to denounce the contract of March, 1920, when the miners violated it by striking, was legally a condoning of the breach by the miners, and left the contract in its original force as to matters other than the day wage rates.

Do the circumstances of the past two years alter the case from the strict obligation of the award contract?

Were the miners morally justified in accepting a "disruption of the interstate joint wage movement" when they thought it to their own advantage to bargain by separate districts?

Are the operators now morally justified in continuing

that disruption because they think it to *their* interest? Are the miners, who accepted disruption of the interstate wage movement when disruption was to their advantage, morally justified *now* in forcing repair of that disruption by means of a general strike?

Gentlemen (and ladies) of the jury, consider your verdict!

New Letters of Byron



THE appearance of two new volumes of letters by Byron, hitherto unprinted, is hailed as a considerable event—and why? Because Byron was a great poet?—but it would seem that he is not now such a very great poet, and that his poetry (save for a few lyrics) has been read by few since the death of Matthew Arnold. Or because he was a picturesque and ro-

mantic figure of a man?—but everybody agrees that his romance, of old so inspiring, and his picturesque, once so killing, are fatally tarnished now, and that his vulgarity, his bad taste, his pinchbeck, are staringly revealed. Or because he was a remarkable letter-writer?—well, he was; but who would not give these two stout volumes, and half a dozen more, for a single slender one of new letters by Keats?

Evidently the fame of Byron stands high; but how, if not as a hero or a writer of genius? It stands high, because for the last ten or fifteen years a battle has been fought over him that has had nothing to do with his genius or his heroism. The real, true cause of his separation from his wife—in that question, not in Childe Harold or Don Juan, lies the title of Byron's fame after the century that has nearly passed since his death. So it would really seem; for we fall upon these volumes to discover, first and foremost, whether they throw new light on the scandal which the late Lord Lovelace drew from its ancestral slumber, some years ago, and cast into the circle of controversy. The question is quickly answered; no new light is thrown by these letters upon that old darkness; the matter remains where it was, the battle may still proceed as briskly as ever. Was Byron the lover of his half-sister, Augusta Leigh? If you were not convinced by Lord Lovelace's evidence, you may still say "not proven"; if you were convinced and others were not, you may still invoke the rumor of documents, lying unpublished and perhaps unpublishable, which would utterly and absolutely prove the worst. The fame of Byron, accordingly, would appear to be assured for the present; talk is kept alive, provoked and encouraged, neither satisfied nor silenced; Byron flourishes upon the mouths of men.

It is unfortunate, because some years ago the time was at hand for a serious appraisal, at last, of the writings of Byron; and then these rumors and scandals came in the way of criticism, and attention was caught away from the

books that Byron left behind him to the private affairs that he might have taken away with him, that he very nearly did take, to extinction. There was every reason to think that by the end of the last century, a couple of generations and more after his death, Byron's poetic repute might at last come to rest, like a pendulum, after its long and violent oscillations. Of Wordsworth, of Shelley, of Keats, of all the rest of them who stand at that distance from us, we can speak without even remembering the time when the nature of their genius was a matter for debate; a critic, writing of any of them now, has no call to be defiant or argumentative; if he is he simply shows that his culture is lean and raw. But Byron—the moment we begin to write of him the change in our tone is evident. We *argue* about Byron; we urge his claims and we insist and we try to convince, we deny his claims and insist more emphatically still; if we find anything great and strong and various in his poetry we defend our judgment as though we expected (and we expect with reason) to be contradicted. It is an absurd position for a poet who died in 1824—absurd that the affairs of his genius, so to speak, should be still in such disorder.

It was due in the first place, of course, to the wild exaggeration of his fame in his lifetime, when his *Giaours* and *Corsairs* and *Laras* dazzled the eyes of a vulgar age; and it was also due, and perhaps still is in some measure, to the persistent misconception among French critics of his place in our literature. For us the *Giaour*, with most of the verse that he wrote before 1816 (when he left his wife and left England for good), is dead beyond recall; it is the work of his Italian years—the second half of *Childe Harold*, *Don Juan*, the *Vision of Judgment*—which alone (almost alone) we now consider. And in considering it, in trying to do it justice, we are forced to make a double effort; we have to forget our prejudice against rhetoric in poetry, and we have to leave off expecting from poetry, from *all* poetry always, the insinuating magic of words and phrases; we have to remount, in fact, the stream of our poetry till we reach the point where Keats was not—for it was Keats, more than anyone else, who bequeathed to Tennyson and to the Pre-Raphaelites and to the later comers the meaning that the name of poetry had for them and that it still has for ourselves. All this is difficult enough; and it is disturbing, in the midst of our attempt, to note how foreign criticism has wandered astray, time after time, in its celebration of the supremacy of Byron. That is because the charm which vanishes in the passage from one language to another is precisely the charm that Byron has not; whereas the *Ode to the Nightingale* speaks with full intimacy only to the ear that is perfectly attuned to English numbers. But the question spreads too wide; and it comes to this, after all, that what with one thing and another—irrelevant distractions, mistakes in the past, changes of allegiance—there are still plenty of difficulties in the way of knowing what we really think about the genius of Byron. Two important new volumes of letters might remind us of this—when once it is clear that they tell us nothing new about his separation from his wife.

PERCY LUBBOCK

London, England

“Civic Virtue”

By Ellis Parker Butler

“DOWN in New York,” said Joe Pencod, the boss of the Third Ward, to our eminent jurist, Justice of the Peace Lem Hooper, “there are objections to a statue a man named MacMonnies carved. The statue is to be set up in front of the City Hall and the name of it is ‘Civic Virtue’.”

“Well, of course, boss,” said Judge Hooper, “if that is the name of the statue anyone can see it would be a mean insult to put it right in front of a City Hall.”

“No, Judge,” said Boss Pencod, “that’s not why there are objections. The ladies don’t like the statue. This MacMonnies carved ‘Civic Virtue’ in the form of a man with a sword and he has a foot on the neck—so to speak—of a lady who represents ‘Civic Wrong.’ He has killed her. The ladies resent the imputation.”

“And I don’t blame them!” said Judge Hooper heartily. “It’s not true. Nothing like that ever happens to ‘Civic Wrong.’ At the worst the lady should be shown in no more dire predicament than standing in line in front of a Western Union window, wiring for hotel accommodations at Hot Springs or Palm Beach, where she will repose comfortably until the storm blows over.

“It is a fine thing, boss, for a city to have inspiring statues, but if one of them shows a man frog-stabbing Evil to death it ought to be labeled ‘Civic Virtue in Patagonia,’ so the little children would not get a wrong idea of life in America. A statue of ‘Triumphant Civic Virtue in this Latitude,’ boss, ought to show the head of the reform ticket being snowed under by 87,000 majority with 234 precincts yet to hear from, while in the background a grand jury gets ready to investigate his campaign expenses and over to the left is the brick jail the poor worm will be lucky to stay out of. The jail cost \$500,000, of which \$112,000 went where it would do the most good. If a lady ‘Civic Wrong’ was wanted in the composition, boss, you could show her between the jail and the City Hall, sawing wood and having nothing to say to our reporter but looking well and hearty.

“Now that the Indian-killer of the Dime Novel is dead and the two-gun man of the movies under bonds to be good, we can’t be too wary of the effect of these rough guys in our statuary on the tender minds of the youth of America. We ought to do something about it. If one of the dear little lads goes down to the City Hall to admire the statue of ‘Civic Virtue’ he’s liable to run home and peel off all his clothes worth mentioning and a few more and

grab a sword and injure a lot of important citizens before mamma can spank the idea out of him. We ought to join the ladies, boss, and prohibit these marble sword-slashers.

“You and I know, boss, that nowadays Mr. Civic Virtue don’t go around minus his underwear chopping at folks with a bowie-knife. The active Civic Virtuoso of today, boss, hooks his shell spectacles behind his over-size ears and dictates a letter asking me to subscribe \$25 to the cause and then tells the stenographer that if no more

money comes in by Saturday noon she’ll have to hunt another job. And usually she hunts. I can see plainly enough that Mr. MacMonnies was never boss of the Third Ward or he would not have made the mistake.

“You know mighty well, boss, that I’m no sculptist. I’m not, but I’ve been J. P. in this town fifteen years and if I was called upon to make a statue of ‘Civic Virtue’ as he is in this day and generation I’d carve the allegorical figure of a fussed white rabbit cowering in the midst of his numerous progeny, waiting for the Mayor and City Council to slug him again with a tax bill. He could be made of rubber and every time he was hit he would squeak ‘Thank heaven it is no worse!’ You could get the rubber from the cast off tires the Assistant Park Commissioner wore out while campaigning in the car you made the Mayor put back in the budget, boss.

“This whole statuary business is wrong, boss. It got a wrong start. When a sculptist gets an order for ‘Agriculture’ he carves out a plump lady togged out in the kind of clothes Kansas would pass a law against, and shows her holding in one hand the kind of sickle Hennerly P. Bimps uses to trim the grass around his pansy bed, and in the other arm ten cents worth of hay. That’s wrong. In the first place, if the lady was that plump she would not be standing around holding a bunch of hay—she would be upstairs doing the Sixteen Simple Contortions for Reducing the Flesh. In the second place, she wouldn’t be ‘she,’ she would be ‘he,’ and he would be down at the Citizens’ and Farmers’ Bank trying to have the note renewed for another four months.

“I think the ladies are right, boss. ‘Civic Virtue’ is not realistic enough. I’ve been civilly virtuous for quite some time and I’ll swear I wouldn’t recognize myself as that man with a sword unless the statue had my name carved under it. A statue of ‘Civic Virtue in America’ ought to show a nervous little male in a last year’s suit trying to mind his own business and hoping he won’t be fined ten dollars because the hired girl left the lid off the garbage can this morning. If you need a woman in it you can mold in the man’s wife in the act of wondering whether she ought to give her last five-dollar bill to the Association For Painting the Park Fence or buy a pair of shoes for little Civvy Virtue, Junior.”

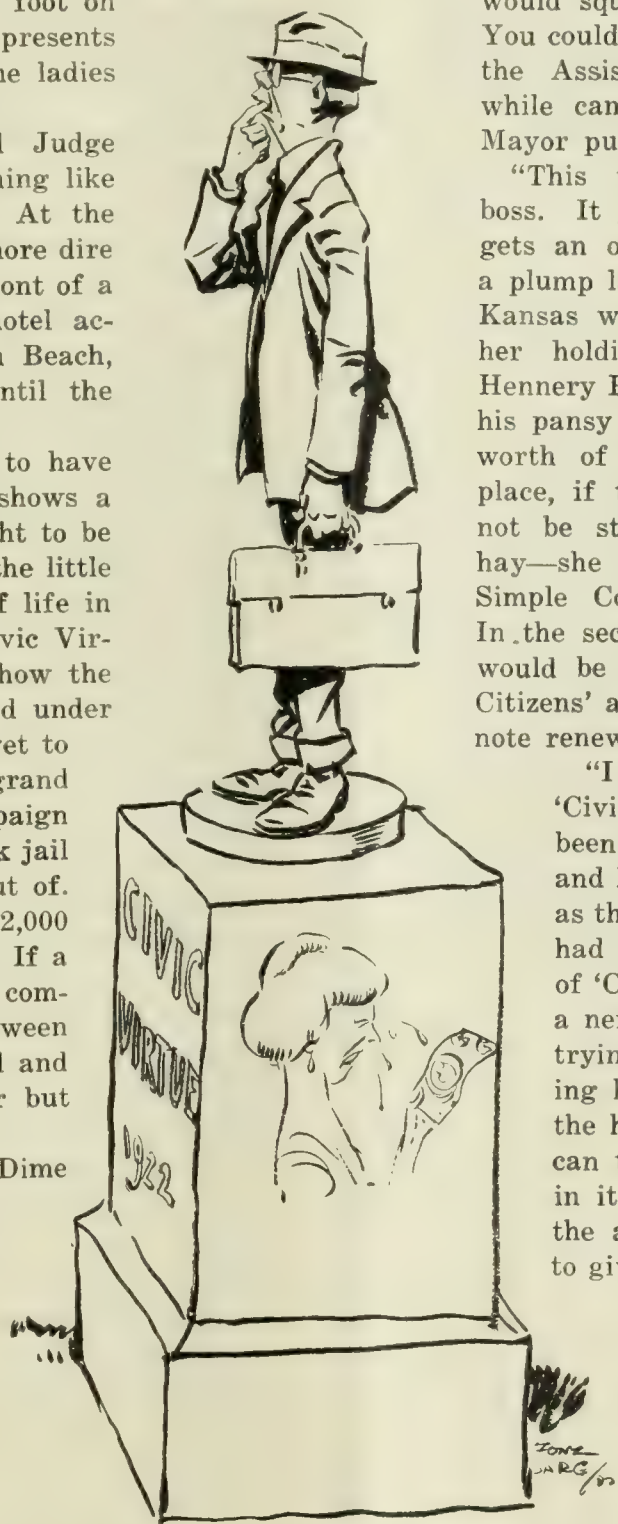
“Lem,” said Mr. Pencod, “you don’t think anything of the sort, and you know it! You’ve been one of the confoundedest civic virtue pests in this town, and you know


that, too! You’re always kicking because the City Council don’t do this or does do that—always wanting something done or something undone.”

“And always getting what I want, too, boss,” Judge Hooper reminded Mr. Pencod.

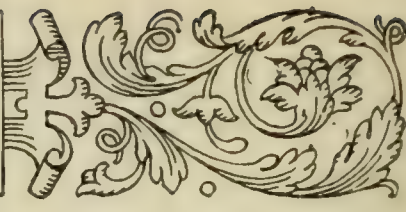
“And always getting what you want,” agreed the boss. “And if you don’t call that using a sword I don’t know what you do call it!”

“I call it using a grin, boss,” said Judge Hooper.





EDITORIAL



Has the President Surrendered to the Spoilsmen?

WE put this question at the head of this article not because we think that the President has surrendered to the spoilsmen but because it is the question which is at this moment uppermost in the minds of thousands of patriotic Americans, Republicans and Democrats alike. Answers in the affirmative and answers in the negative abound in the daily newspapers. Also, to their credit be it said, there are newspapers which refrain from saying yes or no until the facts are better ascertained. But while it is right to hesitate as to the answer, it would be altogether wrong to hesitate in pressing the question. For it is a question of the very first importance and there is a man who can answer it, who ought to answer it, and who ought to make his answer prompt and decisive. That man is President Harding.

Doubtless the situation out of which the question has arisen involves some complexities, and any statement dealing with those complexities would necessarily be likewise complex. But there is one aspect of the situation as it now stands in which there is no complexity at all. The sweeping changes that have been made in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and in the Internal Revenue and Customs service, have caused enemies of the merit system to hope, and its friends to fear, that the President will countenance—that perhaps he will even encourage—a breaking down of the system. On the floor of the Senate, more than one prominent Republican member has flatly declared his hostility to that system—not upon the ground of any refined objection, but on the basis of the maxim that to the victors belong the spoils. These declarations, while of course not professing in the least to represent the President's position, have come as a consequence of the actions of some of the President's appointees. Senator New and Senator Moses do not profess to know that the upheaval which has stirred up all this excitement is the beginning of a revival of the spoils principle by the Harding Administration; but they frankly assert that they hope it is. Unless Mr. Harding really means that it shall be so, he should lose no time in making it plain that no such backward step will be permitted in his Administration.

We are not saying that a mere affirmation of this position would be sufficient. The Administration will, in the end, be judged by its acts and not by its words. There are occasions, however, when a word is even more important than an act. But the word must be fitly spoken. It must have the true ring. It must be such as to set at rest the apprehensions of the friends of the merit system—the system that has been built up through successive advances by President after President during four decades, and which has thus far at no time suffered a serious setback. It must be such as to extinguish the new-sprung hopes of the spoilsmen,

in Congress and out. It must be such as to restore to thousands of men and women in the Government service the peace of mind which recent events—including the talk of Senators and others—have so seriously disturbed. In a word, it must be such as is worthy of the President of the United States in a situation that urgently demands courage and plain speaking.

President Harding has just brought to a triumphant conclusion a difficult and splendid undertaking. The momentous achievement of the Washington Conference, while in so large a measure due to the masterly work of Secretary Hughes, must be credited, first of all, to the President himself. His was the initiative, his was the primary responsibility; upon him would have fallen the burden of failure, and to him belongs the just meed of success. There is no doubt that the best opinion of the nation gives him the award that is his due. His integrity of purpose, his solemn sense of the responsibility attached to his great office, has, from the beginning of his Administration, been recognized almost unanimously by fair-minded men without distinction of party. Nothing could be more lamentable, either from the standpoint of the country's welfare or from that of his own fame, than a lowering of that enviable repute. And we can think of nothing more likely to lower it than the stigma which a recrudescence of the spoils system in the Federal service would place upon him.

From a party standpoint the question is not less serious. The Democratic party has escaped a terrible pitfall in not defeating the Four-Power Treaty. It is true that a majority of the Democratic Senators voted against ratification; it is true that from the odium of having destroyed the beneficent work of the Conference it was saved only by the patriotic and far-sighted action of a comparative few. But it *was* saved; it will not be loaded down with the grievous burden of guilt which frustration of the Conference would have brought upon it. In the Congressional elections which are now approaching, the Republicans will labor under the disadvantage which is always suffered by a party from natural reaction after so overwhelming a victory as that of 1920, from discontent in a time of widespread unemployment, from disappointment over a record of legislation very far from ideal. Against this they will be able to point to much that is creditable, and above all to the achievement of the Washington Conference. But the Republican leaders are shrewd enough to know that they are up against a difficult situation. Indeed it is probable that the drive for spoils is largely due to the fear of losses in the Congressional elections; but if so, it is a most disastrous blunder. Unless clearly repudiated by the President, it will give the Democrats the one issue they need for an aggressive campaign. People will not be greatly moved by allegations of failure of legislation on the part of Congress, but the whole nation can be stirred to resentment by charges of failure of duty on the part of the national Administration. Apart from the personal merits of individual

candidates, the real asset of the Republican party is Mr. Harding and his Cabinet. To lessen the value of that asset is to court defeat. We trust that the President will speedily put an end to the possibility of any such lowering of his high place in the nation's esteem.

The Issues in the Coal Strike

THE real, overshadowing issue between the soft coal operators and the Miners' Union is this: Shall wages in the industry as a whole be dominated by an interstate wage scale representing a part of the industry?

The contract of two years ago bound the operators of the Central Competitive Field (Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Western Pennsylvania) to set some date before April 1, 1922, at which they would engage in "an interstate joint conference" with representatives of the miners of those fields, and officers of the national Miners' Union. At such a conference the Ohio and Pittsburgh operators would have been at liberty to tell the miners verbally, what they weeks ago told President Lewis by letter, that they would not enter into another interstate wage agreement. Such action would have fulfilled all their legal obligations. Their contrary course was a violation of contract, tended to discredit wage agreements, and was a tactical blunder.

Yet regrettable as it is on formal grounds, the action of the operators serves to bring out another real issue, which is primarily between the miners and the public: shall the people of this country assent to a national, labor monopoly able and willing to cut off the country's supply of coal by a national strike whenever such pressure is needed to secure the demands of the labor monopoly? Towards such a monopoly the leaders of the United Mine Workers of America have labored consistently for a quarter-century. Their insistence now on an interstate wage agreement is the key move in their national monopoly plan. They have been offered, and they have refused, collective bargaining between the operators and the miners' district organizations, not only in the Central Field, but in other unionized fields. Their intention is to unionize *all* fields, after which they can hold up the country for any demands they may make. Until that time, it is essential to the plan to have a central interstate wage scale, and power to make a general strike effective as a means of forcing the interstate scale on all other districts.

The people of this country have adopted a policy of allowing no nation-wide monopolies. That policy is in our judgment a sound and wise one. We believe it should be applied as strictly to a labor monopoly as to any other kind. For this reason we are opposed to a continuance of interstate coal wage scales based on interstate agreements. We believe that strong unions are needed in the coal industry—as in most other industries—as a means of setting general standards, as a leaven towards liberalizing industrial relations. But it is clear that trade-union monopoly, even in local fields, always leads to abuses. In the national field we consider it intolerable—a thing against which the public should resolutely set its face.

Another real issue, which seems to have escaped public attention, is the exorbitant wage demands of the miners. The present rate of \$7.50 a day for common labor, which the Union insists on maintaining, is un-

reasonably high pay for the service. The Coal Commission gave the miners only \$6 a day; but by strikes in violation of their contract they secured an advance to \$7.50, which is at the rate of nearly 94 cents an hour on the present 8-hour day basis. They now propose to raise the common labor rate to \$1.25 an hour for a new basic day of six hours, and to an overtime rate of \$1.87½ for each hour after the first six.

The intermittency of employment in the mines is a great evil, and means must be found to remedy it. But the proposal to retain it, and compensate for it by extravagant wage rates, is fundamentally unsound.

A Richly Deserved Honor

IF statues were erected only to men who have accomplished as much good, and who have shown as great qualities, as Booker Washington, there would be a tremendous cutting down of the marble and bronze population of the world. At the unveiling of his statue at Tuskegee last week there were tributes by leading men, white and black, Northern and Southern; and it is safe to say that no praise bestowed by the speakers was beyond his merits.

The story of Booker Washington's life has become so familiar that one is apt to lose sight of the marvelous side of it, in the mere satisfaction at its utility. But those who are old enough to remember the beginnings of his work at Tuskegee can recall the amazement which was aroused by their first acquaintance with the facts of his splendid struggle against hopeless odds. To have lifted himself from the utmost depths of slavery and ignorance to a position of importance and dignity would in itself have been wonderful. But he made his own rise the means of lifting up his race as no one else has done; and, perhaps most remarkable of all, he did this great and memorable work with such sagacity and wisdom that it commanded the hearty sympathy of his white fellow-citizens of the South. "He lifted the veil of ignorance from his people and pointed the way to progress through education and industry"—such is the inscription at the base of his statue. For once at least, the lapidary eulogy does not err on the side of excess.

The Latest Scare

AS though there were not enough things to worry about in these tumultuous days, a Society has been formed to "Save America and the World from the Perils of Romanism." Its sponsors say that it is not a secret society. They are evidently anxious that the Society shall not be classed with the once powerful A. P. A., of unsavory memory. Perhaps, too, the leaders in the movement are sincere in their desire to prevent the Society from developing the hateful characteristics which have marked the A. P. A. and similar anti-Catholic movements in the past. We are not fond of imputing bad motives to people with whom we do not agree, and we shall not do so in this instance.

But whether the motive of the movement be good or bad is of very little consequence; the question of real concern to the public is whether the movement itself is good or bad. And on that point we have no doubt whatsoever. If it is not to do great harm, it must "die a-borning."

But there is always more or less danger that a

movement like this, once started, may gain great headway, and do much harm, before it has run its course. There are always in this country a multitude of perfectly well-meaning people in whom fear of Romanism can easily be aroused, and who have not sufficient judgment to realize that the bigotry, prejudice, and hatred which any anti-Catholic movement is sure to arouse, are an infinitely greater evil than any with which this country is threatened by the Roman Catholic Church. The danger against which the Society seeks to arouse Americans is almost wholly imaginary; the danger which the Society itself creates is very real.

Lloyd George's Pyrrhic Victory

SOME witty Englishman has dubbed Mr. Lloyd George the political Scheherazade who has to invent a new story every night to save his head, and surely his latest amazing performance does not belie this shrewd characterization. On the face of it the British Premier won a magnificent personal triumph when he appeared before Parliament on April 3. The press had been full of attacks on him and many people seemed inclined to believe that he and his Government were in danger of falling. But when he made his brilliant speech it was evident at once that he felt his complete mastery of the situation and he gave the appearance of simply toying with the opposition. At the conclusion of his speech he asked for a vote of confidence by the passage of a motion approving his programme for the Genoa Conference, and was sustained by an overwhelming majority.

In many ways, however, this resplendent triumph was more apparent than real. For an examination of his speech shows clearly that to attain this personal triumph he was obliged to make a big shift in policy and yield to a public opinion that has been steadily growing in England these past few months. To be sure this shift is artfully masked with some face-saving banter and clever sophistries, but it is very real. It is evident that the policy he has been pursuing heretofore—immediate formal recognition of the Soviet Government and the exploitation of Russia under German leadership—has been abandoned. Practically he has come around to the view expressed by Secretary Hughes concerning Russia, except that the basis is expediency and not moral principle, and he has covered his *volte face* with inconsequential allusions to the alleged change of Communist policy.

These allusions lead the Premier into amusing inconsistencies. He has just read Lenin's speech of November 1, 1921, yet most people had not only read this speech but also the one of March 23, 1921, in which the new economic policy was first announced. Most people also had read Lenin's more recent statements in which he called a halt on this change of policy and declared the strategic retreat before capitalism at an end. Furthermore they had read Krasin's repudiation of the change as well as Trotsky's bellicose appeals to the Red Army. Is it possible that Mr. Lloyd George was ignorant of all this? We do not think so. It seems more reasonable to suppose that he preferred to content himself with reiterating the conditions prerequisite to dealing with Soviet Russia, and then let Genoa expose the hollowness and falsity of the Bolshevik pretensions. Probably this was what he had in mind in

quoting Pitt on the French Revolution, when he called attention to the difficulty and danger "of endeavoring to make peace with a Government whose principles are just as odious, whose actions are just as loathsome, as the actions of the Terrorists in 1792 and afterwards in France." Significant indeed is his allusion to the fact that it was only the folly of the French revolutionaries that was responsible for the failure of Pitt's proposals.

The reference to Lenin's speech invites a comparison between the somewhat analogous situations of the two Premiers. Lenin, faced by the imminent danger of losing his power through the economic breakdown of Russia, faced with loss of production, stagnation of trade, and the spread of famine, makes overtures to capitalism, but without practical results. After attempting this policy for nearly a year, he finds himself vigorously opposed by two forces in Russia. The Russian nationalist element, to which appeal had been made in the days when Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, and Pilsudski threatened the Soviet power, and which is especially strong in the Red Army, asserts that Lenin is selling out Russia to the foreigner. The fanatical Communist element charges that Lenin is betraying Communism. Consequently Lenin yields to pressure and declares the retreat before capitalism is at an end, while the Soviet delegates to Genoa assume an arrogant attitude. Similarly Lloyd George, who hoped to solve his domestic economic and labor problems by the Trade Agreement and by dealing with the Soviets, is now obliged to stop his retreat before Bolshevism. There is a delightful irony in the situation. The most significant indication is his promise that the dealings with Soviet Russia "would involve no further recognition until the House of Commons approved, none until after approval." Parliament has won the real victory in the struggle for control over Russian policy.

There are many other points of interest in the Premier's speech. His analysis of European conditions is shrewd and businesslike. Germany, he says, cannot pay adequate reparations now, yet the question of reparations and of the revision of the Treaty of Versailles must not be touched at Genoa. This appears inconsistent, but in reality it is not. Revision must indeed come, but Genoa is not the place to undertake it, as we have repeatedly pointed out. The questions involved must be settled by mutual agreement between the chief Powers and not by going over the heads of the French to a nondescript mass-meeting. Mr. Lloyd George's frank admission of this shows that the Anglo-French entente is still the backbone of his policy.

We regard Lloyd George's triumph as desirable and fortunate. It is well that the Genoa Conference should be held and without him it could not be held. The value of the Conference lies not in any positive or objective achievement—it would be vain to hope for such—but in its educational possibilities. Its fruit will indeed be disappointment and disillusion, but the lesson of economic interdependence will be learned, as well as that of cleaning house before seeking outside help. Some rivalries will be adjusted and some animosities will be allayed. Nations will come to know each other better. The gigantic fraud of the Soviet régime will be exposed. And perhaps the way will be pointed toward a real economic conference under conditions that give promise of success.

The Story of the Week

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

Domestic Affairs

The Coal Strike

THE great coal strike began at midnight March 31-April 1; the strikers including approximately 446,500 unionized bituminous miners in the United States and Canada, and 150,000 anthracite miners in Pennsylvania;—i. e., all the anthracite miners (100 per cent. unionized) and practically all the unionized bituminous miners of the United States. The union officials left 13,000 men in the mines for their protection. The issues are roughly as follows:

The bituminous miners demand continuance of the national wage scales in force prior to April 1, a six-hour day, a five-day week, and the "check-off" system. The operators demand wage-cuts varying from 20 to 40 per cent., abolition of the check-off, and state agreements.

The anthracite miners demand a 20 per cent. increase for contract men, \$1 a day increase for day men, the "check-off" system, and the eight-hour day for all. The operators demand wage reductions.

Representatives of anthracite miners and operators have been in negotiation since a considerable time before the strike. Whether, in case of satisfactory arrangements with the operators, the anthracite miners would go back to work, or whether they would continue the strike for the behoof of their bituminous brethren, is matter of speculation.

A conservative estimate shows a seven weeks' supply of anthracite and a two months' supply of bituminous in stock or on the ground. During the strike ("suspension" is the technical name for the anthracite miners' abstention from work, since they are in negotiation with the operators) there will be no anthracite production. Union officials estimate the non-union bituminous production as 3,500,000 tons a week; non-union operators estimate that they can supply from 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 tons. Weekly consumption of bituminous in 1921 was about 8,000,000 tons.

The Secretary of Labor in a public statement puts the blame for the strike on the operators of the central competitive field, in that they refused to fulfill their pledge of conference with the miners' union representatives prior to April 1, with a view to a new agreement.

As the strike started, union chiefs announced their expectation that upwards of 100,000 non-union miners would join. The expectation has not been realized.

It's an ill wind that blows good to nobody. The mule workers have been brought to the surface; many of them

seeing the light of day and the blessed pastures for the first time in many years.

The effect of the coal strike on other industries is to be watched. Already many railroad freight crews have been laid off.

The Kansas Industrial Court ordered continuance until April 30 of the old agreement between Kansas coal operators and miners; notwithstanding which, the miners are striking. That situation especially deserves watching.

Senator Borah is quoted as saying that either the coal industry must be fundamentally reorganized in the interest of the public, or the experiment of public ownership and

control must be tried. When the great British coal strike was on, we in America indulged in a great deal of criticism, mostly just, of mismanagement over there; it is now the British turn. The situation here, though serious, is by no means as serious as it was (and is) in Britain; it should be much easier for us to find fundamental and scientific solutions.

* * *

Contrary to previous information which declared the anthracite fields to be 100 per cent. unionized, it is now stated that of the 150,000 anthracite workers, 50,000 are non-union men.

Reports differ as to the

action taken or contemplated by the latter.

* * *

The House Committee on Labor has sent telegrams to operators in the Central Competitive Field, asking them to meet miners' union officials on April 10 to discuss a new wage agreement. It would seem that the replies received to date have been of refusal.

The Dismissals in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing

The country is awaiting with a good deal of curiosity disclosal of the facts behind the dismissal by executive order of the Director and twenty-eight other officials of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. Some Democrats are urging a Congressional inquiry. It is understood that all those dismissed were classified civil service appointees.

Since the Administration doubtless was aware that action so abrupt and almost without precedent would create a very delicate and embarrassing situation for itself, it is to be assumed that the reasons for dismissal were compelling, though, according to the President's secretary, "the President had no wish to reflect upon the character of any Government employee." The Administration must be eager for the moment when it may publish those reasons and thus allay the Democratic *saeva indignatio*, which has moved



International

The port of Hamburg, Germany

many a Phocion, many a Cato, to devastating utterance.

Though in debate on the dismissals several Republicans came out with refreshing candor for the spoils system, there is no need for champions of the Civil Service law to worry or to imagine that it is being flouted in this affair, for the Republican national platform pledges not merely respect for but also extended application of the principles supposed to be embodied in the Civil Service law.

Efforts of Democratic Senators to set on foot a Congressional inquiry into the dismissals have been foiled; the Democrats unanimously supporting resolutions to that end, the Republicans almost unanimously opposing them.

Common talk of an impending drastic shake-up in the Internal Revenue Bureau has brought out an emphatic denial from Secretary Mellon.

The Merchant Marine

Of the 1,442 steel ships owned by the Government, only 421 are in commission. It is costing the Government \$50,000,000 per year to operate these 421 ships. There is, in addition, the cost of caring for the ships at dead moorings, which, in fact, are rusting to death. The wooden ships built during the war are considered worthless.

Addressing the House Merchant Marine Committee on the 5th, Chairman Lasker predicted that, if the Merchant Marine bill recently introduced in the House (and noticed at length in a previous number of this summary) should be enacted, an American Merchant Marine fleet of 7,500,000 tons would soon be plying on the trade routes; a fleet of size to handle half our foreign commerce.

An Error

In a recent issue of *The Independent*, Boston University was credited with the glory of thrashing Yale two seasons running in football. Not the Methodist Boston University, but the Roman Catholic Boston College, accomplished that feat. To Boston University, however, unless reports err, is to be credited the glory of offering a course for the training of aspirants to jobs in summer hotels.

Campaigning by Wireless

Senator New, of Indiana, opened his campaign for re-

election with a speech by radio-telephone from Washington to the thousands of his constituents (farmers as well as town-dwellers) who own receiving apparatuses. Miss Robertson, Congresswoman from Oklahoma, followed suit the next night. A custom (lovely or hideous) will doubtless soon grow out of the precedent.

A Cure Worse Than the Disease

Mr. Gompers does not approve of compulsory unemployment insurance. His vigorous observation on the subject, following his remark that it's work, not insurance, that the workers want, is:

No one can get away from this absolute fact that, if we were to have compulsory unemployment insurance, the working people would be subjected to rules and regulations and investigations and supervision of almost every act of their lives. It would open the way—instead of the protection which every American citizen and every British subject is supposed to have, that his home is his castle—it would open the door to governmental agents and agencies who would spy and pry into the very innermost recesses of the home life. It would entangle the mass of the working people in a mesh of legalisms and restrictions.

A Florida Feud

A long-standing feud in Florida has recently developed in such a way as to make Kentucky and Tennessee anxious for their laurels. On Christmas Eve, 1920, one John Harvey was murdered at his still. In October, 1921, three negroes were lynched as hired assassins of Harvey. A few weeks later two white men were shot dead from ambush as the men who paid the negroes to kill Harvey.

Who can say that the movie does not furnish that true criticism of national life which is the function of great art?

Brief Items

Fourteen thousand women will patrol New York City, soliciting funds for the American Legion camp in the Adirondacks for sick and wounded veterans, especially victims of tuberculosis. The response should be magnificent.

* * *

The Senate of Maryland has voted, 15 to 12, in favor of modification of the Volstead act.

* * *

The textile strikes in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire continue with no very marked change.

* * *

Navigation on the Great Lakes opened on April 1, despite considerable ice.

* * *

It seems that our elk are being exterminated, not for food, not for sport, but to provide elks' teeth to members of the Order of Elks.

The British Empire

Lloyd George Wins Again

ON April 3, Lloyd George, returning to London from a three weeks' rest in the country, addressed the Commons on the following Government motion:

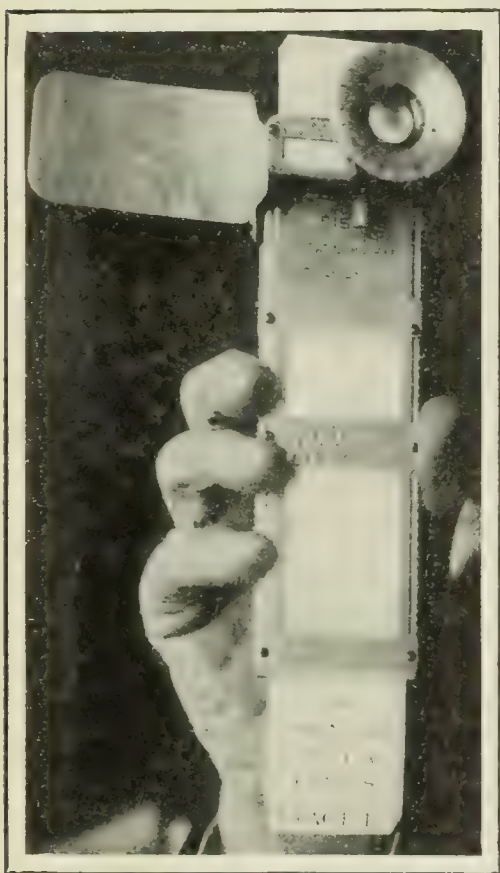
That this House approve the resolutions passed by the Supreme Council at Cannes as the basis of the Genoa Conference and will support his Majesty's Government in endeavoring to give effect to them.

En effet, Lloyd George was asking for a vote of confidence in himself and his Government. He got it, 374 to 94.

Reading that speech, even as set down in cold print (without the immense enhancements to its effect it enjoyed in the delivery—from the magnetic personality of the speaker, from the atmosphere of a political crisis, from the storied scene, from the distinguished audience on the floor and in the gallery, from so many circumstances), one understands why it is that, while Premiers come and Premiers go, Lloyd George seems destined to go on forever.

Some one has said that the effect of this speech was as if a magician were, in one's presence, to cover an immense canvas with broad and telling strokes (leaving out of the picture everything that might be telling in a sense opposed to the magician's purpose), accompanying his brushwork with descriptive comments equally sweeping and convincing, mingling, as Nature has mingled, grave with gay and lively with severe. The critic thus paraphrased added that, immediately the canvas was covered, the colors seemed to fade and disappear, while of the descriptive comment scarcely one sentence remained in the memory.

The above criticism may or may not be just, but at any rate the effect of Lloyd George's magic always lasts long



Paul Thompson

Admiral Fiske's device for reducing the size while maintaining the visibility of printed matter. He makes it possible to carry a library in the coat pocket



Underwood & Underwood

The all-metal plane which Captain Roald Amundsen is to take with him on his trip from Seattle to Norway via the North Pole. Captain Amundsen is looking out of the door of the plane. Mr. John M. Larsen, inventor and manufacturer of the plane, is standing outside

enough to win him a thumping vote. His style is "both music and persuasion," plus wit. Not the music of Beethoven, which, once entering the ear, forever haunts the memory; but the music of Mendelssohn, say, no mean music. Not the profound convincingness of a Donne, but at least the momentary persuasiveness of a Beecher. Not the wit of a Sheridan, but enough to rock not only the Government but also the Opposition benches with laughter. Not the least of the Welsh wizard's gifts is to make statistics as engaging as a Persian tale.

In that speech of April 3, Lloyd George made his greatest hit with a quotation from a speech of the younger Pitt, in which the latter justified his efforts to negotiate a peace with the French revolutionaries:

I wish for the benefit of Europe. I wish for the benefit of the world at large and for the honor of mankind, as well as for the happiness of the people of France, although now your enemies, but who are objects of compassion, I wish to say that the present spirit of their rulers and the principles they cherish may be extinguished and that other principles may prevail there; but whether they do so or not is more immediately their concern than ours. It is not to any alteration in that country, but to the means of security in this, that I look with anxiety and care. I wish for peace whether their principles be good or bad, but I do not wish to trust to their forbearance. Our defense should be in our own hands.

Upon which Lloyd George observed, not perhaps without imagination of a certain chastening effect on the Poincarists:

Those are the principles on which we should proceed in approaching this difficult and dangerous topic of endeavoring to make peace with a Government whose principles are just as odious, whose actions are just as loathsome as the actions of the Terrorists in 1792 and afterward in France.

Lloyd George doubtless conciliated many wavering votes by his assurance that political recognition of Russia, a political compact with Russia, would only follow acceptance by Russia of the Cannes conditions (recognition of the debts and other obligations of the present and previous Russian régimes, establishment of impartial tribunals of-

fering free access to nationals of all countries, cessation of attacks on the institutions of other countries, and so on); by the important assurance that any compact with Russia, to become effective, must be ratified by the House of Commons; and finally by the assurance that establishment of ceremonial diplomatic relations with Russia would, in case a compact were struck, be gradual, commencing with exchange of chargés d'affaires, each successive step to be authorized by the Commons and to be taken only after amplifying proof of Russian *bona fides*.

Lloyd George has won another famous victory. He goes to Genoa with ample powers, having escaped the danger of having to disclose any of the more intimate details of his program.

The Irish Situation

The House of Lords has passed and the royal assent has been given to the Irish Free State bill, which gives a definite legal status to the Free State and vests the Provisional Government with the full powers necessary to it.

* * *

In accordance with the recent agreement, all political prisoners in Ulster and in the Free State have been released.

* * *

Mutinous detachments of the Irish Republican army continue to perpetrate outrages in various parts of Ireland.

On the 3rd, some 3,000 members of the Irish Republican army garrison of Dublin marched out of town in compliance with an invitation from the mutineer Committee of Sixteen and took the oath of allegiance to the Republic.

On the same day mutinous army detachments stopped a speech being made by Michael Collins at Castlebar, County Mayo. They rushed the platform and in the mêlée one person was wounded. The audience was small, as the mutineers had blocked the roads and railways leading to the town.

But the worst of the many recent affairs was the Upnor one. The British ordnance tug Upnor was seized off Cork

by an ingenious ruse and taken into Ballycotton harbor, where the cargo of 400 rifles, 700 revolvers, 39 machine guns, and 500,000 rounds of ammunition was unloaded and hauled away in lorries requisitioned from Cork merchants.

* * *

At a meeting held at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, New York, U. S. A., on the 2nd, under the auspices of the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic, Austin Stack made the following temperate remarks:

I won't say what will happen if this election goes against us, but I hope the time may never come when one Irishman will fire on another. I want to be fair, but that blow may have to be struck. There is going to be an Irish Republic, a whole Irish Republic—or nothing.

Notes

The lockout of approximately a million men in the British engineering, shipbuilding, and some other trades, adds seriously to the multiplying woes of the British people and the embarrassments of the Government.

The other groups, however, have broken away from the engineers and have begun negotiations with the operators which promise a settlement.

* * *

Hardly a word this week from India. Is the silence ominous?

* * *

Arthur Balfour has accepted an earldom.

* * *

Sixty per cent. of the forests of the United Kingdom were cut down during the war.

Britain Takes a Leaf Out of Our Book

THE United States Government having refused to consider the British proposal of general cancellation of the war-debts of the Allied and Associated Powers, and bringing pressure for payment of the interest due it from Britain and other Powers, the British Government, in turn, is demanding (or so at any rate the press gives out) interest payments from the Powers indebted to it. These demands are not likely to lessen French determination to collect cash from Germany. Annual interest at 5 per cent. on France's debts to Great Britain and the United States would amount to about \$300,000,000. France will receive from Germany this year a maximum of \$30,000,000 cash. It is highly improbable that the United States or Britain would consent to accept from France, in lieu of cash, goods received by France from Germany under the Wiesbaden Agreement.

According to the National Bank of Commerce, the war-debts of the Allies to the United States, principal and interest, amounted to the following on March 1 last: Debt of Great Britain, \$4,675,000,000; of France, 3,717,000,000; of Italy, \$1,850,000,000; of Belgium, \$420,000,000; of Russia, \$212,000,000; of others, \$455,000,000.

A recent Federal Reserve bulletin gave the following esti-

mate of war-debts owing to Great Britain: Of France, \$2,228,000,000; of Italy, \$1,907,200,000; of Belgium, \$412,000,000; of Russia, \$2,240,000,000; of Serbia, \$88,000,000; of other Allies, \$331,600,000; of the Dominions, \$576,000,000.

It has been suggested that Lloyd George "may use France's debt to Britain as a club to put through his Genoa program"; but such fantastic villainy is out of the question.

* * *

A later report states that the British Government has merely sent a formal notice to Governments indebted to it that the three-year period during which, by formal understanding, interest was to be deferred, will expire in October; no definite demand was made, says the report.

A Cecilian Congress

AN International Socialist Congress, including representatives of the Second, Second-and-one-half, and Third Internationals, has been in process in Berlin. Reports thereof show it to be about as harmonious as would be the audience at a joint debate on the Ulster border between Sir Edward Carson and Mr. de Valera. It is easier to blend religions than sects.

The Genoa Conference

THE Genoa Conference opens on April 10. The whole world is asking itself the questions: "What has Lloyd George up his sleeve?" and "Whatever it is, will he put it over?"

The Russian delegation was about the first to arrive on the scene. It stopped over at Berlin for a nice little visit. When Chancellor Wirth met Chicherin, he quoted hapless Richard's words:

For God's sake let us sit upon the ground

And tell sad stories of the deaths of kings.

Whereupon Chicherin fell a-shaking, and has not since left off. At any rate, it is authentically reported that he is in a blue funk and that, though his residence at beautiful Rapallo, outside Genoa, is strongly guarded by Italian troops, he dare not look out o' window.

Several Items

THE week ending March 18 was "Wine Week" in France, when all good Frenchmen prayed for restoration of France's lost wine markets. March 15 was "American Day." An American Senate resolution is "indicated."

* * *

A competent authority states that there are now only about 40,000 unemployed in France.

* * *

Of the 720,000,000 gold marks required by the Reparations Commission to be paid over to it by Germany this year, 217,000,000 has been paid.



International

Morvich, the new king of the turf

Restoration of Mozart at the Metropolitan

By W. J. Henderson

MOZART'S opera buffa, "Cosi fan tutte" (Thus do All Women), was performed for the first time at the Metropolitan Opera House on March 24 and repeated at the matinee of April 1. No record of any previous presentation of the work in this city could be found and it is probable that it had never been given before in the United States. The restoration of Mozart to the stage of the Metropolitan was welcomed with enthusiasm by those music lovers whose pleasure does not proceed wholly from hearing loud sounds or witnessing acrobatic feats by strenuous prima donnas. At the same time the production served clearly to show the resources of the local operatic institution.

To state the case precisely, there was much in the intelligent artistic plan of the production to call for hearty praise, while in the execution there was little to cause regret. There was a time when every one of the six parts in the work would have been beautifully sung, but that time is past. Singers of the first order are rare today and the Metropolitan Opera House is not the abiding place of those who can be so ranked. In their stead we are invited to enjoy the contributions of a good orchestra, a competent chorus (which had almost nothing to do in "Cosi fan tutte") and admirable scenery. In the case of Mozart's work cultivated taste was also gratified by homogeneity of effort, manifestly the result of Mr. Bodanzky's direction.

The pictorial presentation of the opera was arranged by Joseph Urban, who conceived a plan for overcoming in some measure the antagonism of the Metropolitan's great size to a lyric farce of delicate musical embodiment. He disclosed to us a small stage built on the large one of the house. This little stage was framed by graceful draperies and had its own footlights made to imitate those of lamplight days. The action was carried forward principally on the small stage, though at times the draperies were used as hiding places from which characters might spy upon the actions of the personages performing a scene. Acceptance of such makeshifts is by no means difficult when the spectator has put himself in the mood to receive complacently the hopeless artificialities of Lorenzo da Ponte's libretto.

The two performances given previous to this writing have demonstrated clearly that opera-goers enjoy the farcical fun. No one can take seriously the departure of two lovers for a pretended war and their return in disguises to test the constancy of their betrothed ones. And there is a note of vulgarity in the arrangement of the whole plot on a bet. Nor is there the faintest approach to illusion in the two disguises of the pert waiting woman, Despina, first as a doctor and afterward as a notary. But it is all an excuse for some flimsy fooling for which Mozart left us incomparable music.

The venerable sages who have written erudite tomes about the most extraordinary of composers have with one accord underrated "Cosi fan tutte." Either that is the case or we jaded opera addicts of today have suddenly found a new stimulus for our appetites. We may comfort ourselves with the belief that the fault lies with the fathers. Many of us have clear and even brilliant recollections of "Don Giovanni," "Le Nozze di Figaro" and "Die Zauberflöte." Their best melodies, their most vivacious ensembles, their most effective finales readily recur to us. When, therefore, we find ourselves lifted into regions of celestial delight by the truly divine musical numbers of "Cosi fan tutte" we do not hesitate to declare that it is good music and that this score, so often dismissed with ill disguised pity, is a masterpiece.

If there be in some obsolete opera a duet as ravishing as "Ah, guarda sorella," a bravura air as dramatic and sweeping as "Smanie implacabili" or a trio as heavenly as "Soave sia il vento," let us all hope for a speedy resurrection of that score. Of course in the Metropolitan performance there are cuts and some of the numbers are shifted about so that they do not occupy their original places, but nothing essential has been omitted. Even the antiquated Italian recitatives, enlivened from time to time by passages for voices in mellifluous concords, are good to hear in this era of vocal violence and frequent parlando.

It would be no formidable task to deliver a learned discourse on Mozart's form and methods. But it is not worth while. A public which makes no note of the difference between an opera constructed of set airs united by secco recitative and one from which the latter element has been abolished, as well as the formal "number," finds the old-fashioned musical speech sufficient for the more old-fashioned farce. And when the whole matter is presented to the auditor with so much spirit and technical skill as it is at the Metropolitan, there is no need of the support of learned argument.

This production has thrown a new light on the quality of the Metropolitan company. The only "star" in the cast is Mr. de Luca, who impersonates one of the ridiculous lovers for whom the plot is intended to provide a school of instruction. Mr. de Luca is an operatic artist of ability. That he would unburden himself easily of the rapid and flexible speech of Guglielmo in the vivacious dialogue of the opera was a foregone conclusion. Also his singing in the more important passages is laudable and at times even more than merely good. But the part is not one in which an opera singer can earn his greenest laurels.

George Meader, the tenor, is an American, who has distinguished himself as an interpreter of songs. His voice is not one of importance, but his musical intelligence is sound and he delivers Mozart's music with real knowledge of style. Miss Frances Peralta, the Dorabella, is also an American, and her singing has proved to be far above the standard reached by her in other rôles. In Aida, for example, she indulged in the strenuous manner so popular at the Metropolitan. But in "Cosi fan tutte" she sings with restraint, with unexpected skill in sustained phrases, and with no small amount of interpretative color. Miss Bori is quite captivating as Despina, the extraordinary maid who aids and abets Don Alfonso in his scheme to reveal the inconstancy of the sisters. Her acting is full of spirit, perhaps a little extravagant at times, and she has disclosed a vis comica which no one supposed she possessed. Her voice is well suited to the music, albeit she does not always get out of her numbers all that is in them. But she is a continual delight to the audience, and as that is what she is there for, we should be grateful.

Mr. Didur is an actor of versatility and he makes much of Don Alfonso. Also he sings this music better than he has sung anything in many moons. Mme. Florence Easton as Fiordiligi has achieved an artistic triumph even greater than that of her Sieglinde. She sings the music with splendid breadth of style, with ravishing beauty of tone, with technical mastery of the first order. Her delivery of Mozart's bravura, which is not flippant coloratura, but something in the grand style, is that of a singer of high rank. It ought to be worth the thought of other members of the company to consider how audiences have received her singing. The outburst of enthusiasm which followed her principal number at the second performance of the opera was spontaneous and came from all over the house.

New Books and Old

Many a novelist might cry, in his anguish, "Save me from my blurb writer!" Many a novel, inconspicuously mediocre, or mildly silly, is lifted to an eminence of folly by the injudicious advertiser, or the foolish friend. A great many of the readers who were disgusted with "Three Soldiers" might never have given the book a second thought if the blurb writer had not called this long-drawn whine "the cry of American youth." It was a little like painting a portrait of Grover Cleveland Bergdoll, and naming it "The Spirit of 1917." So with Mr. Sinclair Lewis's prize piece of nonsense, about "The Narrow House," beginning "Salute to Evelyn Scott!" Mr. Waldo Frank's novel "Rahab" (Boni & Liveright), written in cubist English, has already been temperately discussed in this paper by Mr. Boynton, but has been denounced by such sympathizers with innovations as Messrs. Heywood Broun, F. P. Adams, and Burton Rascoe. It was jumped on in the house of its friends, who found it affected and insincere. The blurb writer who composed the notice about it upon its jacket said that it would be attacked by the critical descendants of those who attacked and reviled Walt Whitman and Wagner. Which reminds me of the logic familiar a few years ago: Lincoln was attacked, and Woodrow Wilson is being attacked; therefore Woodrow Wilson—

Mr. Kenneth L. Roberts is an outspoken person. He writes, after an interview with King Constantine, that "the King of Greece is about as big, mentally, as a pint of snow-water half poured out." Mr. Roberts writes about conditions in Poland, in Russia, in the countries which once constituted Austria-Hungary, in Greece, and in Constantinople. He ends with a merry description of the Wet vs. Dry campaign in Scotland, and why the Scotch and English love Pussyfoot Johnson. This is in his "Why Europe Leaves Home" (Bobbs-Merrill).

In his "My Memories of Eighty Years" (Scribner) Mr. Depew relates a story told him by Robert Browning. During the entertainments in England for the Shah of Persia, every effort was made to give as much splendor as possible to all functions, to offset the ceremonious reception of the Shah in Russia. At a dinner, given by the Duke of Sutherland, everybody came in whatever official costume he could claim a right to—all the peers wore their robes. Browning had only a degree from Oxford, but as that entitled him to a scarlet gown, he wore that. Outranked, however, he was sitting at the foot of the table, when the Shah asked: "Who is that distinguished looking gentleman in the scarlet cloak at the other end of the table?" The host replied: "That is one of our greatest poets." The Shah answered:

"That is no place for a poet; bring him up here, and let him sit next to me." So the poet took the seat of honor, and the Shah said to Browning: "I am glad to have you next to me, for I am a poet myself." The Shah asked for whatever he liked, and to one beautiful woman he remarked that she was the most beautiful he had seen in England, and that he wished to take her back to Persia with him. "But, your Majesty, I am married." "Well," replied the Shah, "bring your husband along. When we get to Teheran, my capital, I will take care of him."

Mr. Thomas Thorneley's "Verses from Fen and Fell" (Cambridge University Press) have appeared in a second and enlarged edition. They recall such lovers of and such artists with metre and rhyme as Calverley, from the past generation, and Patrick Chalmers from contemporaries. Mr. Thorneley has an engaging fondness for addressing animals of one kind or another—just as Calverley, and more especially, Chalmers, have done. It is a temptation to quote many of these; let me cite the three opening stanzas from "On Parting with a Pet Raven."

Abandoned bird! A freak of fancy led me
To share with you my staid, decorous
home.

As wisely had I let a fairy wed me.
Or lured a mermaid from her native
home!

I little knew where frolic Fate was leading.
And can but plead that it was long ago.
When I was sympathetically reading
The poetry of Edgar Allan Poe.

I felt his Raven's eerie fascination
And something in me rising seemed to
say
(I took it at the time for inspiration)
"Be bold and buy a raven right away."

"Come, Abner, while we are alone
won't you remember that you knew
me as a boy who played the harp and
did nothing else in particular, and call
me David?" Abner began to thaw,
and David went on: "And how do you
like being in Gilead? Mahanaim isn't
much of a town compared with Gilead,
I suppose."

Hardly sounds like Biblical characters talking, does it? And yet, since a writer is using English, why should he or she not use idiomatic English, and avoid the thee-ing and thou-ing which we have been brought up to believe is necessary in a novel about the ancient Greeks or Romans or Hebrews? At any rate, this is the speech employed by Marjorie Strachey in her novel, "David, the Son of Jesse" (Century) wherein she writes, in the form of fiction, the story of King David.

To those who will like to read a poet's recollections of her voyages with her husband in flat-bottomed boats, and on land in flivvers, of camping out, and eating outdoors, and of explorations and meditations in America and England, I recommend Marguerite Wilkinson's "The Dingbat of Arcady"

(Macmillan). The Dingbat was the name of the first of the boats.

Captain Francis McCullagh, of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, was with the British Military Mission in Omsk, attached to General Kolchak's headquarters. He was captured by the Bolsheviks, saw conditions in Siberia and in Russia, saw Moscow, and Soviet rule at close quarters, and writes of it all in his "A Prisoner of the Reds" (Dutton). He is decided but not bitter in his criticism of the Bolsheviks, and he is extremely interesting in his description of Siberia. He visited Ekaterinburg, and devotes a chapter to the murder of the Tsar and his family.

A compilation and yet a singularly satisfactory biography is the life of the late Guy Scull, of which Henry Jay Case is the editor. The title is Scull's full name, "Guy Hamilton Scull" (Duffield), and any number of contributors have written to tell of Guy Scull's early days, of his life at college, from which he vanished to join the Rough Riders in the Spanish War. Then came correspondent's work in the Boer War, writing for magazines and newspapers, travel and adventure and more war-corresponding in Venezuela, the Balkans, Manchuria, and Russia. He went treasure seeking to the West Indies, roped lions in Africa, went to Mexico and Nicaragua, was deputy police commissioner hunting murderers and Black Handers in New York.

"The Mystery of Mormonism" (Dutton) is by Stuart Martin, and Mr. Martin is, I suppose, an Englishman. Most of the writers on Mormonism seem not to be Americans. My chief informant on Mormonism used to be Dr. A. Conan Doyle, from whose "Study in Scarlet" I received the impression that polygamy was only one of the gentler and more amiable vices of the Mormons. Mr. Martin's book is a considerable history, with the usual highly unpleasant portrait of Brigham Young. I do not expect it will be recommended for reading in Salt Lake City.

To choose one of the new books for companion during a vacation this spring or summer, will there be anything better than "The Le Gallienne Book of English Verse" (Boni & Liveright), edited by Richard Le Gallienne? I doubt it. In order to get so many poems into so small a book, the pages fail to be typographically beautiful—although the print is clear. But there are no other real faults. The book is actually pocket-size, albeit plump, and the contents is the best of English poetry from King Cnut (about 1025), for Mr. Le Gallienne actually goes back farther than the usual "Summer is i-comen in" with which such anthologies often begin, down to the living poets. (I wish the William Morris part included "Shameful Death.") Give me but what's in this volume found; take all the rest the sun goes round.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

Book Reviews

The Ruin of Ancient Civilization

THE RUIN OF THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATION AND THE TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY. WITH SOME CONSIDERATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE EUROPE OF TODAY. By Guglielmo Ferrero, translated by the Hon. Lady Whitehead. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

PROFESSOR FERRERO is too well known to need any introduction to English readers. He has been admired and derided as the typical "synthetic historian," the type of historian, that is, who attempts to gather up the results of previous investigation, to analyze and interpret them and then put them together again in a narrative that shall have its own new point of view and its fresh stimulus to the interest of the reading public.

This quality is eminently shown in the present brief study; for, in spite of its imposing form, it is hardly more than that, a study in two hundred generously printed pages of the causes which led to the break-up of the "classic" civilization and the triumph of Christianity over all its rivals. It has, moreover, a distinct "tendency." First published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and then in a separate volume, it was written avowedly to show analogies between the process of disintegration here described and what is going on in the world of European culture today. Ferrero's thesis is that the Græco-Roman civilization was based upon an essentially aristocratic conception of society, a society fundamentally divided into higher and lower classes and dominated by the former with the tacit acquiescence of the latter. The most striking illustration of this aristocratic domination was the Roman Senate. So long as this maintained itself, even under crippling and degrading conditions, the ancient society had at least a nominal organ of expression, a rallying point for all aristocratic elements throughout the Empire, notably, of course, in the West. When, however, society thus constituted had lost its vitality, had ceased to expand by conquest and was thrown back upon itself with no motive but to enjoy its colossal heritage, it rapidly fell a prey to two agencies, both of an anti-aristocratic character and both essentially Oriental, the divine monarchy and the universalistic philosophies and religions.

These two agencies, so Dr. Ferrero thinks, played into each other's hands. The Eastern notion of the divine monarch beneath whom all were alike subjects met at the other extreme the Eastern conception of a universal religion within which all were alike subjects of the one Supreme Being. This contact of ideas was embodied in the person of the Emperor Aurelian, who saw, if we may believe Dr. Ferrero, the solution of the problem of the age

in proclaiming the cult of Mithra as the official state religion and thus validating his own claim to divinity. We doubt whether this version of Aurelian's relation to Mithraism is correct. He may well have been an adept in this widely popular form of religious fervor, but that is a long way from being the same thing as giving to the Empire an official state religion.

Certainly Mithraism failed to solve the problem, however near it came to doing so. It failed because it did not offer a sacrificial, reconciling human figure about which the loyalty alike of individuals and of peoples could gather. Mithraism commended itself to the imperialistic idea because it left room for the notion of the emperor as a divine monarch separated from the rest of humanity. This is precisely what Christianity would not do. According to its teaching there was but one divinely human person, the God-Man under whom all souls were alike and equal.

That was its chief offense against the all-embracing perfection of Diocletian's scheme of social reform. The persecution under Diocletian was thus the last effort of the new, orientalized imperial monarchy to rid itself of what it rightly perceived to be its most dangerous antagonist. It failed of its object. Fierce and comprehensive as it was, it proved once for all that, short of extermination, Christianity could not be disposed of; and extermination was impossible.

The same line of reflection leads to the reversal of policy by Constantine. A usurper—if indeed that word has any place in the welter of world politics in the fourth century—he needed the support of every constructive element of Roman society. He frankly confesses this in the epochal Edict of Milan just ten years after Diocletian's abortive attempt. He will tolerate Christianity and every other form of religion "in order that every form of divinity in high heaven may be favorable and propitious to us and to all our subjects." Ferrero kindly spares us all the legendary nonsense about Constantine's "conversion." He shows him to us as a puzzled heathen trying to understand and to manage this new force which he had set loose. His one aim was to identify the interests of the Church with those of his government—the puzzle was to know what the Church was and where it was to be found. Hence the Council at Nicæa.

Our author reminds us that Christianity differed from other religions in that it would not permit itself to be permanently bureaucratized and employed in the service of the state. Its "triumph" was only the signal for the outbreak of those furious internal conflicts of opinion which, however tiresome or futile they may seem to us, were the proof of a vitality that could not be repressed by violence nor coddled into flabbiness by imperial favor. The ultimate victory of orthodoxy Ferrero ascribes to the insistence of the

best minds that the principle of divine revelation should be accepted as closed once and forever by the thought of a single, unique, never-to-be-repeated human embodiment of Deity. He thinks the dominant motive of the orthodox party was to have something fixed in the midst of the appalling changes going on about them.

Here he makes his transition to the main purpose of his book, the analogy between the third and the twentieth centuries. He reviews the struggle between the principle of authority and the claims of unlimited democracy from the French Revolution to the present moment. He sees the world of today as having shaken itself free from every traditional authority without having found any new principle to take its place. Rampant democracy has not yet provided a constructive programme that will work. And here the historian-prophet deserts us. Out of the anarchy of the third century the world was rescued by the persistence of the imperial tradition allied with the new force of an aggressive, self-conscious, personal and universal religion.

Where are the saving forces that may rescue present-day Europe from the prevailing anarchy? Ferrero raises the question, but he does not answer it. His book is a warning, but not a solution. His fear is that, if the present anarchy of government shall continue, a still worse anarchy of the intellect will be added to it. His hope seems to lie in the influence of those countries, England, France, and the United States, where governmental stability is least disturbed. If they can help the rest to regain their political and economic balance, then, so we are left to infer, the moral and spiritual forces now apparently relaxed to the point of futility may regain their tension and begin anew their work of recuperation. Thus interpreted the story of the collapse of the ancient civilization becomes, not a message of despair, but a summons to courage and loyalty.

The translation by the Hon. Lady Whitehead is little short of scandalous. Opening at random, we find on page 57 *colons libres* rendered by "free colonists" and *mensuel* by "regular." *Bretagne* does duty for "Brittany" on pages 51 and 53 and for "Britain" on page 86, where also *aurait eu le dessous* is given as "would have been the victor." On page 89 the sense is again completely lost by using "Persian" instead of "Armenian." On pages 52 and 53 "Gallus" occurs twice for "Gallienus." On page 53 occurs the cryptic statement that Posthumus "got himself recognized in Spain and in Brittany where (instead of "and") he founded a Gallo-Iberian Empire." Page 127, "Diocletian had been tempted (*avait essayé*) to, etc." Where the sense of the original is a little complicated the translator cheerfully omits, adds, or hashes at discretion.

EPHRAIM EMERTON

Tract, Fable, and Yarn

HUMBUG. *A Study in Education.* By E. M. Delafield. New York: The Macmillan Company.

TORQUIL'S SUCCESS. By Muriel Hine. New York: John Lane Company.

SAINT TERESA. By Henry Sydnor Harrison. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

THE author of "Zella Sees Herself" has never, to my thinking, quite equalled that remarkable "first novel." In succeeding books her satire has grown sharper and her characterization less firm. Mere insistence on the hypocrisy and conceit of the human animal grows wearisome. Granting that we are all cats and asses (we murmur), tell us something else—a fairy-tale, if need be! In her present inscription she alludes to "Humbug" as "the book of mine I hold most true." Alas, as the fellow said, what is truth? Does the story-teller mean that her book is especially true to herself, or to fact, or to her vision of what might be? "Humbug" is, its subtitle betrays, a novel with an idea or purpose. It is prefaced by two mottoes from Samuel Butler; it follows the example of Butler and his disciples in attacking the tyrannies and hypocrisies of domestic life, and in particular of the relation between parent and child. It is foolish and criminal for parents to treat their children as inferiors, to exact from them an unthinking obedience, to keep from them the major facts of their own physical being, and to impose education upon them as a clumsy routine instead of ushering them into it as a private paradise. True, indeed; but is it not a now generally recognized truth? Why this fresh demonstration of the theorem to which fiction some time since wrote, amid universal acclaim, its Q. E. D.? This Victorian Lily, with her pathetic ignorance and wistful yearning for "self-expression," is surely a mild and belated figure. The story of her journey toward enlightenment and toward resignation is readable, but in no sense striking.

"Torquil's Success" is the tale of a young "author" of England with a temperament and some genius, who is of no particular use to himself or anybody else as a human being to live with and work with. He is of doubtful birth. He has only the veneer of public school breeding. He turns his back on his origin, and under the pseudonym of Torquil sets out to conquer the world by way of a London attic. He writes a novel of youthful revolt, and it is taken up by a good publisher, a Richard Merriman. Merriman is a man in his fifties with a wife twenty years younger, devoted to him but "unawakened." All hail to the story-teller who has not made her young genius the means of tragic awakening for Josephine! Torquil falls in love with her, but, to do him justice, makes no attempt to win her away from his publisher and patron. On the other hand, he is not gentleman enough to stick by the man who has given him his open-

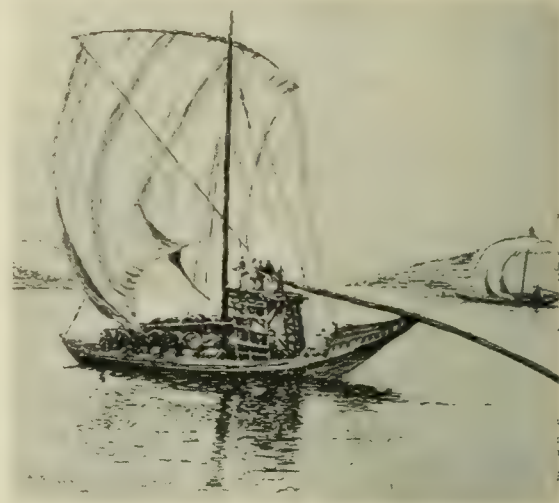
ing, when flattering offers for his later novels come from another quarter. Nor, for one of his mongrel origin and nature, is happiness possible in marriage with the wilful young aristocrat who arouses, for a time, his deeper passion. Torquil's success, up to the moment of our parting with him, is very like failure; for he has sold his talent and imprisoned his soul among the fleshpots. Only in the end, back in his Chelsea attic, with "nothing further to hope or pray for" in the way of personal happiness, a new germ of creation stirs in the mould of his dead labors and hopes. At dawn he looks out over awakening London: "The power of money awoke from slumber, the lust of the flesh, the greed for fame. But Torquil had left all these behind him. For the love of his work, he wrote." This also is a novel capably written and easy to read, but without marked force or distinction.

Mr. Harrison's "Saint Teresa" is put forth by the publishers as "a story of present-day America, so fine, so sincere, so compelling, that every reader must fall beneath its spell as it marches to its magnificent climax." What a glorious promise; how hopefully (even after making a preliminary discount of 90 per cent. or so) every reader must seek its fulfilment in these pages. Ah, me! who is every reader? or are reviewers disqualified by nature from the obligatory fall? I can read, and have read, "Saint Teresa" with a certain enjoyment as a yarn. Mr. Harrison has a good yarn to spin, and he spins well, deliberately covering his romantic machinery with a plausible garb of reality. He is a skilful writer, has the use of words, knows how to convey the illusion of character. But the product is simply a very clever piece of claptrap. There is no honestly real or honestly romantic scene here: wartime America is a setting for the author's convenience, that is all. Saint Teresa the female is an excellent invention, on the plane of the yarn. She is the negation or opposite of the recently overdone "vamp" type. Beautiful and young, rich and wilful, she resents the approaches of man the lover, and studies the art of being unattractive. Let not her yarn be told here; it involves one Masury, journalist, efficiency expert, free-lance and cave-man, and shows how a Teresa may be tamed by such. All that she asks of a man, it seems, is that he be sufficiently ill-mannered, conceited, and pompous, sufficiently bent on humiliating her for the sake of his own complacency, sufficiently brutal in moments of physical contact. Clever Mr. Harrison, to have wrenched new piquancy from the now classical horrors of the stabbing, kicking, throttling, eye-gouging battle of lumberjacks, by staging the combat in a Fifth Avenue palace and making one of the combatants a woman! Or shall we recognize his feat as an Americanization of the Apache love-scene but yesterday so popular in the cabarets of our metropolis?

H. W. BOYNTON

Peixotto Exhibition at the Hispanic Museum

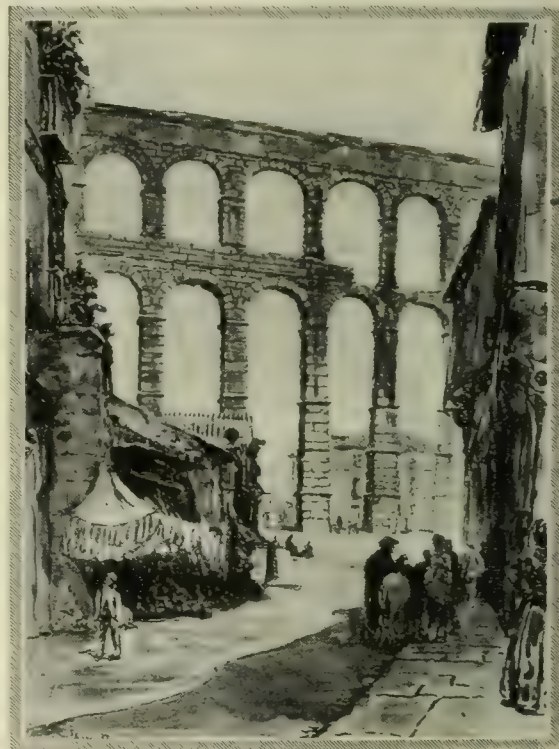
ONE of the interesting exhibitions of the present art season is the group of drawings, including several in color, by Ernest Peixotto, who has rambled among picturesque haunts in Spain and Portugal, where ancient castles and monasteries, boats and sails,



A wine boat on the Douro

and peasant types proved diverting themes. The exhibition was held recently in one of the galleries of the Hispanic Museum of America, in New York, and the entire collection has since been acquired by the Museum.

There were several oil paintings in the display which lent a note of color to the gallery and these included color-



The Aqueduct, Segovia

ful transcripts of "La Coma Vallde-mosa, Mallorca," a typical castle in Spain with purple mountains in the background; "The Pool, La Granja," with its fountains; and "The Garden of Raxa, Mallorca." Noteworthy also was "The Aqueduct, Segovia," with the quaint old market place and blue sky peeking through the arches of the structure.

Random Book Notes

MARGUERITE E. HARRISON spent eighteen months, beginning February, 1920, in Russia. Ten of these months she was in prison. She describes her experiences in "Marooned in Moscow" (Doran). She went to the country as an American newspaper correspondent, but her manner of entering the country caused the Soviet authorities to put her in prison. Her descriptions are graphic and her logic is innocent. She met Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—the latter was not a violent person with a bomb, as she had supposed, but gentle in manner and soft-spoken. And this proves—what? We may not like the Soviet Government, she says in conclusion, but we in America should "co-operate" with it, or they will establish something worse. "Here I am drunk, and you must give me some money for more drink, or I'll have the D. T.'s all over the place."

Another book on Einstein is "Einstein the Searcher" (Dutton, \$5.00), which is an explanation of his work derived from dialogues with the scientist, by Alexander Moszkowski. The translator is Henry L. Brose.

Dr. L. Haden Guest has written an economic and political survey of Central Europe and Russia, in the years since the War, in "The Struggle for Power in Europe, 1917-1921" (Doran, \$4.50).

The leading figure in Germany is described in Hermann Brinckmeyer's "Hugo Stinnes" (Huebsch, \$1.50).

Stephen Graham is one of the most interesting of writers, and his "Europe—Whither Bound?" (Appleton, \$2.00) consists of letters which he wrote in 1921 from Athens, Constantinople, Sofia, Belgrade, Budapest, Vienna, Prague, Warsaw, Berlin, and Rome.

There was nothing insignificant to M. Fabre. His latest work to appear in translation is "The Life of the Weevil" (Dodd, \$2.50).

A curious book of folk-songs and lore is "Negro Folk Rhymes" (Macmillan, \$2.25) compiled by Thomas W. Talley of Fisk University. Mr. Talley contributes a study of the subject; the music is given in some instances. Here is a typical rhyme:

MUD-LOG POND.

As I stepped down by de Mud Log pon'
I seed dat bullfrog wid his shoe-boots on.

His eyes wus glass, an' his heels wus brass;

An' I give him a dollar fer to let me pass.

Of all religious orders which have provoked controversy the Jesuits are probably first. An admirable history of the Order, from the viewpoint of one of its members, is the extensive work of Thomas J. Campbell, S. J., "The Jesuits, 1534-1921" (Encyclopædia Press, \$6.00), a history of the Society of Jesus from its foundation to the present time.

Ellery C. Stowell dedicates his "Intervention in International Law" (John Byrne & Co.) to "the spirit of high idealism and practicality" in the foreign policy of Theodore Roosevelt and Sir Edward Grey.

In "Penology in the United States" (Winston, \$3.00) Louis N. Robinson studies the whole question of legal punishment—the jail, the workhouse, the reformatory, the penitentiary, the phases of prison life, and the other forms of punishment such as flogging and loss of civil rights.

Every aspect of the foreign language press in America, its origin, European background, its advertisements, circulation in cities and in rural districts, its political attitude and influence, are described in Robert E. Park's "The Immigrant Press and Its Control" (Harper, \$2.50). One of the most interesting sections is that describing the manipulations of Louis N. Hammerling of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers. The chapter which follows describes enemy propaganda, 1914-1917, the doings of the German-American societies, the activities of Dr. Heinrich Albert and Herr Dernberg, all the "Peace" societies which furthered the German aims, the plans for the purchase of American newspapers, the sermons of the Rev. John Haynes Holmes which were used by the German General Staff to distribute in the British Fifth Army before the German offensive of March, 1918, and the German intrigues in this country with the Indian nationalists and the Sinn Fein.

Poems by women, from Anne Askew, who was martyred in 1546, to writers still alive, appear in "A Book of Women's Verse" (Oxford University Press) under the editorship of S. C. Squire. The poets are nearly all Englishwomen, although a few others, like Julia Ward Howe, are included.

Arthur B. Keith's "War Government of The British Dominions" (Clarendon Press) is one of the series: "Economic and Social History of the World War." Another volume in the same series is Arthur L. Bowley's "Prices and Wages in the United Kingdom, 1914-1920."

Henry T. Finck's "Gardening with Brains" (Harper, \$2.50) is a thoroughly interesting book which can be read with pleasure from beginning to end. He talks of vegetable gardens, flower gardens, trees, fruit-growing, the natural enemies of gardeners, and garden pests of all kinds. It is practical for consultation; also it is entertaining in its generalizations.

The political situation in the Balkan States is described in "Near Eastern Affairs and Conditions" (Macmillan, \$2.25) by Stephen Panaretoff, who has for many years been Bulgarian Minister to the United States. These lectures were given at Williams College last year.

Discussion of a favorite Homeric topic is the subject of Professor John A. Scott's "The Unity of Homer" (University of California Press).


The Bankers Say—

MANY substantial reasons for certainty that business forces are gathering into a strong current of prosperity are seen by the nation's bankers in the present course of events. Strikes and threatened strikes are considered the chief unfavorable element in the business picture.

"An increasingly healthy banking situation, an advance in high grade investment issues, an improvement in the international exchanges, and reports of changing economic and political conditions abroad give a new tone to business sentiment," says the *Mechanics and Metals National Bank of New York*, striking the general key of the comment. "Moreover, there is the assurance that actual improvement has occurred in business. Various trades show expanding volume. In other recent years there was a continuous decrease in railroad loadings from December to this date. This year there has been a continuous increase. Most people are inclined to interpret the favorable developments as decidedly encouraging, and are accepting them as an indication that an era of more prosperous times for the entire commercial establishment of the country is ahead."

This generalized statement is supported, department by department, by business. Speaks the voice of the farming districts through the *Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis*: "A better state of mind among Northwestern retail merchants and dealers is reported by wholesale merchants, manufacturers, and jobbers. Implement houses state that inquiries are much more numerous than last year at this time. This industry has felt the effects of the farmers' crippled purchasing power. The selling prices of farm implements are being materially reduced. It must not be expected that any very considerable improvement in the volume of business can result in the Northwest between now and September. The chief gain has been the lagging revival of confidence. There has been a constantly diminishing spread between the prices of what the farmer sells and what he buys, and this, in part, is the reason for the better feeling throughout the district. But also this feeling is due to a gradual realization by agriculturalists that theirs is not the only business that has suffered by the price deflation. If a hipped farmer has craved company he has not had far to go."

Even more forthright is the testimony of the *Anglo and London Paris National Bank of San Francisco* regarding the mining situation: "There is an evident beginning of a revival in our mineral industries which have been greatly depressed during the two years just passed. There is a feeling of confidence resulting in extensive preparatory work which has been lacking for several years. It has for some time been impossible in this or any other country to operate gold mines without



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loss. The gold dollar would buy no more than the paper dollar and only in the richest mines would the gold taken out pay for the labor and materials at current wages and prices.* Materials now cost less. Men who were attracted by the high wages of the war industries are now drifting back into the country. All are willing to accept wages which the industry can pay. The result is the rapid reopening of closed mines and the resumption of preparatory work in nearly all. And that feeling is typical of the mining industry generally."

Of the great basic industrial metal, the *First Wisconsin National Bank of Milwaukee* says: "Employment returns show gains for iron and steel and their products. The manufacture of machinery is receiving stimulation from the large orders recently placed by the railroads, from the automobile industry, from recent quickening of activity in farm implements and prospective activity in road building. All of these causes together have not produced any great effects, but there are reasons for thinking that the industry is moving steadily into a stronger position."

Fundamental improvement in the mercantile aspect of the nation's life is emphasized by the *First National Bank of Philadelphia*: "The country is emerging from the period of hazardous inventories and is fast readjusting its business upon a safe price level. The situation has been greatly clarified and while the list of failures is still very large, business generally is being done conservatively and on a basis of modest profits. Deflation has been attended with many benefits and business men are conducting their affairs with great caution."

The *First National Bank of Boston* sees general improvement, but notes the hampering effects of strikes: "A comparison between today and a year ago shows clearly a pronounced betterment in basic trade conditions; more volume; more concerns registering monthly profits; fewer businesses accumulating losses; and, vitally important, a distinct improvement in the relation between prices of farm products and finished goods. The inexorable economic pressure, exerting itself to bring down prices of finished goods and services, is evidenced by the strike situation, representing the resistance of labor to this much-desired return to normal price relations. New England has its full share of strikes, the labor situation in shoe manufacturing temporarily being overshadowed by the cotton textile strikes. Partly as a result of diminished retail demand and partly on account of an unsettled price situation due to expected lower wages and prices, even the most strongly entrenched cotton mills are curtailing, with many mills inclined to shut down entirely."

The *Girard Trust Company of Philadelphia* is confident that a sound basis for taxation relief for business is the practical result of the Washington Conference: "While men call it dis-

armament or a naval holiday, it is really a taxpayers' holiday. The more of the taxpayers' money that is kept out of war supplies, the more there will be to spend for other things. Business of all kinds, except munition manufacture, should expand as a result of reduced taxation. Capital can be accumulated again, and as fast as it grows it will seek a place to work. That will mean new life-blood for a thousand industries, new extensions to factories, enlargement of plants, home building, better railroad facilities, a higher standard of living for everybody and at a smaller cost."

The Braddock National Bank, Braddock, Pennsylvania: "The outlook generally is better than it was a month ago and, if it is possible to avert a serious coal strike, there is a fair prospect of progressive recovery in many lines. The wage dollar is buying better service than it did and it is likely to become even more productive as the country has still a larger surplus of workers than is ordinarily employed at this time. Luxury expenditures are declining, the nation is thinking again in terms of sane finance, and, while there is a broad demand for accommodation, the credit tension has been materially relieved. Furthermore, the country's bank position represents almost record-breaking strength.

Both governmental and academic reviews are in accord with the opinions expressed by the bankers. Says the monthly Department of Commerce survey: "Production has in general increased, stocks have been reduced, and prices have become more stabilized. Although the general price level continued to decline farm prices have advanced, thus putting increased purchasing power in the hands of the producers. Increased business from the rural districts is already seen. Increased employment and a decline in immigration evidence a more healthy condition for labor. Transportation statistics indicate improved conditions for the railroads." *Harvard Economic Service* weekly letter: "Improvement is reflected by the advance in speculation and the downward movement in money rates. The rise of security prices and the decline of money rates since last summer give strong support for the forecast that the upward movement of business last month will shortly be followed by a still greater increase in business activity."

The opinions and judgments thus expressed by bankers throughout the country seem to be borne out by the decidedly buoyant tone of the stock market during the past fortnight. The coal strike, to be sure, has taken place and is now in full swing, but the fact that it occupies little space on the front page seems to reflect the feeling that the menace is not regarded as serious at the present time. The New England textile strike is apparently affording some useful liquidation. The state of the bond market proves beyond question the abundance of money.



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VI

MR. H. G. WELLS, in his remarkably stimulating "Outline of History," sets forward his belief that nationalism is an evil, and that Britannia, Germania, and Columbia are, as it were, tribal gods before whom the men of today sacrifice themselves. Mr. Wells sees, in the future, the passing away of nationalism and the coming of world unity.

Others besides Mr. Wells look forward to world unity. The leaders of Soviet Russia, for example, lose no opportunity to try to make all the world Bolshevistic. Russian agents are said to have worked hard in Germany and in India; and a fund of many million dollars, wrung from starving Russia, was reported to be doing missionary work for Bolshevism in the United States. Various types of so-called "workers" have proposed at different times to overthrow established governments and to create world unity. Now and then such a startling event as the Wall Street explosion reminds people that there are in the world men who take such theories seriously.

If someone were to rush up to you and say: "My house is on fire! Set yours on fire, too, and we'll be just alike!" you would call him crazy. The Russian call for the overthrow of nationalism, and the call from many other sources, is not a call for the happiness of the people as a whole, but a call for a new tyranny—that of the ignorant mob led by a few who are both ignorant and unscrupulous. The mere dreamers, who have no new tyranny in view, point to nothing at all stable or substantial to take the place of the nationalism that they would overthrow.

Out of centuries of blood and sacrifice, of tears and prayers, and of hopeful, highly intelligent, purposeful work, the nations have been evolved. Surely, the best and quickest way by which to bring about world concord is through the highest and noblest development of nationalism, just as the best and quickest way by which to bring about any civilization is through the highest and noblest development of individual life.

On this subject, William Shakespeare, who was a great thinker and therefore a great poet, had no doubts. In his play, "Henry V," he presents his ideal of a true nationalist and patriot.

Some have said that King Henry V is Shakespeare's highest ideal of a loyal gentleman, the ideal to which he would have every citizen aspire. When urged into war with France, Henry demands careful consideration and full study of the facts. He treats every

man as an individual and a brother. In battle he is a leader, and in despair he is patient, resourceful, and ready to fight to the death. In victory he seeks, not for triumph, but for lasting peace. His whole thought is for his country, and for that country he is at any time ready to die. The play is an heroic poem in praise of love of country. In it is that spirit of undying and never-surrendering patriotism, made visible in the fight with the Spanish Armada; in Nelson's victories at Copenhagen, the Nile, and Trafalgar; in the defense of Lucknow; and in the trenches of France. That spirit has built up an enduring and substantial civilization in which right becomes more and more triumphant. To suggest replacing it by subtle schemes of tyranny by the ignorant, or by vapory plans that offer no holding units is to suggest turning civilization backward. World brotherhood can not possibly come except through the highest development of nationalities.

Shakespeare's "Henry V" emphasizes some of the duties that fall upon all citizens in the development of the best national life. One of these is the encouragement of peace, "Dear nurse of arts, plenties, and joyful births." "Take heed," says Shakespeare, "how you awake our sleeping soul of war."

Shakespeare was no friend of total disarmament. He believed that a nation, like a man, should be ready for self-defense, and not exposed as a helpless prey to some covetous enemy. "Peace itself should not so dull a kingdom, though war nor no known quarrel were in question, but that defenses, musters, preparations, should be maintained."

Above all else "Henry V" sets forward an absolute and unblemished loyalty to nation and flag. In the early part of the play three traitors are discovered and condemned, but their story is told with such restrained simplicity and lack of passion that they appear as self-condemned wretches, utterly unworthy to share in a glorious national life. In strong contrast with this episode is the body of loyal soldiers who stand with the king facing an utterly superior foe—and every man (like those later men with the Light Brigade) ready to die, but to die fighting. "We are in great danger," says the king; "the greater therefore should our courage be." Some thought like that must have been in the minds of Washington at Valley Forge; of the men at Gettysburg; and of the little armies that stemmed the first German advance. In the play absolute loyalty wins, as it has won many a time in history. Indeed, from absolute and unswerving loyalty, even to the death, has come most of the good that we possess. Law and order have been bought at too great sacrifice to throw away idly.

The play is a royal play, but it emphasizes democracy, fellowship, and common manhood, for while it says "Every subject's duty is the king's," it also says "Every subject's soul is his own."

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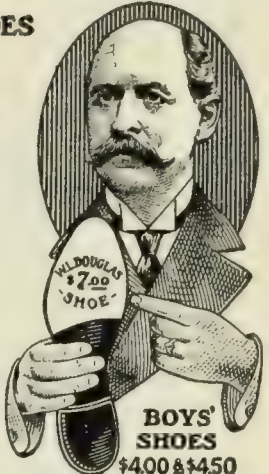
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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. New Letters of Byron.

1. Explain why the appearance of two new volumes of letters by Byron should be hailed as a considerable event.
2. What value is gained by studying the letters written by famous people of the past?
3. Prepare a list of five volumes containing letters written by great authors. Ask your librarian to assist you in the preparation of a list that will be helpful to young readers.
4. What are the characteristics of President Roosevelt's letters to his children?
5. What does Carlyle say in his "Essay on Burns" concerning the difference between Burns's work as a poet and Burns's work as a letter-writer?
6. What are the characteristics of an ideal friendly letter?
7. Copy from any volume of letters written by a well-known author a single letter that illustrates thoroughly good principles in letter-writing. Read the letter aloud to your class, and point out its praiseworthy features.
8. What are the reasons that lead people to believe Byron was a great poet?
9. Name five of Byron's best-known lyrics. Read one of them aloud, and tell why it is worthy of note.
10. Explain in detail the respects in which Byron was both picturesque and romantic.
11. Why would some people prefer a single volume of new letters by Keats to a half dozen volumes of new letters by Byron?
12. What experiences led Byron to write "Childe Harold"? What passages in that poem are especially famous?
13. Explain in what respects the poetry of Byron differs from the poetry of Wordsworth, of Shelley, and of Keats.
14. Explain in full the following sentence: "Keats, more than anyone else, bequeathed to Tennyson and to the Pre-Raphaelites and to the later comers the meaning that the name of poetry had for them and that it still has for ourselves."
15. What was the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and what was its purpose?

II. Renunciation.

1. What do the rose and the poppy symbolize?
2. Explain the relation of the last stanza of the poem to the preceding three stanzas.

III. Book Reviews.

1. What is a "synthetic historian"? How does his work differ from the work of other historians?
2. Name three historians who have written histories that are classed as works of literature.
3. Name at least two famous American writers of history.
4. What led Francis Parkman to write "The Oregon Trail"? Was Parkman a "synthetic historian"?
5. What is an analogy? What points does Professor Ferrero make in his analogy between the third and the twentieth centuries?
6. Give a talk in which you emphasize what Professor Ferrero says are the dangers that confront modern civilization.
7. Write a short composition in which you show what the work of the public schools may accomplish for the world of today.

IV. New Books and Old.

1. What is a "blurb"? Write a "blurb" for one of the books you have read in your course in English. Write it so appealingly that one who reads it will wish to buy the book.
2. Arrange a class contest in "blurb" writing on the books read in your course in English. Your teacher will do well to excuse the winners from at least one written exercise.

V. A Richly Deserved Honor.

1. Prepare, on the work of Booker Washington, an address that will show that he richly deserved the honor of a statue in his memory.

VI. Housing Troubles and the Way Out.

1. Summarize the principles that should govern the proper construction of dwellings.
2. Draw from this article, and from other articles in this issue, suitable propositions for class debates.

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. Summaries.

1. Add to your summaries the developments of the week in relation to War Debts, Strikes and Lockouts, Ireland, Merchant Marine, etc.

II. Lloyd George's Pyrrhic Victory. The British Empire.

1. Look up the victory of Pyrrhus and see what the expression means. In what way was the victory of Lloyd George a Pyrrhic victory?
2. On what occasions has Secretary Hughes officially expressed his view concerning Russia? State that view. Show how its basis is moral principle.
3. Outline the comparison of the situations of Lenin and Lloyd George.
4. Look up the career of the Younger Pitt. Compare the situations of the two men alluded to by Lloyd George. Out of this develop a comparison of the relation of England to the French Revolution with the relation of England to the Russian Revolution.
5. Summarize Lloyd George's analysis of European conditions.
6. What values of the Genoa Conference are here mentioned?
7. Taking the "Cannes conditions" and the promises of Lloyd George to the Commons into account what are the limitations upon any agreement with Russia? To what extent are the Russian representatives likely to agree to those limitations?

III. "Broken Pledges" in the Coal Conflict, The Issues in the Coal Strike. Domestic Affairs.

1. Constituting yourselves a jury render your verdict on the questions asked by Mr. Baker at the end of his article.
2. State the demands of each side. What are "The Issues in the Coal Strike" as defined by the editor? Do you agree with his conclusions on a national union of miners? Are there any national unions in other labor fields?
3. Are there nation-wide monopolies controlled by capitalists in this country?

IV. Housing Troubles and the Way Out.

1. How does this article suggest a way of ultimately solving the housing difficulty? Would it apply to the housing difficulties of your locality?
2. Describe the improvement in the character of housing facilities in New York City since the Civil War. To what extent is this due to legislation? Explain the requirement of the present tenement house law.
3. Show "the serious consequences of the present overcrowding and shortage in homes."
4. Has your locality escaped any of the evils found in the history of the housing problems of New York?

V. Has the President Surrendered to the Spoilsmen? Domestic Affairs.

1. Describe the circumstances in American history which led to the enunciation of "the maxim that to the victors belong the spoils." Explain the growth of the spoils system. What were its evil effects?
2. Describe how the merit system "has been built up through the successive advances made by President after President during four decades."
3. State the facts of the present situation as far as known which lead to interest in the question.

VI. A Richly Deserved Honor.

1. Look up the story of Booker T. Washington's life. What were the "great qualities" he possessed and what was the good he accomplished?
2. In what other lines have negroes done notable work?

VII. The Ruin of Ancient Civilization.

1. Look up the work of Professor Ferrero as a historian. What parts of it are good for outside reading in high school work?
2. Look up and compare the Europe of the third century with the Europe of the twentieth century.

VIII. Nationalism and Shakespeare's "Henry V."

1. Describe the growth of nationality in Europe in the nineteenth century.
2. To what extent was the World War an aid to the growth of nationalism?
3. Describe the attempts to attain world unity through a development of empire. What celebrated characters of history have been strongly influenced by the ideal of a world empire?

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

April 22, 1922



Obregon's Fifth Ace

By Chester T. Crowell

Mr. Crowell resided in Mexico several years as one of the editors of "The Mexican Herald." He is now the manager of The National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico and the Association of American Owners of Lands in Mexico, organizations which are composed of several thousand American companies and individuals seeking to safeguard their legitimate property interests in that country. His point of view is naturally that of one concerned with the protection of American interests, but this in no wise detracts from the value of his presentation of the facts, and readers of "The Independent and The Weekly Review" who recall his articles on other subjects do not need to be reminded of his keenness of observation or honesty of exposition.

NEARLY every American citizen knows that there is such a thing as the Mexican problem. But if you ask him just what the Mexican problem is, you will generally find that quite frankly he does not know, or that he has a number of hazy ideas. A considerable portion of the American public is still under the impression that the Mexican problem is Francisco Villa. A great many more blithely take it for granted that the Mexican problem ended when Villa turned farmer.

Literally hundreds of thousands of columns of space are taken up in the newspapers every year with discussions of the Mexican problem. A clipping bureau delivers to me an average of three hundred clippings a day on Mexico. The editors are practically unanimous in regarding the Mexican problem as extremely complicated. I am sure the public agrees with them. It ought, therefore, to be interesting to know that Secretary of State Hughes defined the Mexican problem in twenty-five words, and discussed it fully, together with the proposal of a remedy, in a little over half a column of newspaper space. In his statement issued June 7, 1921, defining the Mexican problem and laying down the policy of this Government, he said: "The fundamental question which confronts the Government of the United States in considering its relations with Mexico is the safeguarding of property rights against confiscation." That is just about all there is to it, but the next sentence is also informative. "Mexico is free to adopt any policy which she pleases with respect to her public lands, but she is not free to destroy without compensation valid titles which have been obtained by American citizens under Mexican laws."

The Mexican Constitution, imposed by military force and in a very irregular manner upon the Mexican people by President Venustiano Carranza on May 1, 1917, is a Bolshevik document. It was prepared and fostered by radicals. It was not only radical but it was intended to drive foreigners out of Mexico, confiscate their properties, and

effectively discourage them from ever trying to come in again.

Having promulgated and begun to enforce this document, the Mexican Government discovered, doubtless to its chagrin, that recognition by the United States is essential to the stability of any Mexican government. It was confronted then with the problem of inducing the United States to recognize formally a Bolshevik constitution. In order to accomplish this the Mexicans launched an extraordinary campaign of propaganda in this country. Literally millions of dollars were lavished upon special agents, orators, lobbyists, publicity, and excursions into Mexico marked by the most elaborate entertainment. It was a game for big stakes and it still is a game for big stakes.

American citizens have invested in Mexico somewhere between one and two billions of dollars. Practically all of this property is subject to confiscation under the Constitution of 1917. Much of it has already been confiscated. If recognition can be obtained without qualification, such as Secretary of State Hughes has demanded in the form of a treaty, the greatest *coup d'état* in the history of the world will have been consummated.

The general trend of this Mexican propaganda is to the effect that there will be no confiscation and no retroactive laws. But the laws and the Constitution are by express terms—and very clear terms—both retroactive and confiscatory. Taking the propaganda and unofficial declarations of the Mexican Government on the one hand, and the all too clear Constitution and laws on the other hand, Secretary Hughes wrote in his statement of June 7: "If Mexico does not contemplate a confiscatory policy, the Government of the United States can conceive of no possible objection to the treaty."

Confronted with this simple and homely reasoning, the Mexicans hastily produced an excuse for being unable to sign the treaty. They cannot sign the treaty because it is humiliating to their national pride. Now this is very

strange indeed, because after the War of 1848-9, when the Mexican nation was prostrate before victorious American armies and the treaty of Guadalupe was signed at the point of the bayonet, the United States Government dictated just what should be the status of an American citizen in Mexico—and then went on to state that these provisions were binding up both Governments. In other words, the United States Government said in effect: "You shall treat Americans in Mexico thus and so and their rights shall be thus and such. But the rights of Mexicans in the United States shall be exactly the same."

Now that is all the United States Government is contending for today. A Mexican has the same rights before the courts in this country as an American. He has the same right to own property. He cannot be deported without judicial proceedings. But the Mexican Constitution of 1917 provides that any foreigner may be expelled from the country upon the *ipse dixit* of the President without any judicial proceedings whatever or even the assignment of a reason. No foreigner may own land within one hundred kilometers of the border nor within fifty kilometers of the seashore. No foreigner may own land at all unless he signs a declaration agreeing that, in respect to his property rights in Mexico, he will never appeal to his own Government, regardless of what happens to him. Under this Constitution no foreigner may preach religion in Mexico. The Bolsheviks who prepared and promulgated the Constitution of 1917 agreed with the Russians of their ilk that all religion was abominable. However, while they have hec-tored and persecuted and harassed the Catholics, they have courted favor with the Protestants, and the reason for this is manifest. The Protestant churches in Mexico are nearly all branches of American churches whose good-will was valuable for propaganda purposes. I have never heard of an American Protestant missionary to Mexico who was not warmly in favor of the recognition of the Mexican Government. Also, I have never heard of one who had read Article 27 of the Constitution and knew that he was violating the law by conducting religious services in Mexico and that his church, by express provision of that same article of the Constitution, was liable to seizure by the Government.

The general trend of Mexican propaganda in the United States at present is to the effect that General Obregon would gladly meet the Hughes terms and direct his Government along lines that would make it admissible into the family of nations respecting private property, but that he is opposed by his Congress and that, if he did what he yearns to do, his Government would be overthrown. The truth of the matter is that General Obregon rose to power under Carranza and never at any time opposed the Constitution of 1917 or any of its provisions, either before or after it was promulgated. Nearly all of the important figures in his Government were important figures in the Carranza Government, and the most important figures of all in his Government have repeatedly boasted that they are radicals. General Obregon rose to power with the radicals and he has worked with them entirely. The Mexican Government is a military dictatorship and always has been. In a country in which eighty-five per cent. of the population cannot read and write, it necessarily would be a military dictatorship. Under General Diaz the military dictatorship was conservative and its constitution was conservative. At present the dictatorship is radical.

It is true that if General Obregon signed the Hughes treaty, he would probably not last two weeks. But that is not because an opposition party would throw him out. It is because his own supporters would regard him as a traitor. The contest between General Carranza and General Obregon had nothing of the aspect of a conservative on one side and radical on the other. It was a fight for power between two groups of radicals having practically

the same principles. The immediate cause of the fight was that General Carranza, after having agreed not to run for re-election and to grant a free, fair election, broke that promise and deliberately attempted to foist upon the country as his successor his Ambassador to the United States, a man who had lived a considerable portion of his life in Arizona, who was scarcely known to the Mexican public, and who was known to be intended as a mere figurehead for the Carranza clique of radicals. Obregon revolted and the Carranza Government was overthrown. Under the Constitution of 1917 he is ineligible for the presidency because that Constitution provides that no man who participates in a revolt and overthrows the Government may succeed to the presidency. Nevertheless he is there.

Carranza limited his enforcement of retroactive and confiscatory provisions of the Constitution to attempts to seize the American-owned oil properties in Mexico, worth nearly half a billion dollars. Under the Obregon Government those provisions of the Constitution which authorize the seizure of farming, grazing, and timber lands have also been enforced and hundreds of thousands of acres have been taken without even the pitiful pretense of compensation provided by the Constitution. An extensive programme of labor laws outlined in the Constitution was neglected by Carranza but is now receiving wide attention. Under these laws a workman cannot be discharged without three months' notice or pay for three months in lieu thereof. The profits of industrial concerns are limited to about ten per cent. and any surplus must be divided with the employees. A factory may not be closed for any reason without the permission of a state commission, etc., etc. These are a few samples.

In spite of all this, the question is repeatedly asked in the American press, "Why is Mexico not recognized?" The assumption seems to be that if bandits are not riding across the American boundary and shooting up border towns, all is well south of the Rio Grande.

On March 28 the principal morning newspaper of the City of Mexico, *El Excelsior*, printed an editorial sarcastically entitled "Peace Reigns." The editorial was inspired by an official statement from the Mexican War Office that there was no important uprising against the Government then in progress. And that was true. But let us read the editorial and see what was going on.

The vindication of the sacred right to refuse to pay a just debt—the screaming proclamation of the right of the tenant to possession, proprietorship, and the free use of what does not belong to him, of the peon to dispossess the land-owner, of the workman to possess himself of the factory and even to set it on fire, if it pleases him to do so—all these are not the same things as an act of rebellion against the Government, either local or general. We may have mutiny and not have rebellion, and it seems that it is not the same thing to rise against the Government as to rise against capital. Perhaps they are right. No, it is not the same. But it is worse.

The great democracy which we have set up is no more than a continuous mutiny by means of political campaigns. The great free cities are no more than an open door to thievery in which the treasury is scratched bare. Labor unions and laws for the protection of the laboring man which are announced as a political programme develop into nothing more than a continuous rebellion of the laborers against their employers. The agrarian programme is not a programme at all, but an assault upon the plantations and the assassination of their proprietors. Presenting this magnificent picture, we still ask recognition for the nation.

The facts are easily ascertained and beyond question. The case is very clear. Our Government can recognize the Mexican Government, and assume the responsibilities which recognition involves, only when the Mexican Government undertakes to fulfill the obligations of a civilized state towards its neighbors, and gives assurance of this, not by vague promises of individual leaders, but by a proper agreement officially entered into.

Voices in the Air

By Edwin E. Slosson

WHEN Whitfield, the pioneer of American evangelists, was preaching on the Philadelphia streets, Benjamin Franklin was an attentive listener. But it might have been surmised by an observer that he was not interested in the gospel message, for instead of coming closer he walked away until he had found the limit of the preacher's voice. Having paced this off, Franklin proceeded to calculate how many people could stand within the circle defined by this radius. His object was to test the truth of the statements made by Greek authors as to the size of the crowd that could be reached by one man's voice.

In this Franklin had in mind, as usual, a political as well as a physical question. For the theory prevailed that popular government was limited to the range of the human voice; that democracy was incapable of extension beyond the limits of the Greek and Italian city or the Anglo-Saxon town-meeting.

But now, by one of the miracles of science, the range of the human voice has suddenly been extended thousands of miles. Senator New addresses his constituents in Indiana from his office in the Senate building by means of the naval radio. The new telephone antennae at Arlington Heights will enable any one within 1,500 or 2,000 miles to hear the veritable voice of President Harding as he speaks to Congress. Soon, perhaps, every American citizen between the two oceans can listen to the proceedings of Congress better than if he were in the gallery and can then tell whether his representative really delivered his speech or merely got leave to print, and whether it was really interspersed with "(Applause)" and "(Laughter)" as the *Congressional Record* printed it.

Day and night the ether is filled with health talks and fairy tales, sermons and sports, music and market reports, broadcasted from various cities indiscriminately in all directions. He that hath ears to hear let him hear. Nobody can stop him or charge him a cent for eavesdropping the ether. Any ingenious boy with materials costing \$6.75 can construct his own receiving apparatus and, connecting with the waterpipe on one hand and with his wire mattress on the other, may listen to singers and to ships on high seas. Already the phonograph business has felt the shock and records are breaking in price. The motion picture theatres are thinning, as their former spectators are becoming house auditors. There are said to be half a million radio sets already in the United States, and the factories cannot fill their orders. They will soon be as common and indispensable as telephones. New apartment houses that claim "all the modern conveniences" have to add to their announcements: "wired for radio."

The reason why man's hearing has been extended across the continent is because science has given him a new and more powerful voice, a new and more sensitive ear, and a new and more efficient medium of transmission. The vocal chords by their vibration send out waves of air slightly compressed and rarefied in successive and expanding spheres. These waves are slow and feeble. They travel only about 1,200 feet a second in the open and become so exhausted as to be inaudible at a hundred yards. But electric waves travel through frictionless ether at the rate of 186,000 miles a second and are only slightly impeded by intervening matter. If now we could translate the air fluctuations that we call sound into electric fluctuations and back again, we could gain greatly in extent and speed of transmission. This was first done by the ordinary telephone, where the vibration of the diaphragm in the receiver generates a fluctuating current which, though very feeble, is sufficient to flow along the wire and set in vibration a

similar diaphragm at the other end, reproducing faintly the original voice.

The next improvement on this was the new loud-speaking and long-distance telephone, where the electric current is supplied from an external source, such as a battery or dynamo, and the voice serves merely to control its fluctuations. We may imagine that a weak-voiced speaker who wished to reach a vast crowd might talk in the ear of a man with a stentorian voice and a megaphone, who would shout his words in all directions. Then there would be stationed at the limit of audibility a circle of strong-lunged talkers who would relay the speech to a larger circle a hundred yards farther out, and so on till the whole throng was covered. This is essentially the scheme of the new system, for whenever the electric waves get too weak by long travel to actuate a telephone disk, they are reinforced by a new current that carries on the char-



Kadel & Herbert

A youthful radio enthusiast

acteristic fluctuation to the limit of its power, where it may again be relayed, and so on indefinitely.

Electric current conveying sound vibrations may be sent through wires to all connected points, or may be broadcasted equally in all directions through the ether, or both. The latest notion is to send "wireless" messages by wire. A single copper wire now often carries five different telegraph messages at a time, and to this are sometimes added some twenty telephone conversations without interference. It is now found possible to use the same wire also for the transmission of twenty or more radio messages, since these employ much longer wave lengths than the ordinary telegraph and telephone currents. These radio waves may also be superimposed on wires carrying the electric light current, so that concerts can now be sent out from municipal power stations on waves of, say, 550 meters length, and any subscriber to the service may get

his music by simply attaching his receiver to a lamp socket. We may expect in the future to get from our light company an itemized monthly bill charging so many kilowatts of power, so many kilowatts of light, so many kilowatts of music, and so many kilowatts of market reports and political speeches.

But in the broadcasting as now conducted no charge can be made to receivers, since no one knows who all are listening in. After the big manufacturing companies have sold as many receiving sets as they can and after the newspapers have got all the circulation and advertising they can out of the fad, they will not be inclined to continue to pay lavishly for broadcasting concerts, news, and bedtime stories. Then it will be a question whether the providing of ethereal amusement and information will be taken over as a governmental function or will become commercialized and fall into the hands of department stores and advertising agencies. In either case there are difficulties and dangers ahead. Indeed they have already appeared. The naval radio will no longer be permitted to carry political speeches, since the Democrats have protested against Senator New's use of it. Both parties are laying plans to carry the campaign into the ether next fall. If so, we must expect that each party will razz its rival's radios by interference waves. There is no way to prevent it. Sermons have been purposely interrupted by profanity and classical music by jazz. There are now 25,000 amateur transmission stations licensed by the United States Department of Commerce. Suppose they should all want to talk at once! Illicit stations can be easily set up but not easily discovered.

So far a fair degree of order has been maintained by voluntary agreement among the transmitters and by certain unauthorized but effective measures against those who

did not behave themselves. But this era of good feeling cannot be expected to last or stand the strain of strong feeling. There are not enough distinct wave lengths to go around and all parties and propagandists will be anxious to set up a soap box in the ether.

A quarter of the population of the United States is within earshot of WGY at Schenectady. All of them who had radio receivers were glad to listen when Dr. Steinmetz lectured on electricity the other day. But suppose he had chosen to talk on Socialism, which he is as much interested in as he is in science. Would he have been allowed to contaminate with these pernicious doctrines the pure ether of a State which has shut out Socialists from its Assembly? If cigarette advertisements should be sent out by wireless waves, will the Kansas law have power to quench them within the limits of the State? What would the American Government do if Mexico should radiate lottery advertisements over the country?

There has been fierce fighting over the control of the land, and the control of the ether is the most important of all. For the power that rules the wireless waves will shape the sentiments of the world. The invention of the radio has turned the nation into a town-meeting. But there is no chairman and no parliamentary law. This will bring about anarchy in the ether or a continental courtesy. A hundred million people must learn to listen to a few. They must tolerate antagonistic opinions and distasteful entertainments or else a censorship of the ether will be established so strict that nobody will be allowed to say anything that anybody else objects to. For anybody with an antenna long enough and a dynamo big enough could heckle any speaker anywhere and shout him down. It will be interesting to see how the primitive village commune will work on a continental scale.

Who Gets the High Price of Coal?

How the Cost Mounts Up from Pick to Bin

By Benjamin Baker

WHY is coal so high?

Who gets the price?

Like many other apparently simple questions, these can be answered intelligibly only after some preliminary explanation. What follows here deals only with broadly typical cases and figures, omitting certain features like the functions of coal wholesalers and coal brokers, which under present conditions play a negligible part in coal prices.

First, there is anthracite, which is strenuously preferred by householders in the Northeastern part of the country. Of the entire yearly production of 90,000,000 tons, about 58,000,000 is sold chiefly in sizes from egg down to and including pea, for heating and cooking in houses. The other 32,000,000 tons, in sizes from pea down to dust, are the unavoidable result of the mining processes and the breaking of larger lumps into the household sizes: these are the so-called "fines." Of these "fines" a part is burned at the mines to produce power: a part is dumped outside the mine, practically waste: a third part, possibly amounting to 15,000,000 tons, is sold at less than the labor cost of producing it because this is better than wasting it entirely. What the mine operator loses on these fine sizes he has to make up for by increasing the price of the household sizes. In other words, the price of about two-thirds of the anthracite produced has to be inflated enough to offset a heavy and unavoidable loss on the other one-third. This is a chief source of the high price of anthracite.

With bituminous coal the case is different. About the

same amount, 55,000,000 tons, is used by households outside the anthracite area. The rest (about 350,000,000 tons in 1921) is used by the industries, the railroads, and by ships. Bituminous is *par excellence* the industrial fuel of the country.

The coal price question therefore divides into two parts: (1) Anthracite (or household) prices, and (2) Bituminous, or industrial, prices.

Anthracite of the household sizes is first sold by the mine operator, in carload lots at the mine, in gross tons of 2,240 pounds. Prices are quoted at so much a ton "f. o. b. mine" (loaded on cars at the mine without charge). The buyer of coal at the mine (and it is assumed for simplicity that this buyer is a retailer, though a wholesaler or broker sometimes intervenes at this stage), pays the freight on his car of coal from the mine to the town where it is to be sold at retail to householders.

The cost to the retailer, when the carload reaches his coal yard, is represented by the price at the mine, *plus* the freight charge. Then the retailer sells these gross tons in new units of net tons of 2,000 pounds, usually charging between \$3 and \$4 a net ton in addition to mine price and freight, to cover his own expenses and profits in retailing. The retail price is therefore typically made up of three parts: (1) price at the mine, (2) freight charges, (3) retailer's charges. The market prices of egg to nut sizes on April 3 ranged from about \$7 to \$7.75 a net ton at the mines. The average retailer charges about \$3.25 a ton for his share. The sum of these two charges—\$10.25 to

\$11 a ton—plus a freight charge ranging from \$1.50 to over \$6 a ton according to distance from the mines, represents the “normal” present price of the net ton of these sizes delivered in the bin—that is, from \$12.50 to over \$18.

A very interesting example of a clearly inflated retail price built up in this fashion comes from Elizabeth, N. J., where last year the local coal dealers’ association rushed into print to defend a retail price of \$13.64 a ton. They gave these general costs, all on the net ton basis:

Cost at mine	\$7.24
Freight	2.37
Federal freight tax07
Retailer’s charges	3.96
	<hr/>
	\$13.64

The retailers’ charge of \$3.96 is above the average, and is pretty clearly excessive. After allowance for all other expenses at a fully average rate, it includes “profit, 41 cents a ton”; and “Executives, 40 cents a ton.” This item of executives has an unmistakably profiteering countenance. On the other hand, if a profit of 41 cents a ton seems large, consider that a retailer would have to sell about 6,500 tons a year—enough for about 500 average houses—to make even the modest net income of \$2,600 which Mr. Bert Jewell says is only a bare living income for the railroad mechanic. There is reason to believe that many retailers conceal under their detailed accounting charges a much larger profit than 41 cents a ton. The problem is how the consumer can discover such excessive profits, and squeeze them out. We cannot abolish the coal retailer except by coöperative undertakings of more permanence than this country has yet seen.

Mine prices of anthracite are represented by these figures, which George Otis Smith, Director of the Geological Survey vouches for as fairly representative. They apply to a shipment of egg size anthracite (mined in December, 1920, after the latest wage increases), to northern Maine. Mine labor, according to Mr. Smith, receives about 70 per cent. of the mine cost.

Cost to buyer at the mine (gross ton).....	\$6.92 *
Cost of producing at the mine:	
	per ton
Labor, inside	\$3.38
Labor, outside64
Purchasing and general colliery expense18
Administration07
	<hr/>
	\$4.27
Materials, inside	\$.79
Materials, outside57
	<hr/>
	1.36
Reserve and local taxes.....	\$.12
Insurance, workmen’s compensation, other hazards24
Depreciation, depletion, obsolescence, etc.33
	<hr/>
	.69
Cost to produce	\$6.32
Selling expense08
Margin for Federal taxes and profit.....	.52
	<hr/>
Cost to buyer at mine	\$6.92

Bituminous (industrial) coal prices have to be stated in more general terms, because bituminous is produced in many States instead of in one; under the greatest variety of cost and profit conditions; and because (owing to the long distances it is transported) it often incurs a freight charge amounting to twice the cost of the coal at the mine. (Soft coal is sold in net tons of 2,000 pounds.)

Figures which illuminate the “average” facts for soft coal were presented by the soft coal operators to the Interstate Commerce Commission last January. These figures show:

Average cost at the mine, per ton.....	\$2.13
Average freight charge per ton.....	2.27
	<hr/>
Average price to industrial buyer, in carloads along- side factory	\$4.40

The mine price was apportioned (on the basis of returns from over 500 companies) as follows:

Labor (all kinds), per ton	67.8 per cent.
Supplies	12.6 per cent.
Other operating expenses	10.8 per cent.
General expenses	8.8 per cent.

These are plainly so general that they tell very little more than the total labor share in uselessly vague “average” figures; but they are about as good as we have.

Relief from present anthracite prices is not easily discernible, especially as the State of Pennsylvania is now levying a tax on all anthracite. Retailers’ charges are in some cases probably excessive—perhaps by 50 cents a ton. But how to reach this? Freight rates might easily give a dollar a ton relief: they are based on the relatively high value of anthracite, and might perhaps be reduced without injustice to the railroads. Mine costs might be reduced somewhat, but no one in authority knows how. Director Smith, of the Geological Survey, says the only substantial remedy is to turn to other fuels, such as bituminous and coke, which nearly everyone else is obliged to use.

Bituminous prices offer a still more complete puzzle. The facts of actual cost and profit at the mine are practically unknown. Reduction in freight rates would be a considerable relief to industrial buyers. Reduction in labor wage-rates (as has already been proved by the non-union fields) would also materially lower prices. But the whole subject is in a fog that can be cleared away only by continuous Government action in determining the facts; and after the facts are known, by remedial action that cannot now be definitely forecast.

The Mother of Iscariot

THE mother of Iscariot

Was never done
Telling the women at the well,
Or in the market place,
Or on the windy roofs
At set of sun,
How of the twelve He chose
To follow Him,
Her son was one!

They wearied of the telling
Yet she erred
In such a mothering sweet way,
That through the years,
Half pitying, half envying,
They heard, and hearing, smiled,
Or shook their heads,
Or sighed,
But said no word.

Three years with Him—three years—
And then—the Dread—
The thunderous dark,
Earthquake and blinding light,
Spears—torches flaring red—
The frenzied mob—
The thieves—
And One who hung between,
With thorn-bound head.

Iscariot’s mother—afterward—
Timid and gray,
Stealing by twilight to the well,
Or through the market place,
Knowing they knew—
Heard whisperings,
Saw faces turned away,
Knew that they knew
And blamed them not—
There was no more to say. HARRY LEE



EDITORIAL



The Tariff Situation

TURNING away from the wilderness of schedules in the Senate tariff bill, and even from a comparison between that bill and the Fordney House bill which, for the time being, it displaces, there are some salient facts about the situation as a whole which it is pertinent at this moment to bring to the front.

Whether viewed from the standpoint of revenue or from that of trade, the tariff stands in a vitally different relation to the nation from what has been the case in the past. In former times, the revenue from customs duties always constituted a large proportion of the entire income of the Government; at the present time the most that the tariff is expected to bring into the Treasury is about \$300,000,000 out of a total revenue of about \$4,000,000,000. As a revenue-producer, therefore, the tariff, instead of being of capital importance, becomes a matter of altogether minor consequence. And from the standpoint of trade the contrast is quite as striking. In the momentous years since the opening of the Great War, we have not only definitely left behind the position of a debtor nation, but have become the great creditor nation of the world; and we have to reckon with the fact that a great creditor nation cannot realize on its credits except by the importation of foreign goods.

There is still another point in which the present tariff situation differs sharply from any preceding one arising out of a transfer of Federal power from the Democratic to the Republican party, or the reverse. In the platform of neither party was the tariff made a conspicuous issue. The Democrats, in a few words, "reaffirm the traditional policy of the Democratic party in favor of a tariff for revenue only," and support the policy of "basing tariff revisions upon the intelligent research of a non-partisan Commission"; the Republican declaration is as follows:

The Republican party reaffirms its belief in the protective principle, and pledges itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American labor, agriculture, and industry.

And those who remember the antecedents of the Republican platform will recognize in this cautious pronouncement the influence of the report of the Advisory Committee which had, for months before the Convention, given such careful study to the various problems affecting the campaign.

In view of all these things, it might have been hoped that the Republican leaders in Congress would approach the tariff question in a spirit notably different from that which prevailed twenty or thirty years ago. That they should have turned the making of the tariff over to a "non-partisan Commission" was, indeed, out of the question; for, say what one will, the tariff is a party issue. But they might well have referred the question to a body of competent advisers—economists

and men of affairs—in general sympathy with the Republican party's attitude on the tariff question; men who were not in principle opposed to protection, but who looked upon the question from a national standpoint and not from that of any particular interest; who, while duly guarding against any danger of disaster to established industries, would refuse to distribute tariff favors simply for the sake of conciliating the beneficiaries of the favors; who would realize that, except in cases of unmistakable justice or necessity, the desires of particular interests must give way to the general interest of the nation; and who, in fixing the tariff rates, would be guided not only by the apparent demands of the moment but by concern for the permanent policy of a nation whose relations with other nations had reached the stage at which our country has now arrived.

A tariff bill constructed in such a way as this might, indeed, have evoked much criticism, in spite of everything; but it would certainly have commanded respectful consideration. Nor was there anything to prevent the expenditure of the time necessary for its preparation. The platform made no promise of speedy action on the subject; indeed, the very words of the tariff plank, as to the uncertainty of the future, apply just as strongly today as they did in 1920. Moreover, the time that *has* been occupied with the tariff is already more than a year; only it has been occupied in log-rolling patchwork instead of systematic and broad-minded construction. The consequence is that the country has before it a bill—if we can speak of one bill when there are really two, one from the House and one from the Senate—which evokes a minimum of approval and a maximum of condemnation. The one thing that everybody knows, or thinks he knows, about it is that its average rate on importations is somewhat higher than that of the Payne-Aldrich bill, which was enacted thirteen years ago and which brought disaster to the Republican party. It is not a very good omen for the coming Congressional campaign when two of the leading Republican papers of the country have such things as these to say about the Senate bill:

If the bill is as described, believers in tariff sanity and reasonableness have need to gird themselves for another battle. If President Harding stands for re-election it is scarcely fair to handicap him as was President Taft in 1912 by the Payne-Aldrich act.—*New York Tribune*.

Nowhere is the public very jealously guarded against restricted markets and high prices. It may be said that the American public has more to gain from flourishing home industry, all the way from raw material to finished production, than the American public has to lose from higher living costs. But after the years of war inflation, with countless fingers digging mercilessly into everybody's pocket, the American consumer has his own views on that question.—*New York Herald*.

What, in all the circumstances, the majority party in Congress can do with the case is not an easy question to answer. Fantastic as the suggestion may seem at first blush, we are by no means certain that it might not be the wisest course to defer action altogether, and even at this late day to enlist the efforts of a compe-

tent body of advisers such as we have spoken of above. But it is of course hopeless to expect anything of the kind. The most that will be done is to work over the bill and improve it in this respect and that, a process by which a considerable betterment may possibly be effected. The heroic remedy we have suggested requires too much boldness, both in its mere adoption and in its proper execution, to be looked for at the hands of Congress; and besides, there is a specific factor, and a most potent one, that stands in the way. The farm bloc has been so powerful in the framing of the proposed tariff, and indulges such high—though, we are sure, almost entirely illusory—expectations of benefit from its operation, that it would probably not tolerate its abandonment or even postponement. Nevertheless, the idea is worth considering; and, while not probable, it is not altogether impossible that the situation may develop difficulties which will recommend postponement as an escape from something even worse.

Naval Efficiency Versus Pseudo-Economy

THROUGHOUT the discussions of the Arms Limitation Conference, the conduct of high naval officers, both here and in England, was irreproachable. They gave their professional services to the perfecting of plans for lessening their own professional opportunities and prestige with a loyalty and devotion that won well-merited public commendation. They effectually cleared themselves of any possible charge of jingoism.

When the naval limitations treaties were ratified, American naval officers sat down to work out the problem of organizing an efficient United States navy on the treaty basis of a 5—5—3 ratio as between England, the United States, and Japan, in the same spirit which they had shown in their efforts to assist the work of the Arms Conference. Their report called for an enlisted personnel of 140,000 men. The Senate Naval Committee, presumably with some study of the country's naval requirements, and with the reduced naval budget in mind, introduced the "Omnibus Naval Bill" which, among other provisions, called for an enlisted force of 80,000 men plus 6,000 apprentices. Now comes the naval sub-committee of the House Ways and Means Committee with a proposal for an appropriation sufficient for only 67,000 enlisted men. There is no evidence that this number represents any calculation, reasonable or unreasonable, as to the naval needs of the country. It is based on no argument related to those needs. So far as this committee's work is concerned, there is nothing by which we might judge as to whether 50,000 or 150,000 men are required.

The problem of an efficient navy on the reduced basis established by the treaties does not appear at all to have concerned these gentlemen. It does, however, concern the people of the United States very nearly. The country desires and demands a navy that shall fully meet the spirit as well as the letter of the Arms Limitation Conference as to all proper reduction of its various elements, but which, within the limits thus circumscribed, shall be as efficient as it can be made. The country is not impressed by pre-election efforts of Congressmen to overprove their disposition toward

economy when that effort is made at the expense of the efficiency of the navy. Admiral Sims appears to have summed the whole matter up very neatly when he said that a 5—2½—3 ratio instead of a 5—5—3 ratio, with the United States taking the smallest figure is, so far as fighting efficiency is concerned, a 5—0—3 navy, and that "a navy that cannot win is a useless expense." The country should have a navy fully efficient within the limitations set down by the Conference and the ensuing treaties.

Recognition—The Soviet Issue

GENOA, as was to be expected, has become a Bolshevik stage, and the actors from Moscow, who so recently were merely noisy disturbers among the spectators in the gallery, are now essaying the principal rôles and basking in the effulgence of the limelight. The main theme of the actors is Soviet recognition, a sorry comedy in the midst of the awful tragedy of a tortured people.

The play opened rather spectacularly with Chicherin's obviously insincere attempt to put forward the question of disarmament. Russia faces no threat of invasion and the only reason for maintaining an army of a million and a half is to coerce the Russian people. His object was to throw up a smoke screen and cause dissension, for he was perfectly aware that the subject was ruled out in the agenda, and he succeeded to a certain extent, thanks to the ineptitude of Barthou, the French delegate, who fell into the trap and repeated the French blunder at Washington. It would have been a simple matter for Barthou to show Chicherin's bad faith and demand adherence to the agenda.

Another spectacular act was Chicherin's protest against the inclusion of Japan and Rumania in the chief committee of the Conference, on the ground that they were occupying Russian territory. This was clever diplomacy, for while it may appear merely amusing to Western spectators, it is a strong card to play on nationalist feeling in Russia, and has a basis of justice that will win sympathy elsewhere.

The hand of Lloyd George appeared in the second act. We pointed out last week that he had apparently made a big shift in policy. Not long ago he sought an economic conference at Genoa as a means of forcing recognition of the Soviet Government; now it seems that he regards it as a way of exposing the hollowness and bad faith of the Bolshevik pretensions. At least one is led to this conclusion from an examination of the recommendations of the Allied committee of experts in regard to Russia. The terms laid down by them as the conditions of Soviet recognition are such as would, if honestly carried out, cause the downfall of the Soviet Government in a few weeks at most. In substance these terms do not differ essentially from the conditions stated by Secretary Hughes as the prerequisites of production and normal relations—safety of life, sanctity of contract, freedom of labor, recognition of just obligations, and equal justice in the courts. In form, however, they blunder characteristically. Not content to let well enough alone and leave it up to the Soviet authorities to prove their good faith, they stupidly go a step further and propose what amounts to a direct interference in Russia's affairs and an assertion of the right of extraterritoriality.

If it is assumed that the Soviet Government is acting in good faith, these proposals and demands are superfluous; if the contrary is true, they are futile. The blunder lies in the fact that it gives the Soviet delegation the opportunity to evade the real issue and protest against the violation of Russian sovereignty. Chicherin will play up these demands as implying a Chinafying of Russia, and win much sympathy.

The main issue remains—Soviet recognition. To this one end are devoted all the resources of Bolshevik diplomacy, intrigue, cunning, and propaganda. In America opinion seems somewhat confused on this issue. To many it appears no longer a moral question but one of practical expediency. It is urged that after all, no matter how we detest the autocrats of Moscow and shudder at their crimes, they have ruled Russia for four years, are firmly intrenched in power, no party is in evidence that can succeed them, and if they should fall, anarchy would ensue. It is further urged that they have learned from experience the impracticability and futility of their schemes of communism and world revolution, and once they are recognized and welcomed into the comity of nations, they will quickly conform to the customs and procedure of civilized governments. This, it is alleged, will bring Russia again into the economic life of Europe and contribute to the general welfare of a world that cannot recover while Russia remains outside.

There is much to be said for this point of view—if it would only work it would be such a simple way out of a bad situation. But the premises on which it is based are false and the solution of which it holds out hope is in reality no solution at all.

Let us for the moment overlook the moral issue and consider the baldly material facts—facts now confirmed by all competent observers. The Soviet régime rests upon the Cheka and the Red Army, and depends upon its ability to feed the army and the bureaucracy at the expense of the peasants. The famine—direct result of this policy—has begun to affect most seriously this basis of Soviet power. Less than ten per cent. of the Russian people are under direct Soviet rule today; the other nine-tenths are running their own affairs in their own way in little communities. There is, therefore, no danger of anarchy if the Bolsheviks fall. As to the reform and evolution of the Communist Government, there is little difference of opinion among those who have studied the recent utterances of the leaders.

The Soviet authorities have two definite and pressing reasons for seeking recognition at all costs. The first is the effect it would have on their power at home. Formal recognition would deal a heavy blow to the morale and the hopes of the Russian people, already beginning to show more energy and courage in opposition. The second is an immediate material one. If formal recognition is granted, it at once legalizes all the confiscations of the Bolsheviks and the transactions by which they propose to dispose of the property. Such a consummation would be monstrous.

What most people forget is that there is no immediate possibility of trade with Russia. There must first be a resumption of the production upon which any trade must be based. The prerequisites of this production are those so clearly stated by Secretary Hughes, and they are impossible under the Soviet régime. To prolong this régime artificially by recogni-

tion—and recognition involves many legal responsibilities—is to postpone the recovery of Russia and increase the material and moral sufferings of her people.

Can We Get a Better Congress?

CONGRESSMEN campaigning on the floor of the House for their own reelection have brought to the front the issue of the personnel, as distinguished from the party alignment, of Congress. Certainly Republican Congressmen who not only have failed to support the Administration, but have multiplied its difficulties, can scarcely claim that their own reelection is a party matter. A choosing of candidates precedes an election, and it is still not too late to put forward new and stronger men in place of those who have signally failed in their duties. The present Congressional panic in regard to its own reelection is not a Republican party panic nor an Administration panic; it is a panic of personal weakness; weak men on both sides of the House are exhibiting the same symptoms.

There is a chance for the people to speak out in the coming primaries—and that is the time for the voter to do his best talking and his most useful voting. Party managers would do well to cooperate with, rather than frustrate, the movement that is astir for a better class of candidates. There are able men in the present Congress, men whom it would be a pity to lose from the public service; but, by and large, a drastic change in the Congressional personnel is urgently needed.

Let us illustrate. Both Democratic and Republican members of Congress declared the Bonus bill to be one of the worst measures ever introduced in the House—and then voted for it. One of the most inflammatory speeches against the bill was delivered by a gentleman from Arkansas who denounced the measure as a "gold brick," a miserable makeshift and a fraudulent proposition—and then coolly informed his fellow members that he would vote for it. Such actions were not confined to one party. The minority report of the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee described the bill as "the due-bill, rain-check, borrow-money bonus mode of payment . . . an insult to every World War veteran," after which most of them proceeded to vote for it. We cannot but honor, in contrast with such an attitude, what is described as "the shortest speech on the subject"—that of Congressman Sisson of Mississippi, who said, "Neither my seat nor any other seat in Congress is worth the price that this bill proposes to pay for it, and I shall vote against the measure."

But an improvement in the personnel of Congress is not possible unless able men are willing not only to serve, but to endure the hardships, the drudgery, the uncertainties of campaigning in order to serve. We are credibly informed that party managers of both parties have seldom experienced so great a difficulty in persuading the right type of men to appear as candidates. The country needs the service in Congress of men of the type to whom such service is a sacrifice. The most potent means of removing their unwillingness is the manifestation by their fellow-citizens of a strong desire for their service. The pre-primary period is the time for citizens in general, and party managers in particular, to give evidence of that desire in every Congressional district.

The Story of the Week

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

Domestic Affairs

Cabinet Members under Fire

TWO Republican members of the Special War Investigating Committee—Representatives Johnson of South Dakota and Woodruff of Michigan—declared to the House on the 11th that prosecutions for fraud in connection with war contracts and sales of surplus war-property are being held up at the instance or through the inactivity of the Secretary of War and the Attorney General. Mr. Woodruff announced that, if the Attorney General does not look fully to the interests of the Government in the Lincoln Motor Company case (according to Mr. Woodruff, a Government audit shows that this company was overpaid some \$9,000,000 on air service contracts), he will move his impeachment on grounds of misfeasance.

The details of the accusations against the two Cabinet ministers are too complicated to go into here, but they seem to be charged not merely with lax proceeding or indifference in cases involving many millions of the people's money, but with deliberate intent to quash prosecutions.

Secretary Weeks has replied, declaring that he and his Department have nothing to conceal and would welcome an investigation. With natural heat he goes to some pains to show the lack of foundation for a reflection upon his personal honor in connection with a certain sale of surplus war-property. The Attorney General intimates that his accusers are displaying a zeal for the public interest commendable in itself but in this instance misdirected.

The President Justifies Himself

Replying to a letter from the president of the National Federation of Federal Employees, which protested against the recent dismissal by executive order of the director and twenty-eight other officials of the Federal Bureau of Engraving and Printing, President Harding said:

The changes made at the bureau were ordered after extended deliberation and were inspired wholly for the good of the service. It was so stated at the time. I do not understand that such a statement or such an action impugns any one's character or calls for charges against the employees concerned or demands explanation by the Executive.

Only two of the dismissed officials are eligible for retirement. These two will receive retired pay.

Statistics of our Foreign Trade

In a previous issue figures published by our Department of Commerce were quoted, showing how sadly our foreign

trade during 1921 (expressed in dollars) fell off from our foreign trade during 1920.

But stop, look, and listen! According to the same source, our exports to Europe during 1921 were valued at \$2,380,000,000, as against \$1,500,000,000 in 1913. And the value of our imports for 1921 (expressed in dollars) did not fall so far short of the value of our imports for 1913, being \$760,000,000 for 1921 as against \$865,000,000 in 1913. Imports from Germany were less in value in 1921 than in 1913 by \$104,000,000; almost precisely the total import difference. One must consider, however, the present higher value of the dollar. Even considering that, says the Commerce Department report, "it is seen that the trade is greater than might have been predicted in 1913, based upon the curve of increase for the several previous years." That does not seem to be a correct statement; it may be correct as to exports, but not as to imports.

The reader will find both amusing and edifying a search for exact answers to questions such as the following: Taking the import and export curves representing our foreign trade for several years prior to and including 1913 and extending them to include 1921, what, expressed in dollars at their present value, should be the total figures for our exports during 1921, and what the figures separately for the months of October and November, 1921? What should be the corresponding figures for imports? Why did foreign trade (expressed in dollars) fall off so remarkably in 1921 from what it



Paul Thompson

St. George's Palace, Genoa, where the conference is taking place

was in 1920?

The reader curious to pursue such investigations will find the following statistics given out by the Department of Commerce illuminating enough as to the (apparent) falling off of trade in 1921:

Exports of wheat during 1921 aggregated 280,000,000 bushels, valued at \$433,000,000, as against 218,000,000 bushels, valued at \$597,000,000, in 1920.

17,000,000 barrels of flour, valued at \$118,000,000, were exported during 1921, as against 20,000,000 barrels, valued at \$224,000,000, during 1920.

600,000,000 pounds of rice, valued at \$21,000,000, were exported during 1921, as against 393,000,000 pounds, valued at \$37,000,000, during 1920.

3,339,000,000 pounds of cotton, valued at \$534,000,000, were exported during 1921, as against 3,179,000,000 pounds, valued at \$1,136,000,000, during 1920.

That is, the volume of our agricultural exports during 1921 was immensely greater than for 1920, but the cash re-

turn for the smaller volume of exports was immensely greater than for the larger volume. The answer? Deflation, of course; quite necessary deflation. But the prices of other things did not fall in due proportion with the fall of prices paid for agricultural produce. Wherefore one sometimes inclines to excuse (though of course opposing) even the most extravagant demands of the Farm Bureau Federation and its instrument in Congress, the agricultural bloc.

Captain Amundsen's Mishap

Capt. Roald Amundsen left Larsen field, Central Park, L. I., on the 10th, bound for Seattle, in the all-metal monoplane presented to him by Mr. Larsen, its inventor, a machine which had given a very good account of itself in previous flights, and one of the two machines Captain Amundsen proposes to take with him in his voyage from Seattle to Norway via the North Pole. But about 300 miles from New York motor trouble developed and it was necessary to volplane down 6,000 feet and land in a rough country. The machine capsized on landing and the wings were broken. It will be repaired within a few days and the journey will be resumed. The five occupants were slightly injured. The actual time in the air between New York and Seattle should be about thirty hours. What a man Amundsen, always courting danger!

The Evangelical Protestant Society

The Evangelical Protestant Society, with offices at 113 Fulton street, New York City, has been formed "to defend American democracy against the encroachment of Papal Rome" and to "defend and promote evangelical Christianity." The Catholics are to be combated "in a political way along the lines employed by the Anti-Saloon League."

"No more but so," Christian gentlemen?

Mr. Huntington Achieves Immortality

Mr. Henry E. Huntington has deeded to a board of self-perpetuating trustees his library, his great art collection, and the remainder of his San Marino estate in California, including his residence. The art galleries and the living quarters in the great mansion will not pass to the trustees during the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Huntington, but the library will (under proper restrictions) be open to the public within two years. That library is doubtless the finest private library in the world, and the art collection one of the finest private collections, being especially rich in English masters. It is said that the endowment which goes with the

treasures is sufficient for all time. Mr. Huntington, like Mr. Frick, has justly immortalized himself.

Brief Items

Only 3,500,000 tons of bituminous coal were mined in the week ended April 8. No anthracite was mined.

More and more non-union bituminous miners are striking in sympathy with the organized miners, many of them joining the union.

The House Labor Committee has been considering the Bland bill, which would set up a Federal Coal Commission; with what result does not yet appear.

The textile strikes in Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts continue, with no development of importance.

E. Mont Reily, Governor of Porto Rico, Auditor Kessinger, of the Porto Rican Government, and Governor Reily's private secretary, Mr. Harwood Hull, are charged in a Porto Rican grand jury presentment with misuse of public funds for private purposes. The grand jury directs the district attorney to prepare indictments and proceed against those charged.

Secretary Weeks and Secretary Denby assert that there is an organized Red movement to undermine the morale of the army and the navy and seduce their loyalty. They do not fear, however, that it will make any large number of converts.

The Italians and Poles who left this country during the eight months ended February 28 outnumbered those who arrived. During that period the total immigration into this country was 226,841, the emigration 152,649.

The Irish Situation

SPEAKING at Wexford on the 9th, Michael Collins, head of the Provisional Government of the Irish Free State, said:

You were told that the treaty could not bring peace. It has already brought peace with the British enemy and if it will not bring peace now it will be because there are those who do not wish it to bring peace.

Is it by civil war and the shedding of the blood of our brothers that we can win peace and freedom? This is the language of treason, not patriotism.

Our existence is threatened now as no enemy outside ever had the power to threaten it. There is grave danger of another long agony before the country, brought on by ourselves.

We are being watched. If civil war breaks out, and unless there is an immediate change in tone and tactics it looks as if it can only be averted by a miracle, there is little doubt the British will return.

If we proceed to fly at each other's throats, the British junker will be delighted to seize the opportunity to intervene. The British will come back to restore their government and they will have justified themselves in the eyes of the world.

Will not Eamon de Valera pause to consider where his language, if translated into action, and it is being so translated, is hurrying the nation? Let us be patriots before partisans.

There has been talk of a military dictatorship. You can no more secure willing obedience to it or to its products, and you can no more get a stable peace, freedom and good government under it, than we got those things under the British dictatorship.

An attempt was made to wreck a train on which Collins was believed to be traveling to Wexford.

* * *

The Irish Republican army mutineers are specializing in robbing banks, murdering members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and destroying property owned by Ulstermen within Free State territory.

* * *

Another convention of delegates of the Republican Army mutineers was held in Dublin on Sunday, the 11th. A constitution for the governance of the army was adopted and a new executive elected pursuant thereto.

* * *

Arthur Griffith remarked the other day that the methods of de Valera and his followers are "meaner than those of the Black and Tans."

* * *

Two things, however, somewhat offset the sundry incidents portending hideous civil strife. One was the agreement of de Valera to meet Collins and Griffith to talk peace. The other was the issuance by the National Executive Committee of the Irish Labor Party of an admirable



Morris for George Matthew Adams Service

He lights on his feet



Paul Thompson

Japanese cherry trees in blossom near the Washington Monument

manifesto protesting against the present state of affairs. "We protest against the rule of gun and bomb. The armed forces of the country should be under and amenable to civilian authority responsible to the people."

But alas! nothing came of the meeting of de Valera with Collins and Griffith—in Dublin, on the 13th. They will have met again on the 19th; but little hope is entertained of anything happy from that meeting.

The Genoa Conference

The First Day

THE Genoa Conference opened on April 10. Signor Facta, the Italian Premier, made a speech of welcome and was thereafter, of course, elected chairman. Then the "boss of the show," Lloyd George, took the floor, and made a resounding speech, of which the keynote was peaceful coöperation. He made his greatest hit by the following *jeu d'esprit*: "A distinguished citizen of Genoa once upon a time discovered America, and I am hopeful that Genoa will render another immortal service to humanity by enabling America to discover Europe." M. Barthou, for France, followed with a temperate statement, denying the current charges that France is militaristic and uncordial towards the aims of the conference, but reminding the conferees that certain subjects are "taboo." Next the Japanese and Belgian chiefs of delegation spoke. Chancellor Wirth followed with a speech which was a thought too exclusively devoted to a recital of Germany's woes, and, alone of the speeches, drew no cheers.

Then Chicherin rose. He said that the Soviet delegation had not come to Genoa to propagandize; that his Government was willing to give sufficient guarantees for foreign nationals engaging in business in Russia; and was willing to grant many concessions and in particular (here doubtless the Japanese delegates cocked their ears) to open up Siberia to the world. To Chicherin's prophetic vision the Genoa Conference was but the first of a series, to conclude in a "universal conference." Steady, Chicherin, steady!

But no, he will step in where even Angles fear to tread. Russia, said he, is willing to talk about (there he goes!) disarmament. She will reduce her army, if other nations will do the same and thereto give guarantees.

Down sat the Red hero, and up stood M. Barthou. The Genoa Conference, said he in effect, must be conducted in strict accordance with the spirit as well as the letter of the Cannes resolutions. The Cannes conferees were jealous for the prerogatives of the League of Nations, to which the idea of a series of conferences ran counter. As for discussion of disarmament at Genoa, the answer of France was "a definite, categorical, decisive, final, no." He called for a ruling on that point instant. Chicherin, with delightful plausibility, excused his offensive propositions by quotations from Lloyd George in the Commons and Briand at Washington. He was sorry he was wrong and would, of course, abide by the rules.

Here was certainly a mess. The fate of the Conference hung upon the ruling demanded by M. Barthou. Though Lloyd George was not the chairman, he settled the matter as follows:

As for the extra subjects M. Chicherin wanted to bring in, I ask him not to insist. He will find enough to do here. As for other conferences, I did say something about them, but then, there is the League of Nations. As for a universal conference, including everybody, to talk about everything—well, I am getting old. I don't believe I could last through a universal conference. I am sure M. Chicherin will not insist.

The Second Day

The second day of the Conference was marked by silly behaviour of Chicherin. He protested participation of Japan in the chief committee on the ground that Japanese troops "occupy a part of the territory of the Far Eastern Republic, ally of Russia." And he protested against Rumanian participation because "Rumania is occupying Bessarabia, part of Russia." Viscount Ishii shortly observed that Japan was there to stay. The Rumanians declared that Bessarabia properly belongs to them, and that the Allies have formally confirmed their claim; both statements being

true. Signor Facta, the chairman, brusquely dismissed the protests as absurd.

Chicherin then demanded that Russia should have two members on one of the important sub-committees, whereas no other nation had more than one; "because Russia had so much at stake." The demand was turned down. Chicherin is merely acting like himself—propagandishly.

The day was chiefly devoted to committee organization and other preliminaries.

The Pope's Letter

It would, perhaps, not have been within the proprieties for the Pope to address directly the Genoa Conference. He did so indirectly, however, in a letter to the Archbishop of Genoa, ostensibly occasioned by an impulse to congratulate the Archbishop upon the latter's address to his people calling for their prayers for the Conference. The Pope greatly improved the occasion. The following significant parts of his letter call for quotation:

It is with keen pleasure that we read the letter you opportunely addressed to your people on the occasion of the international conference which for the first time in this glorious city reunites in peaceful discussion victors and vanquished and toward which turn all the general hopes of the peoples.

As the representative of the God of peace and love we hope and we trust that the representatives of the powers will be willing to consider with a spirit not only serene but also disposed to some sacrifice on the altar of the common good the sad circumstances under which all peoples suffer, which would be the first condition to bring thereto an efficacious remedy and the first step toward that universal pacification for which the whole world is longing so ardently.

If even amid the shock of arms Christian charity should reign, that should be still more true after arms are laid aside and treaties of peace signed, and so much the more because international hatreds, the bad inheritance of war, act also to prejudice victorious peoples and prepare an unhappy future for the whole world.

It should not be forgotten that the best guarantee of tranquillity is not a forest of bayonets, but mutual confidence and friendship. Equally, if it is wished to exclude from the conference all discussion not only about treaties formally concluded but also about the reparations imposed, that should not prevent subsequent exchanges of views which might facilitate to the vanquished the rapid accomplishment of their engagements, which finally would also result to the benefit of the victors.

The French feel that the letter animadverts unfairly upon them. The following is the comment of the semi-official *Temps*:

It is necessary to explain ourselves with regard to a certain document which has made a sensation. The Pope has wished quite legitimately to express an opinion on the Genoa conference. The Italian text of his letter to the Archbishop of Genoa is now before us. It confirms the impression already felt. It is an impression of profound regret.

The pontifical Chancellery cannot be unaware that France—defending not only her own rights, but those of certain allies especially dear to the Holy See, notably Poland and Belgium—has been striving since three months to insure that the Genoa conference does not touch existing treaties or the reparations problem. The pontifical Chancellery cannot be unaware that France secured from the British and Italian Governments promises she had a right to expect and without which she would not have attended the conference.

The pontifical Chancellery has the arduous duty of advising the Pope of its political initiatives. For Pius XI. has just donned the papal tiara and has made it clear he intends to resort to advice for his diplomacy, since he retained as Secretary of State Cardinal Gasparri. How, then, does it happen that a document of the highest importance, a letter

in which the Pope takes a stand with regard to the Genoa conference, contains an invitation to modify treaties and revise reparation clauses—if not actually during the conference, at least during "subsequent exchanges of views"?

For whom, too, is meant, at the moment when France refuses to allow discussion of disarmament, this allusion to a "forest of bayonets," which is not, the Pope declares, the best guarantee of tranquillity?

In the interests of the Holy See itself the letter to the Archbishop of Genoa is unfortunate. Let us hope that will be realized.

The German Attitude

As to the German attitude towards the Conference, Mr. Edwin L. James, correspondent for the *New York Times*, says the following in his agreeable way:

The Germans indeed seem to have reparations on the brain to such an extent that they can think of nothing else. Their eternal conversation is about the great load of this debt about the Fatherland's neck. I mentioned to a German delegate today that the present value of Germany's reparation debt, some 120,000,000,000 marks with sixty years to pay, was a present investment of about 50,000,000,000 marks, or \$12,000,000,000, while France, with slightly more than half the population of Germany, owed England and America about \$6,000,000,000. His reply was that I did not understand the situation.

The Governments Represented

The Governments represented at Genoa are as follows: Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Germany, and Soviet Russia; Albania, Austria, and Czechoslovakia; Denmark, Esthonia, and Finland; Greece, Latvia, Luxembourg, Norway, and The Netherlands; Rumania, Jugoslavia, Spain, and Sweden; Switzerland, Hungary, and San Marino. South Africa, Ireland, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada have delegations in addition to that of Great Britain; whether they will vote separately does not appear.

A Chicherinian Statement

The following singular business must not go unrecorded in this summary:

Premier Poincaré told the French Chamber of Deputies a fortnight ago that he had received repeated proposals from the Moscow Government looking to a preliminary Franco-Russian conference on the Genoa program; the idea being a combination against Britain. His action upon these proposals was to notify Lloyd George. There's a delightful mystery in the business. The proposals were brought by veiled women in the form of letters from Krasin, Radek, and other Red chiefs.

Upon which Chicherin remarked:

Not through the medium of "veiled ladies," but through officials of French missions and through well known French parliamentarians, Russia proposed to France to enter negotiations on the assumption that better relations with France would lead to further consolidation of good relations with Great Britain and France.

A truly Chicherinian statement.

Two Nuggets

At last the site of Carthage is to be thoroughly excavated and explored by a group of French and American men and women. O shades of Dido, Hamilcar, Perpetua, Felicitas, Cyprian, and Augustine, be present and assist!

* * *

Twenty-one member Governments failed to pay their League of Nations dues last year.



International

Chicherin, Commissar of Foreign Affairs and head of Soviet delegation at Genoa

New Books and Old

READING "Peter Whiffle" (Knopf), by Carl Van Vechten, was by far the best fun I have had in weeks. It recalls Huneker, and Cabell, and Arthur Machen, whose disciple Peter aspired to be. It is a recital of strange adventures, a catalogue of curious scenes, and books, and plays. Some of the folk in it I have seen eating their dinners—sedately—within a fortnight. Some of the fictitious names conceal personalities which may be guessed without serious difficulty. I own one of the first editions of Trowbridge (mine is "Cudjo's Cave"—Mr. Van Vechten spells it "Cudgo") which Peter's uncle left to Williams College, but after being declined by Williams, it came upon the market, and I also bought it of Alfred F. Goldsmith on Lexington Avenue.

But Peter should have been created with a little more care. He should have been made either less or more real. He should not have been contemptuously named "Whiffle," and he should not appear and disappear like Dr. Nikola and the terrible Fu-Manchu. The scenes of horror toward the end are perhaps a mere burlesque of all the mad and morbid heroes from Roderick Usher down to Dorian Gray and Mr. Hichens's fantastic Eustace. They are unworthy of the rest of the book. But I must admire Peter for his devotion to Arthur Machen, whose praises I have never ceased to sing since—can it be?—since 1894.

Albert M. Hyamson's "A Dictionary of English Phrases" (Dutton) is interesting and useful, but only indifferently up-to-date, although it bears 1922 upon its title page. It has *camouflage* and *boche*, but it knows not *K. of K.*, nor the *Fourteen Points*. It says that *Doughboy* means an American private soldier, derived from the shape of the buttons on his tunic, whereas it means an American infantryman, as differentiated from the artillery, cavalry, or any other arm, and its origin is in dispute, if known at all. It derives the term *Yellow Press* from "the color of the paper on which some of such newspapers in the United States were printed." But the true derivation of the term is also misunderstood generally in this country; James L. Ford gives it correctly in his "Forty-Odd Years in the Literary Shop" as coming from the comic character, the "Yellow Kid," who appeared in the colored supplements of the Hearst papers twenty-five years ago. I looked with great interest to see if it gave *The Goose Hangs High*, and offered any information as to whether this should be *Whangs*—i. e., honks—high. This was recently claimed as the real meaning of the phrase in a newspaper discussion of the subject. But Mr. Hyamson, like apparently all the authorities, except the "Century Dictionary," is silent about this goose.

Mr. John Peter Toohey's "Fresh

Every Hour" (Boni & Liveright) begins with the rollicking satire of a fable by George Ade. I confess that I was immensely amused by the passage about Miss Lolita Murphy and her dramatic ambitions; how she enacted one of the children in the Never-Never Land when Maude Adams came to Cedar Rapids with "Peter Pan"; how she impersonated one of the Irish youngsters to whom Chauncey Olcott sang a lullaby down in the "glen"—"which is always the setting for the third act of an Irish play"; how, after that, she felt sure that she was the future queen regnant of the English-speaking stage; and how she finally went on as a member of the crowd in "Secret Service Sallie" at "Jollyland."

There is a brief and characteristic story of Theodore Roosevelt in Mr. Chauncey Depew's "My Memories of Eighty Years" (Scribner). Mr. Depew was entering the President's office in the White House, as another Senator was coming out of the Cabinet room, which was filled. The President called out: "Senator Depew, do you know that man going out?" The Senator answered: "Yes, he is a colleague of mine in the Senate." "Well," shouted the President, "he is a crook." And Mr. Depew adds, dryly. "His judgment subsequently proved correct."

The blurb continues to amuse. On the jacket of Dulcie Deamer's "Revelation" (Boni & Liveright) we may read that the book is "An extraordinary achievement in fiction—combining a sensuous and tensely dramatic appeal with deep religious inspiration." In other words, a book to win the approval, at one and the same time, of the Association for the Collection of Curiosa and Erotica and also the Society for the Suppression of Vice. A book for the library alike of M. de Casanova and the Rev. Dr. John Roach Straton.

"Dry Points" (Frank Shay) is a little book of poems by Henry Martyn Hoyt, who died in 1920. There is a reproduction of a portrait which he painted of himself, and a brief biographical account of the author by his friend, William Rose Benét. He was a young man of promise, who lives in the hearts of his friends.

Mr. George Moore is a great and admired author, and doubtless a sound critic. He says that Gerald O'Donovan's "Vocations" (Boni & Liveright) interested him very much, that he couldn't put the book down, that he thinks very well of it, and that it deserves a "prodigiously favorable article" written about it. It is well written; the scene is Ireland; and the characters are nearly all ecclesiastics of the Church of Rome, old and young, male and female. It happens that I cannot enjoy a novel about a priest who is a rake, nor read with any great amount of pleasure the story of an in-

trigue between a priest and a nun. So, granting the skill, the sincerity, and the dignity of treatment with which the author has presented his story, I leave the book to those who are less squeamish than I. It interested me sufficiently to read it all through, and I respect the author's ability. But I had no better time of it than I would if I had spent the two hours in a dentist's chair.

There are some personal recollections of Queen Victoria in Dr. Ethel Smyth's "Streaks of Life" (Knopf). Dr. Smyth's name is better known in England than in this country; as a musician and a suffragist. She sang to the Queen on a stormy day at Balmoral, and her description of the little old lady, who was so game, and drove out through the storm, without wrap or umbrella, who although aged and afflicted with sciatica rose painfully but heroically from her chair to shake hands with the singer—these things arouse again one's admiration for the old Queen. Suppose she did have old-fashioned ideas about divorce, and Sir Edwin Landseer's paintings, and smoking, and dear Albert, and side-whiskers. She was a much better sport than most of the people who sneer at her! But even better, in Dr. Smyth's book, is the section about the Empress Eugénie. She writes of a gentleman who after the Armistice called on her—the ex-Empress was then nearly ninety-five—and talked with her for five hours. There was not a soul alive, said he, who had her precise knowledge of political events of the past. It was like talking with a dozen dead-and-gone statesmen, with the very incarnation of history.

Cat-lovers tell me that I have no right to complain about the bird-killing habits of the cat as long as I kill cows (or encourage other men to kill them) to make steaks for myself. I have always felt that this is a non-sequitur; at least, I do not torment the cows, nor play with them, nor bedevil them, before killing. It is a pleasure to find that John Burroughs had a healthy detestation for a cat engaged in killing a bluebird. His son, Julian Burroughs, relates the incident in the sketch about his father which is included in John Burroughs's "My Boyhood" (Doubleday). The earliest recollection which he had of his father was his chasing and stoning the family cat who had caught a bluebird. "I remember the fierce look in the cat's eyes, and her nose flattened over the back of blue, her nervously twitching tail, and the speed and strength with which father pursued her, and the language he used, language . . . which discredited the cat and her ancestry as well." If as good a man as John Burroughs could do that, as much of a friend of all animals (of all *decent* animals), let the next bird-hunting cat I see look out—if there are any stones or clubs or flat-irons handy.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

Book Reviews

Poem, Parody, and Play

SEEDS OF TIME. By John Drinkwater. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

THE LAMP AND THE BELL. By Edna St. Vincent Millay. New York: Frank Shay.

A GATE OF CEDAR. By Katherine Morse. New York: The Macmillan Company.

SONGS AND MORE SONGS OF THE GLENS OF ANTRIM. By Moira O'Neill. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THE VEIL. By Walter De La Mare. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

HEAVENS. By Louis Untermeyer. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company.

THE BOOK OF AMERICAN NEGRO POETRY. Edited by James Weldon Johnson. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company.

ON a portentous literary occasion a few years ago, Lord Dunsany delivered himself of the dictum that prose was a more difficult medium than verse; whereupon Mr. John Drinkwater relieved the feelings of most of those present by bluntly stating that Lord Dunsany didn't know what he was talking about. That was a true word. And by the same token, Mr. Drinkwater, the poet, in his latest collection, "Seeds of Time," falls somewhat below the mark of Mr. Drinkwater, the dramatist. Perhaps this is a little unfair. Those who love the quiet, philosophic note will find much to charm them in these forty-two well-wrought poems; and we must not always demand striking originality, livelier spirit, and subtler music, when there remains something to compensate for their absence.

Just why "The Lamp and the Bell," a play in five acts by Edna St. Vincent Millay, should be characterized by publisher and critics as "Shakespearean" and "Elizabethan" is hard to understand, unless any drama in iambic pentameter located in a fairy-tale Italian kingdom necessarily deserves those impressive adjectives. It is, in fact, a picturesque, romantic play, reviving the wicked stepmother motif and other elements from the folk-tales collected by the Brothers Grimm; and it is chiefly concerned with the firm friendship of two fair princesses. Though the cast includes a brace of well-born and respectable kings, one illegitimate and villainous duke, and one loving minstrel named Fidelio, the chief interest is consistently in the ladies of the *dramatis personae*. Hence the play was well adapted to the occasion for which it was written—the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Vassar College Alumnae Association—and is heartily recommended to the attention of the more ambitious among the dramatic clubs in girls' high schools and colleges.

"I pipe not to the world, I pipe to my own heart," sings Katherine Morse in the foreword to her book of poems, "A Gate of Cedar," thereby suggesting the ungracious question, "Then why publish?" However, the world

must not be so literal and ungrateful. Miss Morse's verses, while in no way unusual, are creditable and pleasant to read.

An audience, again limited yet slightly larger than the author's own heart, is addressed by Moira O'Neill in her "Songs and More Songs of the Glens of Antrim"; for, as we learn from the preface, these songs "were written by a Glenswoman in the dialect of the Glens, and chiefly for the pleasure of other Glenspeople." Let us again be thankful, then, that we have been permitted to share the pleasure of the people of the Glens, for the songs are musical, human, and with only a little more Irish dialect than is absolutely necessary for seasoning. Most of the songs are inevitably in minor key; since little employment would there be for the Irish harp were it not for numerous disappointments in love, a high rate of mortality among lovers, and a very whirlwind of sighs of longing for some spot in Green Erin where (ochone!) the singer is not. The pleasant sadness is relieved by the shrewd homeliness of such things as "The Rachray Man," "The Grand Match," "Never Married," and "Tidy Annie," and by a few poems of a different note, grouped under the title, "Songs from North-West Canada."

And now comes one whom no lover of poetry could possibly ignore—Walter De La Mare, with strange, beautiful imaginings, new and enchanting word music, and a pensive yet not gloomy other-worldliness. As always, Weird Walter is attended by a throng of eerie intimations and Unseen Presences. Turning the eighty-four pages of "The Veil," his present volume, one immediately encounters an imp, a naiad, and an especially captivating frost fairy; and leaves these only to enjoy the society of various ghosts, haunts, and spectres, a host of elf-folk, a batch of amalillios (if you know what *they* are), not to mention a face and a soul, both crazed, and a choice assortment of phantasms, nightmares, sorceries, and incantations. However, the Society for Psychological Research could make nothing of Mr. De La Mare; his spooks, for the most part, remain as intangible as those of Antigone. The almost impeccable taste of their creator or evoker prevents them from ever being grisly or horrid, and one is always glad to have met them. Almost every line of this poet has a touch of magic. In that happy lyric, "Titmouse," telling of a visit of a feathered mite lured from the "vast unknown of air" to feast on a palm-nut, we come to this final stanza:

This tiny son of life: this sprite,
By momentary human sought.
Plume will his wing in the dappling light,
Clash timbrel shrill and gay—
And into time's enormous nought,
Sweet-fed, will flit away.

Everything is ultimately pardonable in one who can so write. Yet Mr. De La Mare is sometimes needlessly obscure; he has an annoying trick of omitting articles before nouns, pre-

sumably to meet metrical exigencies; and how can such a master of varied syllabic melody tolerate this almost unreadable quatrain?—

Mouse frisked and scampered, leapt,
 gnawed, squeaked;
Small at the window looped cowed bat
 awing;
The dim-lit rafters with the night-mist
 reeked;
The Cat looked long and softly at the
 King.
Ah, well! Each Aladdin's palace must
have its unfinished window.

In the dedication that introduces "Heavens," the author, Mr. Louis Untermeyer, images himself as "Putting up his blunted lance and deserting, for all time, the ensanguined lists of Parody"—a threat or promise dangerous to make and not to be taken too literally. The first part of the book pictures an excursion into the celestial abodes supposedly created for themselves by such authors as Chesterton, Wells, George Moore, and Sinclair Lewis, each private paradise being described in the style of its literary inhabitant or dominating genius. In "The Heaven of Lost Memoirs," the resident, Mr. George Moore, rattles on very like Mr. George Moore. And while in "The Heaven of Mean Streets" (including Main Street), rather less than justice is done to Dr. Kennicott, the story of "The Heaven Above Storysende" might be a veritable transcription of James Branch Cabell. As for the rest of the book, there is satire and good sense in the "Previews" of those predicted works, "The Manufacture of Verse" and "Versed Aid to the Injured"; and in the section entitled "Relativity" there are parodies, mostly able and ingenious, of the usual poets. In short, Mr. Untermeyer continues to be clever, almost fatally clever, and would be more enjoyable if he did not produce the effect of being completely fascinated by his own cleverness.

As Mr. James Weldon Johnson justly intimates in his informative essay prefacing "The Book of American Negro Poetry," there is a far better excuse for this collection than for many other recent anthologies. Reviewing the literary achievements of the American negro, the anthologist selects Paul Laurence Dunbar as "the greatest figure in literature which the colored race in the United States has produced," a man of unmixed negro blood who, like Burns, "took the humble speech of his people and made it classic." It must be said that, interesting and valuable as the collection is, the actual poetical value of its contents is rather disappointing. Their deficiencies may well be largely due to causes that Mr. Johnson so temperately and sanely sets forth: "The colored poet in the United States labors within limitations which he cannot easily pass over. He is always on the defensive or the offensive. The pressure upon him to be propagandic is well nigh irresistible. These conditions are suffocating to breadth and to real art in poetry." Yet there are

sure evidences of progress in the work of such recent writers as Claude McKay, Georgia Douglas Johnson, and the editor himself. Our later Afro-American poets are generally abandoning dialect and plantation conventions, and are dealing with life as they know it under new and more varied conditions. It will indeed be interesting to compare this first anthology in its field with another made, say, ten years from now.

ARTHUR GUITERMAN

Flashlight and Flame

THE BEAUTIFUL AND DAMNED. By F. Scott Fitzgerald. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THE FAIR REWARDS. By Thomas Beer. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

TOWARDS the end of "The Beautiful and Damned," a certain best-selling Dick Caramel says: "You know these new novels make me tired. My God! Everywhere I go some silly girl asks me if I've read 'This Side of Paradise.' Are our girls really like that? If it's true to life, which I don't believe, the next generation is going to the dogs. I'm sick of all this shoddy realism. I think there's a place for the romanticist in fiction." With this neat blend of Shavian self-advertisement and post-Wellsian sarcasm, the current novel is hit off. If only Mr. Fitzgerald and his brilliant contemporaries could *feel* the difference between telling a story and hitting things off! If they would only leave the latter art, or sport, to such artists, or sportsmen, as the Menckens and the Nathans and the host of clever juniors who have no stories in them! "The Beautiful and Damned" is a real story, but a story greatly damaged by wit. The narrative is infested with brilliant passages, "striking" descriptions, and scraps of ebullient commentary. The persons are not permitted to emerge from the type; whenever they seem about to emerge, their author shoves them back to anonymity by making them his own obvious mouthpieces. It is true that Anthony is intended to be a feeble ass in conduct, and a glib and even skilful talker nevertheless. But who believes that, in his last interview with Caramel, it is really the sodden and aimless Anthony who declaims: "The arts are very old. . . . Poetry is dying first. It'll be absorbed into prose sooner or later. For instance, the beautiful word, the colored and glittering word, and the beautiful simile belong to prose now. To get attention poetry has got to strain for the unusual word, the harsh, earthy word that's never been beautiful before. Beauty, as the sum of several beautiful parts, reached its apotheosis in Swinburne. It can't go any further—except in the novel, perhaps." Very interesting and clever, but pure youth—and—Fitzgerald. And we get the same sort of thing, repeatedly, from the, we should otherwise suppose, empty-headed Gloria.

No, one cannot make much of this as pure novel, certainly not as either pure realism or romanticism. A nov-

elist cannot be made out of an air of amused omniscience, or even by the most animated pursuit of irrelevancies: these things are the bane, not the making, of a true story-teller. I think Mr. Fitzgerald has the gift, if he has the patience to sort it out from minor gifts and to give it a chance. Meanwhile, maneuvering to find the angle from which his work looks best, we find ourselves, somewhat unexpectedly perhaps, gazing upon a modern morality. We may best take him as a maker of parable. Cutting out the manifold little clevernesses of this book, and even such individual pieces of excellence as the amusing episode of "salesmanship" recorded in the single long chapter called "A Matter of Aesthetics," we discover embedded in it a notable fable of current life. For such a fable Gloria the beautiful and heartless, Anthony the drunken and paltry, are sufficiently characterized. They are true enough to prevalent types. And the parable ends with a glorious ironical punch. Gloria is punished by the mere loss of youth and beauty; Anthony by the utter fatuity of wealth.

"The Fair Rewards" is an equally up-to-the-moment study of current life, and a considerably better story. It has creative unity, is free from irrelevancies and digressions. Its people at least produce an illusion of reality, in speech and conduct. One never feels that the author has to be continually pulling himself back to his tale from preoccupations with other matters—ideas and epigrams and so on. It is a story not of "theatrical life" in the usual sense, so much as of current life as embodied in certain persons who happen to be connected with the theatre. Or at least, if it is primarily a study of a class, as embodied especially in Mark Walling, it is a study of nothing alien to common experience, *mutatis mutandis*. Mark Walling is a remarkable portrait of that bogey of common report, the theatrical manager. How chance finds him as an obscure farm boy, and how luck and an inexplicable touch of genius set him on the way to the hazardous career of the Broadway magnate, is only part of his story. It is in his characterization, the intimate knowledge we acquire of his simplicity, his hard common sense, his unerring flair for matters of the theatre, his incorrigible sentimentality, that the prime merit of the book lies. Extraordinary also is the portrait of the adored and doomed Margot, the flapper predestined by blood and training and the infection of the times to make a mess of her life at its very outset. And Cora Boyle, and Cosmo Rand, and above all old Carson, are figures to be remembered through the dim dancing shapes that people current fiction. "The Fair Rewards" is not a novel of "promise"—does not lose its way gloriously in the general direction of this or that kind of achievement. Within its range and intention it is a firm, well-balanced, and finished piece of interpretive story-telling.

H. W. BOYNTON

Drama

On a Certain Condescension Towards Musical Comedies

"GOOD MORNING DEARIE." By Anne Caldwell. Globe Theatre.

MARJOLAINE. By Catherine Chisholm Cushing; lyrics by Brian Hooker. Broadhurst Theatre.

THE ROSE OF STAMBOUL. By Harold Atteridge. Century Theatre.

THE HOTEL MOUSE. By Guy Bolton; adapted from a comedy by Gerbidon and Armont. Shubert Theatre.

COSI' FAN TUTTE. Text by Lorenzo da Ponte. Metropolitan Opera House.

THERE is no legitimate reason why musical comedies should be exempt from critical consideration. They fill our theatres night after night, month after month; there is no questioning their sweeping popularity; they are discussed and recommended by intelligent folk. But lovers of this type of entertainment seldom possess the courage of their convictions. Therefore they submit to that general and implied condescension towards musical comedy which is expressed by those who champion nothing less important than solemn and serious attempts to elevate the American stage. This fear of being frivolous leads people to exclaim of such offerings as Shaw's "Back to Methusaleh": "I thought it was perfectly wonderful—but it tired me out completely." And, on the other hand, only in secret can they be induced to confess that they have truly enjoyed "Sally" or "Good Morning Dearie." Such an attitude exposes a contradictory conception of the function of the theatre. If an entertainment acts as a tonic, buoys up our spirits, makes us forget the passing of time and banishes fatigue, must we look upon it with contempt? Because it is immensely popular must we necessarily condemn it? And, on the other hand, if the most ambitious and most desperately serious of legitimate drama lowers our vitality, acts as a depressant, increases our fatigue, and "leaves a bad taste in the mouth," must we therefore join in the critical chorus which acclaims it, at least for the current week, as immortal drama?

The danger of any critical scrutiny of current musical comedies perhaps lies in the possibility that we may make the unwelcome discovery that on the whole they are more intelligently and efficiently assembled than the average type of "legitimate" play. This, however, need not indicate a supreme order of excellence. The trouble seems to be that the demand for musical comedy "books" far exceeds the supply of talent available to write them. While our young playwrights are turning their attention to the production of dramas solemn and somniferous, purveyors of musical comedy are rushed or driven to the unfortunate expedient of rewriting and rehashing mediocre French farces, or digging in the graveyard of the dear dead drama

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of yesteryear for "books" that may be galvanized into some semblance of life. No field in the American theatre offers greater possibilities for originality and new ideas. The American theatre could well dispense with the new crop of little Strindbergs and Ibsens; but it is crying aloud for a William Schwenk Gilbert.

At present the chief danger is standardization. We are suffering from an epidemic of jazzy, shimmying Cinderellas—working girls who emerge from department stores or ateliers and find themselves in the last act in aristocratic ballroom or syncopating cabaret, with the Fairy Prince carrying, instead of a glass slipper, a handsome flask. These Irenes, these Sallies, these Letties, these Rose Marias deviate but slightly from this formula. Yet in some strange fashion, despite the banalities of plot and characterization, the entertainments exhibit a spontaneous verve and aplomb.

By far the most effective of the recent exhibitions is "Good Morning Dearie." Jerome Kern's sophisticated music is more important than Miss Caldwell's book; but the latter reveals a certain fresh audacity. It possesses a certain truculent and racy wit. Blithely defying probability, it has the courage to be picturesquely absurd and inconsistent. The result justifies this defiance. With good-natured familiarity, jailbirds and safe-crackers mingle with the pompous proprietress of a Fifth Avenue establishment. We are transported gaily from those distinguished purlieus to a dancehall in Chinatown; thence back to the show-room of that "Toddle Shop" to view exquisitely costumed *mannequins*; and finally to a "black-and-white" ball at an aristocratic country home. There is action, movement, an *élan vital* that sweeps us recklessly along. The one element missing is listlessness. The performers, from every outward evidence, enjoy themselves no less than the audience. There is generous topical satire in the song of the "crooks" which expressed satisfaction with "working conditions" in New York City. And in Harland Dixon we find a dancer who seems to be a truly contributive and creative artist; a comedian who uses his head no less than his feet. It seems to me that American dramatists have a good deal to learn from such an entertainment.

There is something more perfunctory, more routine, less inspired in "Marjolaine," which is a musical version of Louis N. Parker's once popular "Pomander Walk." There is a quaint charm in the setting—those five little houses on the Thames "out Chiswick way." The young ladies of the chorus are in Kate Greenaway costumes; and the current devotion to St. Vitus has been completely suppressed. But in all this obvious effort at refinement, there is a suggestion of vacuity, even a lack of vitality. The dull moments are, however, banished by such artists as Misses Peggy Wood and Mary Hay. The latter, an ingenue of originality



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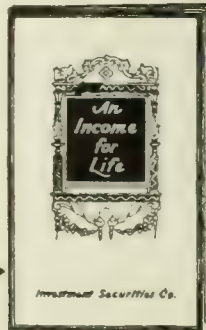
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and charm, succeeds in winning her audiences as few young ladies do outside the pages of irresponsible fiction.

"The Rose of Stamboul" is typical Viennese operetta, depending more upon the waltzes of Leo Fall and spectacular effects in scenery and costume than upon plot or dialogue, to fill the vast auditorium of the Century Theatre. The current myth of poor acoustics at the Century is dispelled by the barbarous diction and enunciation of some of the lesser performers in this production. We heard them, heard them only too clearly, so that we could imagine ourselves in Tenth Avenue instead of Central Park West. As a reward, however, we were permitted to listen to the exquisitely pure English spoken and sung by Marion Green, one of the finest artists of the lyric stage.

"The Hotel Mouse" is one of those French farces that become musical comedies on Broadway. It is of no special significance except that it affords Miss Frances White an opportunity to appear again in "rompers" and to sing another of those sophisticatedly childish ditties—the present only dealing with "Ohio" instead of the celebrated "Mississippi." Entertainment of this type should be classified as vaudeville instead of musical comedy, since it throws overboard all of the rich possibilities inherent in this form.

To realize these latent treasures we should not look to the future but turn our attention to the production of Mozart's musical comedy "Cosi Fan Tutte," which is a veritable triumph at the Metropolitan. I hope that one playgoer may be permitted here to speak a word in defence of that much-abused and generally condemned libretto of Lorenzo Da Ponte. To me it is not "one of the worst *libretti*" ever written for an opera; but in a certain sense one of the best. Artificial, absurd, improbable, and implausible it certainly is. Yet to criticize it as a poor piece of playwriting is tantamount to condemning "Pinafore" as being inferior to the novels of Joseph Conrad as pictures of sea-faring life. It lifts us into the realm of ideas. Like the works of Gilbert and Sullivan, "Cosi Fan Tutte" is no nearsighted, realistic transcription of "life," but a decorative and expressive pattern woven out of an amusingly malicious and illuminating idea. Is it not a worthy achievement to sustain our interest in this gossamer theme, to caress and cherish this gaiety so that no element of bitterness, or of sogginess, is permitted to destroy that divine effervescence of Mozart?

Before condemning contemporary efforts, let us remember that the frivolous "Cosi Fan Tutte" lives today, while the tragedies of 1790 are buried in dust. Let us not forget that the works of Gilbert and Sullivan are among the most popular dramas in the English language, though they were composed as topical musical comedies. Let us, especially, remember that solemnity in the theatre is not necessarily a symptom of dramatic importance.

ROBERT ALLERTON PARKER

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England and India—Macaulay on Clive and Hastings

Classics in the Light of Modern Conditions

By Frederick Houk Law

VII

The burning sun, the strange vegetation of the palm and the cocoa tree, the rice field, the tank, the huge trees, older than the Mogul Empire, under which the village crowds assemble, the thatched roofs of the peasant's hut, the rich tracery of the mosque where the imaum prays with his face to Mecca, the drums, and banners, and gaudy idols, the devotees swinging in the air, the graceful maiden, with the pitcher on her head, descending the steps to the river side, the black faces, the long beards, the yellow streaks of sect, the turbans and the flowing robes, the spears and the silver maces, the elephants with their canopies of state, the gorgeous palanquin of the prince and the close litter of the noble lady . . . the halls where suitors laid gold and perfumes at the feet of sovereigns . . . the wild moor where the gypsy camp was pitched . . . the bazaars, humming like beehives with the crowd of buyers and sellers . . . the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyenas. . . .

IN such words Lord Macaulay speaks of the vast land of India, a region that is both mystery and problem, a realm of romance and a place of terror. Out of that overcrowded hive have come the black plagues that have threatened all human life; from that inscrutable orient came the soft cloths, the delicate perfumes, and the jewels of Golconda that set Columbus journeying to find a new way to the East, and that drew traders from all Europe. Today India is a world problem. At any moment events may turn, as they turned in middle Europe in 1914, and shake all civilization. One number of *The National Geographic Magazine* (December, 1913) gave many pictures of the strange "saints" who lie on beds of spikes, throw their babies into clumps of thorns, bury themselves alive, hang head downwards day after day, hold their arms behind them or in the air until the flesh shrivels and movement becomes impossible, or who do other strange and horrible things that mock sanity.

A "saint" in this land of "saints," Mahatma Gandhi just now fascinates the Indian mind, urges non-coöperation with the British—absolute boycott—and seems ready to plunge India into all the bloodshed of a new Mutiny. Thousands of his propagandists are at work in the United States. Their arguments are subtle. They cry "India for the Indians!" and many an ignorant person answers: "Why not?"

The student who studies Lord Macaulay's *Essays on Clive and on Hastings* finds at least one answer to the Indian propagandist: "There is no In-

dia!" In those fascinating essays the student finds that India is a welter of conflicting races. Some 300,000,000 people crowd a continent, wherein is every difference of topography and climate. They are not one people, but speak 147 distinct languages. They are utterly unlike in personal appearance, in character, and in social and religious beliefs. Hindu, Mohammedan, Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Parsee, Animist, and Christian, and a thousand other "ists," they have more hatreds, more contempts, more desire to exterminate one another than we, in our democratic land, can imagine. As Macaulay tells of Bengalese and Mahrattas and other peoples, the astonished student asks: "Which one is the real Indian?" They are all real Indians—and there is no one India.

The reader of Macaulay learns, too, that the British desire law and order, and that they would protect the Indian from the Indian. "Oriental despots," says Macaulay, "are perhaps the worst class of human beings." Broken into countless enmities, with new aspirants for power springing up every year, India had been storm-swept for centuries. "Under the Nabobs the hurricane of Mahratta cavalry had passed annually over the rich alluvial plain." After the coming of the British, and while the power of the Empire had not yet changed gold-seeking adventurers into noble-hearted statesmen, conditions changed. "It is probable that the oldest man in Bengal could not recollect a season of equal security and prosperity. For the first time within living memory the province was placed under a government strong enough to prevent others from robbing, and not inclined to play the robber itself." That is the situation today. Irrigation, war against plague, developing manufacture, improved sanitation, a vast increase in education, schools, colleges, roads, railroads, developing native power, native police, native soldiery, and a constant uplift of the whole people, together with protection from the rapacity of neighbor lands, makes India today a paradise beside what it ever was before.

A third answer that a student learns from Macaulay is that the British love justice and hate tyranny and oppression. The entire story of Clive and of Hastings is the story of the rescue of India from those who would rob it. The first traders were money-seekers only. Even Clive and Hastings were tyrannous in the eyes of the British. The English people condemned them and their fellows. Macaulay and other writers scored them as wrong-doers. Even in the days of the East India Company England demanded absolute justice and absolute honesty in dealing with India. In 1858 India came under the Crown. Today every uplifting force of civilization, backed by all the love of law and of justice that characterizes the noblest men, is working to save India from ever going back into the dark days of the past when India strove to kill India.

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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. England and India—Macaulay on Clive and Hastings.

1. What three propositions of present-day significance are emphasized in Macaulay's essays on Clive and Hastings?
2. What do Macaulay's essays on India say concerning the condition of India when under purely native government?
3. What led Lord Macaulay to write about Clive and about Hastings?
4. What does the attitude of the English toward Clive and Hastings, as indicated by Macaulay, show concerning the interests of the English people?
5. What changes have the English brought about in India?
6. Read aloud the paragraph quoted from Macaulay's essays. What effect does the paragraph produce? What was Macaulay's purpose in writing such a paragraph?
7. In what respects does India differ from the United States?
8. Tell the story of the work of Clive in India. If you have not read the "Essay on Clive" consult any encyclopedia.
9. Explain in what respects the work of Hastings in India was like the work of Clive, and in what respects it was different.
10. Give an account of the life of Lord Macaulay. Emphasize especially anything in his life work that shows his interest in the people of India.
11. What reasons does Macaulay set forward for upholding, or for opposing, the work of Gandhi and his followers?

II. The Mother of Iscariot.

1. What striking pictures might an artist make to illustrate the poem?
2. What familiar characteristics of life does the poem emphasize?
3. Prove that the poem is founded on contrast.
4. What emotion does the poem leave with the reader?

III. Voices in the Air.

1. Study Dr. Slosson's method of explaining scientific facts. What is the method? How can you apply it to your own work in composition?
2. Write an explanation of some subject on which you have information that most of your class do not possess. Make use of Dr. Slosson's method of explanation.
3. Write out, in the form of imperative sentences, suggestions for the proper control of wireless telephoning.
4. Explain how the development of government and the development of communication are related.

IV. Book Reviews. New Books and Old. Drama.

1. Present an argument for or against the following proposition set forward by F. Scott Fitzgerald: "The arts are very old. . . . Poetry is dying first. It'll be absorbed into prose sooner or later."
2. In your reading of poetry have you found the following statement true? "To get attention poetry has got to strain for the unusual word, the harsh earthy word that's never been beautiful before." Illustrate your answer by quotations from poems that you have read.
3. "Burns took the humble speech of his people and made it classic." Explain the statement.
4. What is the purpose of "A Dictionary of English Phrases"?
5. Name some of the principles of literary criticism that are emphasized in the various reviews.

V. Who Gets the High Price of Coal?

1. Draw from the article a single constructive statement. Arrange the various points in the article in the form of a brief so that they will uphold, or oppose, the statement.

VI. Obregon's Fifth Ace.

1. Prove that the title is appropriate and effective.
2. Underline the sentences that you think most important in presenting the writer's thought. Read the sentences aloud. Explain their meaning in full.
3. What differences between Mexico and the United States does the article indicate?

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. Recognition — The Soviet Issue, The Genoa Conference.

1. On a map locate Genoa, and the countries whose Governments are represented at Genoa.
2. Summarize the activities of the Conference. What examples of mistakes in diplomacy are given? Of cleverness?
3. In both Mexico and Russia revolutionary Governments are anxious for recognition. Look up the subject of recognition in any simple text on International Law and show its advantages to the country recognized. State the advantage mentioned in the articles on Mexico and Russia.
4. Summarize the conditions of recognition laid down by the "Allied committee."
5. State the editor's argument against recognition.
6. Why is the Pope interested in the Conference? Explain how he has shown that interest.

II. Obregon's Fifth Ace.

1. Underline the words in which Secretary Hughes defined "the fundamental question which confronts the Government of the United States." Look up the treaty which Obregon has failed to sign and see how that meets the "fundamental question."
2. Summarize the provisions of the Constitution of 1917 to which objection is made. Particularly, show why it is called "a Bolshevik document."
3. Explain the meaning of "retroactive and confiscatory." Describe the confiscatory acts of Carranza and Obregon. How does our Federal Constitution protect our citizens from retroactive and confiscatory measures?
4. Explain the defense of military dictatorship as a form of government for Mexico. How do you account for the situation described?
5. Describe the facts behind the statement "recognition by the United States is essential to the stability of any Mexican Government."

III. The Tariff Situation.

1. Show how "the tariff stands in a vitally different relation to the nation from what has been the case in the past."
2. Discuss the proper method of making a tariff law and show how that has been departed from in the past. Look up the history of the Tariff Commission.
3. Make a summary of the objectionable features of the bills which you have been able to discover.

IV. Can We Get a Better Congress?

1. What are the steps from the beginning of the selection of candidates for Congress to their election? What step is the most important in determining the quality of Congressmen?
2. Which members of Congress are to be elected this year? Explain the reason for the arrangement under our Constitution.
3. Look up Bryce's chapter on "General Observations on Congress" and discuss the reasons why we do not have more able Congressmen.
4. Describe the change in the methods of selecting Senators and give the reasons for it.

V. Naval Efficiency vs. Pseudo-Economy.

1. What questions should determine the number of men in our navy? What other elements have apparently entered into the calculations of the naval committees of Congress?
2. Why is it said that "a navy that cannot win is a useless expense"?

VI. More Statistics—Foreign Trade.

1. What conclusions from these statistics about the course of our foreign trade do you think are valid?
2. What are your answers to the questions asked?

VII. Who Gets the High Price of Coal?

1. State the most essential features of the analysis. In what price elements is the possibility of reduction stressed?
2. What do the figures show about the relative amounts of coal used for different purposes?

VIII. Voices in the Air.

1. Describe the development of electric transmission of sound vibrations.
2. Show the relation of the latest developments to democracy. What problems are raised by them?

The Independent

and

THE WEEKLY REVIEW

April 29, 1922



Touch-and-Go in Ireland

By Stephen Gwynn

THE old saying that things must be worse before they can be better has been a good one to bear in mind among us. Yesterday, March 30, the aspect of affairs perturbed even those who were by no means quick despairers. In Belfast murder had been running riot on both sides. On the border of the six counties opposition forces were watching each other, and on March 30 it was reported that a party of the Southern forces had crossed the line and captured a police barrack with twenty or thirty rifles and much ammunition; while at another point raiders had come in and ambushed a patrol of police, killing two of them. On St. Patrick's Day, Mr. de Valera announced that true Republicans would submit to no other authority than that of an Irish Republic, and that it might be necessary to "wade through the blood of other Irishmen," including members of the Provisional Government. In various parts of the country barracks held by troops amenable to the Provisional Government were attacked and in some cases captured. At Galway trains coming from Belfast were held up and searched for goods of Belfast manufacture and the goods destroyed. In Dublin the Orange Hall was occupied and held by armed men of the Republican party. At various places in the South meetings in support of the treaty were interrupted by revolver shots and in one case the crowd was scattered by rifle fire. Finally, the *Freeman's Journal*, a well-known Nationalist newspaper, which had commented sharply on these proceedings, was visited by a gang of men who broke up the machinery and prevented further issues. It was very clear that unless something dramatic was done, Mr. de Valera's party would gain strength daily and would be able to prevent the holding of elections which could give to the treaty the popular mandate which clearly the Irish people desire that it should possess.

Ulster Relieves the Tense Situation

Meanwhile the Provisional Government was faced with the fact that Ulster might at any time attack, and would have justification in the recurrent raids; while, if it used force against the mutineers, it would certainly incur great unpopularity. At this moment, Ulster decided to come to the rescue. The fact cannot be disputed, but the motives require to be understood. In the first place, Belfast had come to be in a state which made it a byword for barbarism. The worst passions were aroused on both sides and main streets in the city were constantly under fire. There was little to choose between Catholic and

Protestant, but a majority of the killed were Catholics, who are only about one in four of the population; and finally the butchering of a whole Catholic family, seven men young and old, slaughtered in one house by cold-blooded officers, made a climax of horrors. Protestants in Belfast itself, and Protestants throughout the rest of Ireland, began to denounce these appalling deeds. General Sir Henry Wilson, late Chief of the Imperial General Staff, who had been appointed to command the police forces in the northern area with a credit of two millions sterling available for the work, issued a public letter in which he impressed upon Ulster the primary necessity of having support from British public opinion. It is not probable that any one else in Ulster was far-sighted enough to see the advantage of a generous policy. It is practically certain that unless Sir James Craig had been able to appeal to the authority of this new factor in Ulster's politics, he could not have done what he has done. But with this new ally, who, like Sir Edward Carson, is a Southern Irishman, his hands were strengthened.

The North and South Conference

Mr. Churchill demanded that a conference between the Northern and Southern Governments take place, and at this the Northern Premier virtually agreed to make such terms with the Provisional Government as they could hardly have hoped for. It was agreed that peace should be declared. It was agreed secondly that the constabulary in Ulster should be drastically revised and supervised. The force up to now has been exclusively Protestant and has been largely recruited from men of the most violent opinions. It is now agreed that a mixture of Catholics shall be added, that in Catholic districts only Catholic police shall be employed, and that a joint committee of Protestants and Catholics shall be constituted to supervise. All this sounds uncivilized, but it is really a frank and necessary acceptance of facts. It amounts to giving the Catholic minority in Ulster such rights as Ulster claims for itself in Ireland. The agreement is welcomed by the Catholic Bishop of Belfast, whose leanings are to Sinn Fein, and by Mr. Devlin, the strongest personality in the old Constitutional Nationalist party. Broadly speaking, it is welcomed throughout Ireland, and it has the immediate effect of isolating Mr. de Valera's party.

Responsibility for Obstruction

Ireland does not want war, and it is now plain that if the appeal to force is pressed, Mr. de Valera and his par-

tisans will be responsible. The people want to vote for the treaty, and if Mr. de Valera denies them the opportunity they will know exactly what is happening and they will scarcely appreciate his logic, which argues that because the Irish people are going to vote for the treaty under duress, from fear of war with England, they must be put under more immediate duress by rifle and revolver to prevent them from so committing themselves.

All the same, we are not by any means at the end of our troubles. A very serious proportion of the Republican army are involved in a revolt. They know they are a minority and they have no chance except by force. The Government, having other means to prevail, will be slow to use force against them. It must, as I think, first make sure that it has overwhelming force at its command, and it cannot get that force from Great Britain without sacrificing its whole moral position. The alternative is to arm the whole body of those who are willing to support it and this includes nearly a hundred thousand men who fought in the European war. This is not a local squabble that can be left to be fought out between rival sections of the I. R. A. All Ireland has a right to vote and has a right, if the right to vote is challenged, to arm in support of that right.

Reasoning of the Irreconcilables

Mr. de Valera's conduct is hard to understand. He is backed in it by that extremely able Englishman, Mr. Erskine Childers. Apparently the calculation is that England will not go to war with Ireland or for Ireland, in any circumstances, from fear of America; and that the crowning motive is fear that America may press for the war debt and hope that if Irish opposition in America slackens

cancellation of the war debt will be agreed. Mr. de Valera has always seemed to me an exceedingly bad prophet. It appears rather to my judgment that by forcing this split in Ireland he has given to Europe a low opinion of Ireland's political capacity; while he has provided England with an opportunity of demonstrating to Europe her good faith and good-will in this Irish treaty, and finally has made it possible for Ulster to ensure that, if Mr. de Valera succeeds in ousting Mr. Griffith and Mr. Collins, Ulster will have the full moral support of Great Britain in whatever action follows, as well as the certainty of unlimited volunteers and funds, should fighting be necessary.

The Outlook for Peace

Mr. Churchill for England and Sir James Craig for Ulster have greatly enhanced their prestige by giving to Mr. Griffith and Mr. Collins all possible support in a difficult situation. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Griffith and Mr. Collins can make good, and whether Ireland will give them such resolute backing as shall cow faction. But up to the present Southern Ireland, which had most to gain from the treaty of last December, has acquired least advantage and least prestige from that compact. It has been so industriously employed in belittling its own victory that the fruits of that amazing success are unharvested and some of them already destroyed. Still this is Friday, and on Thursday there seemed no hope of avoiding civil war, because no one expected that Ulster would intervene to prevent it. Today the unexpected has happened, and my own feeling is that the tide has turned and will sweep Mr. de Valera with his following very completely out of the way.

Dublin, Ireland

What's the Matter with the Public Library?

By Edmund Lester Pearson

IT comes out in conversation that you are a librarian, or that you are in some way connected with a public library somewhere. It is then an even chance that the next remark is one of these:

"What is the matter with the public library?"

"Why can't *something* be done about the library? I *never* can get anything I want there!"

"Don't they *ever* have any *new* books at the library?"

They look at you in vague but indignant helplessness, and clearly they feel that something ought to be done about it. (I am supposing that this conversation is with people you meet casually in various places—not among teachers, writers, persons engaged in research, nor any of the other classes who know the ropes and have learned how to use a library.) They have heard, have your indignant acquaintances, that there are such people as *trained* librarians; ought not one of these magicians be employed, or, at least, ought not the regular librarian be jarred somehow into greater activity and efficiency? Why, they went into the library *twice*, to get that new book which everybody is talking about (it is a novel), or else to ask for the latest history of the world, which the minister referred to in his sermon last Sunday, and they were told that fourteen other disappointed people had made the same request that day. If they could only have been invited into a comfortable, book-lined office by the librarian, a gentleman preferably looking somewhat like the poet Longfellow, if he had discussed with them the state of literature, recounted some of his experiences with great writers, made two or

three appropriate poetical quotations, and then bowed them to the door, it would not have been so bad.

But, no; they were told by the girl at the desk that all the copies had been lent—told while the girl was busy stamping books for other people, told in a slightly weary tone which made them suspect, perhaps not unjustly, that it would have been small sorrow in that girl's life if the author of the book in question had perished in his infancy. Or else they had themselves looked for the book on the shelf where they supposed it belonged, but had found it missing, while instead there were only a number of rebound, unattractive, and rather soiled books, not one of which was more recent in date of publication than the autumn of 1921. In other words, all old junk.

Demanding the Impossible

Now, there is really no remedy for this grievance. Not the brightest and most efficient wonder-worker of a trained librarian can make three copies of Mr. Wells's "Outline of History" go round among four hundred people, who wish to read it, without forcing some of them to wait a long, long, time—until, in fact, the clergyman, or the study-club leader, or the lecturer, have begun to drop Mr. Wells and to talk about Mr. Van Loon and *his* history. There is no modern scheme of efficiency which will make ten copies of "If Winter Comes," or of "Cytherea," satisfy the insistent demands of hundreds, thousands, of applicants who wish the book within a few weeks of publication.

"But," grandly says the critic, "buy more copies." It is

at this point that the librarian shows his self-control by not sinking back in his chair and allowing his whole frame to be racked with sobs. Buy more copies! He wishes he had money enough to buy any copies at all of many books whose absence is a reproach. He does not weep, however, he merely indicates gently that the library is hard up. "What? Not money enough?" says the critic. "Why I supposed you had all the money you need—with all this!" And a wave of the hand toward the mural painting representing the discovery of printing, or the marble columns in the reading room, or the bronze statue of the founder of the library, illustrates his belief in untold hoards at the librarian's disposal.

There is, I should have said, one way out of the difficulty about the novels. That is to compete with the commercial circulating libraries, and lend a certain number of copies at so much per week. This is often a convenience, but, of course, it is a makeshift which dodges the whole question of *free* library administration.

The Cry for New Books

The problem of the new books has always been a tough one for the public librarian, but it is especially troublesome now. Many readers, or possible readers, are taking seriously the counsel of persons in apparent positions of literary authority who are telling their disciples that all the canons are being upset once a week. Not long ago the proprietor of a book-shop told me, with a note of passionate intensity in her voice, that the revelations of Einstein "had scrapped, *absolutely scrapped*" all the scientific books which had been written before his discovery. Her book-shop (it is one of these modern ones, where customers are, so to speak, hand-picked and milk-fed) is cleverly conducted for the benefit of the large anserine group who prefer to flounder about at the bottom of an intellectual pool six or eight feet over their heads, so it is probable that such advice as hers has its effect. The conductor of a literary answers-to-correspondents column replies to a query like "Who are the three greatest women poets of the world?" by saying that they are Sappho, Mrs. Browning, and Millicent Tinkle—whose first published work, a pamphlet of eleven pages, called "Chirpings and Chitterings," appeared last Wednesday afternoon.

Or, if asked what three novels should be studied by a serious class in a college, bent on surveying the mountain-peaks in the history of fiction, this column invariably gives the eager students some answer such as that they may neglect all others except Cervantes's "Don Quixote," Balzac's "Père Goriot," and Desmond O'Cannister's "Decaying Souls." The last-named masterpiece, it appears, has been published that very day, and (by an odd chance) is advertised in an adjoining column. Readers must get it immediately, for although it contains all the ripe wisdom and heart's bitterness of the author (he is nineteen years old) time is fleeting. In a few months he will be twenty years old, and then far too aged ever again to See Life Steadily and See It Whole, or to Present the Facts of Life as They Are. Some of the Younger Novelists succeed in maintaining their pessimism, their note of mocking laughter, up to the age of twenty-one or two, but after that a ray of detestable cheerfulness creeps in, and ruins their work for every true Intellectual. A page or two not of churchyard gloom and the book becomes mere pap for the *bourgeoisie*. So the reader must make haste and get the current novels of the Young Intellectuals while they are still mouldy from the press.

Was there ever a time when it was so hard to keep up to the minute with current—I almost said, literature? Perhaps not since lampoons and satires were hawked about the London coffee-houses. A man writes a successful book, another man parodies it, another parodies the parody, and before the waves created by the first book have become ripples there is a whole library of satire and criticism

about it. Everybody is engaged in being fearfully satirical and subtle at somebody else's expense. Subtlety, and supersubtlety, and thrice refined subtlety are piled upon one another until nothing means what it seems to mean, and some writers of book-reviews are scared into timidly praising everything, however dull or stupid, in fear that if they say what they really think, it may betray their ignorance of the fact that what seemed tiresome was really a tremendously clever piece of satire.

So more and more people demand new and ever newer books from the public libraries; the price of books is higher, and nearly every public library is far poorer than it was five years ago—poorer both relatively and absolutely. That is what's the matter with the public library.

Four-fifths of the complaints come from people who do not understand how to use a public library. They expect it to perform miracles, and they do not allow it to do the work which it could do for them. It is right and proper for the library to supply novels and short stories, or, as George Ticknor wrote to Edward Everett sixty or seventy years ago: for it to furnish the people with "the pleasant literature of the day . . . when it is fresh and new." But it is unreasonable to expect that it can keep up with the enormous stream of novels and the enormous demand for them (far greater than Ticknor ever imagined), just as it would be unreasonable to expect the theatre to provide everyone with an aisle seat on first nights.

Here Is the Remedy

If the public libraries are to be more satisfactory, the reading habits of people must change. They must go elsewhere for most of their novels and short stories, and be as willing to spend ten or fifteen cents to hire a new novel from a commercial circulating library as to spend the same amount for an ice-cream soda. Or as ready to spend fifty cents or a dollar a month in dues for a neighborhood book-club as they are to pay out three times that amount for the movies. In regard to the presumably more solid and certainly more expensive book of history, travel, biography, or whatever, which is new and so popular that it is practically unobtainable at the library—well, why not buy one outright now and then? Five dollars spent for two theatre tickets may give you a pleasant evening and possibly some agreeable recollections. The same amount for a book may give you seven or eight pleasant evenings, and also some agreeable recollections.

In short, one of the troubles with the American public library is really the fault of the American people: they themselves do not buy enough books. (And I say this calmly, disregarding whatever anger it may cause publishers and book-sellers.)

If your public library cannot lend you the older novelists (not the great giants alone, but also lesser and attractive figures like Frank Stockton and Miss Edith Somerville); if it cannot give you something to read about a subject as profound as Oriental philosophy, or as homely as raising radishes, as esoteric as St. Catharine of Siena, or as practical as bookkeeping—if it has nothing at all for you on these topics, or others like them, then indeed there is a fault somewhere. And if you wish to find out where it lies, and are not content merely with making cutting remarks to the girl at the desk, or writing sarcastic letters to the librarian, you will probably discover that the municipal body, whatever it is, which provides the funds, has been at its favorite pastime of economizing—beginning with the public library. A small boy once told his teacher that Queen Elizabeth was a robber; that she stole food from the Army. Asked for his authority, he pointed to the sentence in the history, which said that "Elizabeth pinched her soldiers' rations." This form of pinching has long been popular when practised against public libraries, and until the public begins to protest, it will probably continue.



EDITORIAL



This journal will henceforth appear fortnightly instead of weekly. The next issue will be that for May 13. Although the paper will be enlarged and otherwise improved, all existing subscriptions will be extended to comprise an undiminished number of issues.

The Standing Threat of Socialism

“I AM an individualist—an unashamed individualist—a proud individualist,” says Herbert Hoover in an article on “American Individualism” in the *World's Work*. There are also socialists, unashamed socialists, proud socialists—a goodly number of them, in America as well as in other countries. But there is a vastly greater number of persons who, while not socialists, take no stand against socialism; who think (rightly enough) that “there is a good deal to be said for socialism,” and who take refuge in this weak excuse for having no clear convictions on the subject; who imagine, in a vague way, that whatever is right in the matter will come about of itself; and whose intellectual and moral inertia finds further support in the thought that if socialism is bad the world will soon be cured of all hankering after it by bitter experiences such as that of Russia.

Now there are many things about the struggle over socialism that are involved in the utmost doubt. But concerning one thing there is no room for any doubt whatsoever. It is quite certain that socialism is going to be a live issue—the live issue—for as many years as any one need trouble to think about. It has not been killed by the appalling experience of Russia; still less will it be killed by any failure unattended with such horrors as those which the subjects of Lenin and Trotsky have experienced. For it is a genuine faith, and it embodies a genuine and ardent hope. Millions of the poor and unfortunate are unquestioning adherents of that faith and participants in that hope. Many thousands who are neither poor nor unfortunate are convinced of the soundness of its underlying principles, and ascribe to the perversity or blindness of the majority, and to the wicked selfishness of a dominant class, its failure thus far to win the victory which assuredly will come sooner or later. To imagine that, in such a situation, there can be any speedy end to socialist agitation—even any speedy checking of the socialist advance which has been going on steadily and persistently for at least half a century—is to hug a delusion.

To any one who has given serious thought to the subject, this is so evident as to require no argument. The only question is as to the direction in which defence against the socialist danger is to be sought. With many people who realize the infinite seriousness of that danger, the first impulse is to seek safety in suppression. But suppression of opinion, even if it were not objectionable on broader grounds, is condemned by its manifest futility.

A policy of suppression that went to the extreme of rigor might conceivably be successful, though we are quite sure that even that would be a dismal failure; but it is idle to discuss such a policy, since it is quite certain that no such policy would be tolerated by a free people. The only possibility would be a policy of feeble and spasmodic suppression—one case of spectacular enforcement and a hundred cases of no enforcement at all. And clearly such a policy would make a thousand socialists to every one that it prevented the making of. The only way to fight socialism is by influencing people's minds; but still the question remains, how is this to be done?

Upon this question there is room for much difference of opinion; but in our own mind there has never been any doubt as to the cardinal point in the matter. The key to the situation lies not in any attempt to win over socialists, or even semi-socialists, but in illuminating the minds, strengthening the fibre, stiffening the backbone, of those who are not socialists. We cannot do much to lessen the numbers of the other side; we can do a great deal to infuse life and vigor into our own. And this can be done only by constant assertion and exposition of the merits of our case, and exposure of the defects of the socialist case. We must be, like Mr. Hoover, “individualists unashamed.” We must not say that the socialist scheme is a beautiful dream, and the only trouble about it is that it cannot be put into practice. We must not give the socialists the advantage of playing the rôle of high-minded idealists, leaving to us that of sordid worldlings. We must assert, as Mr. Hoover does, that the highest spiritual, as well as the richest material, ends of human life are served by a social order in which individual striving, individual ambition, is the primary element and the mechanism of social organization only secondary. We must emphasize, as he does, the difference between a crass stand-pat individualism, which pays no heed to the common good, and the kind of individualism which has been the very heart of America's life and the source of her moral as well as of her material conquests. In short, we must have, first, a genuine conviction; second, the courage of that conviction; and third, a realizing sense of the importance of driving that conviction home to the minds and hearts of the thinking men and women who hold the destinies of the country in their keeping.

At the ballot box one man's vote counts the same as another's; but back of the vote at the ballot box stand months and years of opinion in the making. In that process of opinion-making—a process silently going on all the time—there are a few thousand men and women who count for more than as many millions. They cannot be held by occasional hysterical alarms,

nor, on the other hand, can they be held by feeble apologetics masquerading as open-mindedness. What is needed is steady and vigorous appeal, based on profound conviction and supported by fair and solid argument. This *can* hold them; and to hold them is to win the battle.

A Wanton and Baseless Attack

WE have always been inclined to give Senator Borah credit for sincerity. He might be lacking in education and culture; ignorant of international relations; disregarding of the amenities which make for peace and friendship with our neighbors. But at least, so we felt, here was an honest man, sturdily, if somewhat noisily, pursuing the truth as he saw it. But his wanton attack on Mr. Boris Bakhmetieff, the Russian Ambassador, is so disingenuous, and is accompanied by allegations so manifestly false, that it would be stretching the mantle of charity to the breaking point to attribute it simply to honest ignorance.

The occasion of the attack was the Semenov case. He charged Mr. Bakhmetieff with "having harbored and given counsel to a murderer." He either knew, or could easily have ascertained, that the charge was absolutely false, and that the Ambassador never had the slightest connection with or sympathy for the guerrilla chieftain. From this he went on to a general attack on Mr. Bakhmetieff's position as representative of the Russian people, couched in most insulting terms.

This position, fully recognized by the State Department, was the subject of a full investigation by the august body of which Senator Borah is a member. He has no excuse, therefore, to be ignorant of its findings. Under the enlightened theory that a people has the right to be represented and its interests protected even if it be temporarily subjected to a régime impossible of recognition, our Government wisely continued to accord Mr. Bakhmetieff plenipotentiary powers. For a man who perennially prates about being "a friend of the People," an attack on this thoroughly democratic policy smacks of insincerity. But Mr. Bakhmetieff has done more than merely protect the interests of his own people, whom he represents more truly than any of the rulers at Moscow. He has done America a great and lasting service. At the time of the Bolshevik revolution, our Government found itself in a bad predicament. Our manufacturers had undertaken over a hundred million dollars worth of Russian war contracts and there was no money to meet them. With patriotic devotion, with splendid skill, and with uncompromising honesty, Mr. Bakhmetieff devoted all the Russian funds at his disposal—almost none of them derived from America—to the liquidation of these contracts, and returned a substantial balance to our Government. Senator Borah was in a position to know all this from the enquiry carried on by his own colleagues. And he certainly knows that the Ambassador has made an enviable reputation in Washington and elsewhere for probity, tact, courtesy, and great good sense.

Senator Borah's purpose is manifest. His wanton attack is only another step in the campaign for Soviet recognition. The motivation of that campaign, and the instrumentalities by which it is being conducted, deserve a searching investigation.

An Easter Bombshell at Genoa

HAD Mr. Lloyd George and M. Barthou given heed to the wise admonition: "Do not confuse Bolshevism with Russia," they would have avoided much superfluous anxiety last week at Genoa. Two things are playing into the hands of those who are fishing in the muddied waters of European politics and who are taking counsel of desperation in the hope of profiting out of a welter of discord. The first is the ridiculous tendency to take the Bolsheviks seriously and deal with them as with people who accept the same fundamentals of international relationship as do civilized governments. The second is to exaggerate the immediate importance of opening Russia as a means of restoring European prosperity. The first would disappear if it were borne in upon other Powers that the Soviet rulers do not in the least represent the Russian people, that they exercise authority over less than ten per cent. of them, and that they maintain a hold on this authority by dint of force and terror. The second consideration would cease to have weight if they would stop to consider that for some years to come Russia can contribute nothing to the rest of Europe and must absorb enormous amounts of capital before production can be restored and transportation rehabilitated.

Were these two things thoroughly understood, nervous Europe would not tremble before each successive diplomatic bluff of the unscrupulous schemers who have been invited as equals into a general conference. Such are the thoughts that come as one views the consternation that followed the announcement that Chicherin and Rathenau had signed at Rapallo on Easter Sunday a Soviet-German treaty. A firm grasp on realities and a saving sense of humor would have enabled the delegates to laugh out of court Chicherin's hypocritical attack on French militarism and ludicrous demand that Japan and Rumania be excluded from the chief committee of the Conference, as well as Rakovsky's proposal to divide up the gold of the world and set a new value to the dollar.

As it was, the Bolsheviks scored heavily. They had nothing to lose and everything to gain, and as long as they could play on Europe's fears and jealousies, and realized that Mr. Lloyd George would go to almost any length rather than have them withdraw and spoil his party, they could indulge in any effrontery with a cynical disregard for the proprieties. Not so the Germans. Resting under a cloud and under the urgent necessity of slowly rehabilitating themselves in the good opinion of the world, it was for them a costly blunder and apparently justified the charge that they could not be trusted to play the game.

The effrontery and bad faith lay not in the treaty itself, which was for the most part harmless, despite M. Barthou's charge that it violated the reparations clause of the Treaty of Versailles, but in the time and manner of its conclusion. That it was mere chance that the negotiations of months happened to be completed just as the Conference met, or that Soviet Russia and Germany were driven to conclude this treaty by enforced isolation—mutually contradictory pleas which were offered—are lamentably weak excuses. The true significance is to be sought elsewhere—it is to be sought in Soviet desperation and in the persistence of

German *Machtpolitik*. To understand this one must look back some twenty months. The Red Army stood at the gates of Warsaw and it looked as though Poland must fall. Germany, the old Germany, stood on the tiptoe of expectation, ready at a moment's notice to make common cause with the Bolsheviki and bid defiance to the Allies and the peace they had forced upon her. But Warsaw held, thanks to the able leadership of France, and the Reds suffered a crushing defeat, so Germany drew back from the brink.

Now, however, a diplomatic instead of a military opportunity has presented itself. At bottom the conclusion of the Rapallo treaty, flaunted thus in the face of the Conference and violating the implicit understanding under which the Conference was held, is an insolent challenge of a new balance of power, of a combination pitted against the Entente. Let no one say that it is a trivial matter or one not to be taken seriously, because of the desperate economic situation of the two countries. Bear in mind that these countries cannot be coerced by military force, for another war now would be suicidal to Western Europe, while if left undisturbed they have in combination the technical ability, man-power, and natural resources to build up a great and menacing power.

The weak point lies in the fact that the Bolsheviki are not Russia and do not represent Russia—now. The Russian people, though beaten down and terrorized, have no sympathy for Germany or liking for German domination. If the Powers at Genoa accord to the Soviet régime official recognition, they turn the German-Soviet agreement into a German-Russian one. If they decline to accord such recognition, they leave the door open to the Russian people to assert themselves—a process that is now steadily developing—and bring the threatened alliance to naught.

A third course remains. The conditions of recognition can be laid down, clearly and firmly, and performance, not promises, exacted. There is no need to infringe the sovereignty of Russia or exact capitulations, as was implied in the recommendations of the London Committee, to which the Soviet representatives recently made reply. State the conditions and let recognition wait on fulfilment. The conditions are simple—sanctity of contract, equal justice, freedom of labor, security of property and person—but, alas, attention is diverted from them by exaggerating the issue of recognition of Russia's debts. Why is it that the negotiators can not see that an agreement by the Soviet Government to *recognize* the debts means less than nothing? The real guarantee that the legitimate obligations of Russia will be recognized and eventually paid lies in the fact that Russia, once she is opened again for development, will urgently need capital and credit, and the insurmountable obstacle to obtaining them is repudiation.

On America the reaction to the Easter bombshell at Genoa is one of relief at escape from what would have been a terribly embarrassing predicament. Many of those journals which from a weak sentimentalism advocated American participation in the Conference are now constrained to admit that Secretary Hughes showed foresight and sagacity in declining the invitation. It is evident that our presence there would not have availed in the slightest degree to avert a dénouement conditioned on the intricacies of European politics,

and could only have resulted in complications in which America would have been compromised and by which she would have been deprived of the vantage-ground from which she may eventually exert a powerful influence for good.

The Cooling of Fire-Brands

HAVE you noticed that it is no longer popular or fashionable to indulge in diatribes against Japan and raucous appeals to anti-Japanese feeling? This certainly is the case in America and we are told that there is a corresponding decrease in anti-American attacks in Japan. For this thank the Washington Conference and the spirit in which its negotiations were carried on. The reason is not to be sought in the agreement to scrap battleships and set limits to naval competition—that was a result rather than a cause—but in the development of mutual confidence and esteem.

Two elements are naturally disappointed at this development of better understanding, the Hearst press in America and the military party in Japan, but we can bear their chagrin. Japan has not had an easy time of it. Our yellow press continually furnished her militarists with ammunition for their campaign. It would be as great a mistake to assume that Japan had now turned all pacifist as that the Island Kingdom was all militarist. But what is evident is that her statesmen are acting in good faith in carrying out their part of the Washington programme. That they will drive hard bargains where opportunity offers is to be expected. Nations, and those who conduct the business of nations, while observing their obligations honorably, are not moved by altruistic sentimentalism. But the basis has been laid for mutual respect and better relations, and remaining difficulties should easily yield to frank discussion and friendly accommodation. Europe may well take heart from the accomplishments of the Washington Conference and emulate its example.

Alexander Pope After Two Centuries

WHAT remains of the great Lord Bolingbroke's London residence must be demolished to make room for a flour mill extension, and the famous Cedar Room in which Alexander Pope is said to have written his "Essay on Man" will be sold, says the *London Times*, and brought to America. What will be its fate in this country is not reported. But whether a museum will boast of it or it becomes the "den" of an American millionaire, it will be far enough from the tastes and thoughts that linked the rhymes and modulated the rhythms of the "Essay on Man." We feel that our problems are not solved by antique saws, however learnedly culled—no more, in fact, were theirs. Even more strongly, perhaps, our younger people feel that the new wine of our spirit cannot be held in such old bottles of rigid form. Nevertheless, the visitor to this shrine may not improperly reflect that not what Pope himself thought to be very modern in his verse gives it life today. We are farther from its eighteenth century modernism than from its spirit of humanistic restraint: what he thought was mere bottle—the carrying forward of the great tradition of discipline and form—was, in fact, its living wine; what he thought was new wine—its eighteenth century thinking—has turned out to be mere bottle.

The Story of the Week

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

Domestic Affairs

The Naval Bill

AFTER a violent debate, the House on the 19th passed, 221 to 148, an amendment to the Naval Appropriation bill authorizing an enlisted strength of 86,000, instead of the 67,000 proposed by the Appropriations Subcommittee. A corresponding increase of appropriation was voted and then the bill itself, as amended, was passed by a vote of 279 to 78 and sent to the Senate. It is thought that President Harding's letter to Representative Longworth, strongly advocating the larger personnel, greatly affected the vote.

The bill provides for commissioning only 200 of 541 members of this year's graduating class at the Naval Academy.

Immigration

The Senate on April 15 passed the House resolution which proposes extension of the period of operation of the 3 per cent. Immigration Restriction bill, but further extending the period to June 30, 1924. The resolution has gone to conference.

During the period July 1, 1921-February 28, 1922, 51,981 alien immigrants were admitted from northern and western Europe, and 15,930 returned; a net gain of 36,051. During the same period 119,606 alien immigrants were admitted from southern and eastern Europe, and 113,243 returned; a net gain of 6,363. There were admissible from northern and western Europe, 197,649.

Semenov

Semenov, Ataman or Headman of Siberian Cossacks; General Semenov, successor of Kolchak; Semenov, Inke (or Duke) of Mongolia; Semenov, Supreme Head of the League of Unspoiled Nations: in New York en route from Siberia to France, was incarcerated in Ludlow Street jail, on a warrant issued at the instance of an American company, now bankrupt, which formerly traded in Russia. These traders, so incapable of hero-worship, claim to have secured a judgment against Semenov in Harbin, China, in the amount of \$500,000, on the charge that Semenov, in the character of bandit, despoiled them of property of the aforesaid value in Siberia, driving them into bankruptcy.

While the hero lay in "quod," a committee of Congress was debating what to do about him. They listened to reflections on his character of a kind to make the Devil, so charged, wince, and to extraordinary testimonies to his virtues. Apparently the General cannot be tried by courts of this country for crimes he is alleged to have committed or authorized (including murders of American soldiers) while commanding troops in Siberia.

Whether the Inke can be tried upon the civil charge, remains to be seen. Hero-worshippers will be glad to know that he has been released from jail on cash bail of \$20,000. The discomforts and indignities to which the Ataman has been subjected (including the execrations and threats of a Russian mob which beset him on his release from jail) trouble him less than the twelve bullets lodged in his person; but even these latter he can forget when he falls a-dreaming of his project of a League of Unspoiled Nations (Mongolia, Thibet, etc.). One doubts that the Supreme Head, after his entertainment here, will invite us to join that League.

Take Money from Thy Purse

The New York department of the American Legion is trying to raise an endowment fund of \$2,500,000 for the Veterans' Mountain Camp for tuberculous patients (especially convalescents) in the Adirondacks. Money could not be given for a better purpose. Make out your check to the order of the Veterans' Mountain Camp and mail it to 50 Church street, New York City.

The 1923 Federal Deficit

The Treasury Department now estimates a surplus of receipts over expenditures of about \$47,000,000 for the fiscal year 1922, but for the fiscal year 1923 a deficit of \$484,000,000 instead of the \$167,-

000,000 previously estimated.

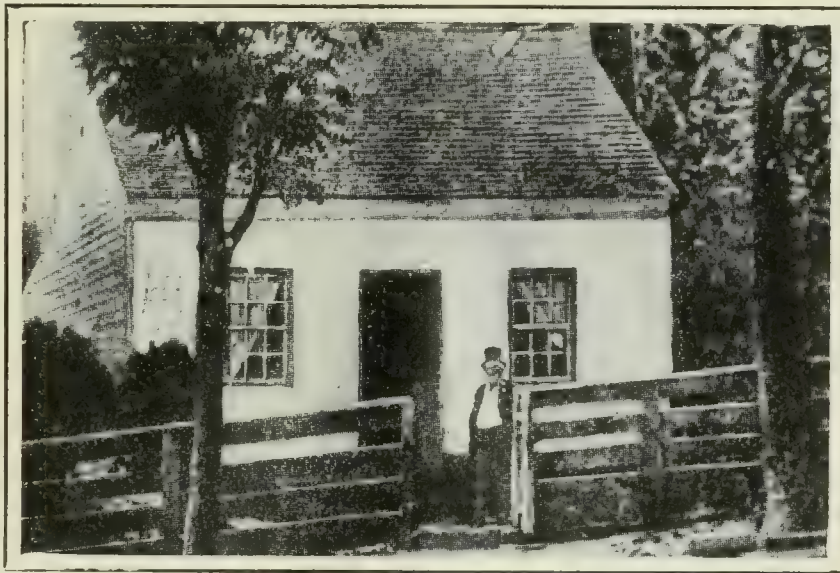
The latter estimate is likely to be considerably revised to the discomfiture of the taxpayer.

An Anti-Prohibition Meeting

On the 6th, Carnegie Hall, New York City, was packed with an enthusiastic throng assembled to organize the New York Division of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment. Resolutions urging repeal of the Volstead Act, and as soon thereafter as possible repeal of the constitutional amendment, were unanimously adopted. It is said that this association has 300,000 members and that new members are joining at the rate of a thousand a day. Moreover, it has just started business.

America Helps Those Who Help Themselves

Sir William Goode, formerly president of the Reparations Commission in Austria, returning to Europe from a visit to this country on Austria's behalf, states that American politicians and financiers declared that no help to Austria from this country need be expected before Austrian finance and industry have been rehabilitated. "America helps those who help themselves" is our motto.



Underwood & Underwood

An old photograph of the house in which General Grant was born. Standing outside is Dr. Rogers, who assisted at the birth.

The Foreign-Born Population of New York State

The census of 1920 shows the total population of New York State as 10,385,000; including 2,786,000 foreign-born whites. These latter included 2,528,500 twenty-one years old or over. Of these last 475,000 were born in Italy; 458,000 in Russia; 290,000 in Germany; 280,500 in Ireland; 225,000 in Poland; 138,000 in Austria; 120,000 in England; 114,000 in Canada. Of the natives of Italy 29.3 per cent. were naturalized; of Russia, 39.7 per cent.; of Germany, 70 per cent.; of Ireland, 63.3 per cent.; of Poland, 29.8 per cent.; of Austria, 42.8 per cent.; of England, 61.6 per cent.; of Canada, 59.8 per cent.

An American Gift to Belgium

It is proposed that the new Louvain Library shall be the gift, in the main, of students in American schools and colleges. A vigorous campaign to collect the money—about \$1,000,000—is in process. Mr. Whitney Warren is the architect. On a pillar in the covered arcade will be inscribed the names of American soldiers who died in the Great War, and on a twin pillar the names of the sailor dead. The names of American schools, colleges, and universities whose students have contributed to the building fund will be emblazoned on pillars and shields in the building. It is pleasant to know that the French school children have contributed each their sou. The pillars with the names of the American dead are appropriate, but it may occur to some that the emblazonry conveying acknowledgment of American generosity might be dispensed with.

Revision of the Episcopal Prayer Book

The Commission on Revision of the Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church would remove from the marriage service in that book the word "obey" spoken by the bride, and the words "with all my worldly goods I thee endow" spoken by the bridegroom. The man and the woman, now being recognized as equal, would give the same promises. It is also proposed to omit the question now addressed by the clergyman to the bride: "Who giveth this woman to be married to this man?" as obviously archaic and smacking of Wells's Old Man.

Altogether 250 alterations are recommended: "to adapt the Prayer Book to present conditions." That time is sped when it was sought to adapt conditions to the precepts of the Prayer Book.

Brief Items

Apparently the great coal strike has ceased to make headway among non-union miners; perhaps a reverse process is faintly discernible.

* * *

Outrages by union miners in West Virginia have been reported, but on the whole the strike has been orderly.

The House bill authorizing an additional appropriation of \$17,000,000 for hospital facilities for disabled ex-soldiers, was passed by the Senate on April 14.

* * *

It is understood that agreement has been reached (Chairman Lasker of the Shipping Board consenting) to eliminate from the Ship Subsidy bill now under consideration its provisions relating to a merchant marine naval reserve. The important matter of providing a naval reserve will be left entirely to the Navy Department.

* * *

The American Forestry Association has given 100,000,000 Douglas fir seeds to the French Government; enough to reforest 100,000 acres.

The Irish Situation

EAMON DE VALERA issued an Easter Sunday message to the young men and women of Ireland which must be regarded by Collins and Griffith as treason and incitement to violence, but is doubtless regarded by himself as a noble summons to do or die for Ireland.

* * *

The commander of a mutinous detachment of the Irish Republican army at Sligo issued a manifesto forbidding an advertised meeting at Sligo on the 17th, at which Arthur Griffith was to speak. Nevertheless the meeting was held and Griffith spoke. He was attended by some fifty Free State soldiers under the famous General McKeown, "the blacksmith of Balinalee." The little bodyguard were fired on by mutineers, of whom there were several hundred in the town. They returned the fire and wounded two mutineers. That seems to be the only kind of argument these spitfires will listen to.

* * *

Griffith showed a good deal of nerve in carrying out his Sligo program against so many threats and with so small a guard, and has no doubt greatly enhanced his reputation thereby. On that same Sunday night an attempt was made on Collins's life in the streets of Dublin, and rebels fired on Beggar's Bush Barracks, the Free State General Headquarters.

* * *

Upon the whole, despite the continued insolence and outrageous conduct of the army mutineers, the outlook for the Provisional Free State Government is no worse than it was last week; it is probably a thought better.

The Genoa Conference

Muscovite Claims

LOYD GEORGE tells the Russians that, if they expect to do business, they must first formally recognize the liability of the Soviet Government for the debts of the Czarist régime and those of the Kerensky Government, and for destruction, damage, and confiscation befallen the property of foreigners during the Soviet régime. Such recognition



Paul Thompson

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle



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IN CIRCLES

BUSINESS: "For Heaven's sake start somewhere; I'm getting dizzy!"

given, the Allies will consider Russian indemnity claims upon the account of support alleged to have been given by the Allies to Denikin, Kolchak, and other White leaders. The Allied claims against Russia total about sixty-five billion gold francs; those of the Russians against the Allies reach the fantastic figure of three hundred billion gold francs. Chicherin suggests that, without more ado, sixty-five billions be subtracted from three hundred billions, and that the Allies acknowledge themselves indebted to Russia a matter of 235 billion francs, or 47 billion dollars. And Rakovsky submits a modest request for a first payment right off of four billion dollars. It may be pertinent to point out that Rakovsky was born in Bulgaria and was a German spy in Rumania during the time Russia was fighting on the side of the Allies.

"The Allies having lost their war with Russia," says Litvinov in his pleasant way, "we are here to make peace. We have named our conditions. We must be paid for what Russia did for the Allies, and we must be paid for the damage the Allies did Russia through Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel, and by the blockade."

Vae victis, in fact; that's the tune to which the Allies must dance.

The Muscovites Are Magnanimous

The Muscovites have reduced the total of their counter-claims from 300,000,000,000 gold francs to 125,000,000,000 gold francs, so that now the Allies owe them only 60,000,000,000 gold francs, or \$12,000,000,000. Moreover, 'tis said they are willing to call it square with a much more modest sum paid them on the nail, and the promise of a thumping loan: this partly for the reason that they are desperately in need of present cash, and partly that they are magnanimous.

To show their magnanimity again, they offer to reduce (No! No! Chicherin! didn't you promise not to talk disarmament?) their army of 1,450,000 to 725,000 provided the other European nations will halve their forces. The most obvious criticism to be made of this proposition is that the Russian army does not number anything like 1,450,000; most probably does not exceed 600,000 men. What incorrigible humorists and *menteurs* those fellows are, to be sure!

It must be, really, that the Muscovites are merely sparing for advantage. They have asked Moscow for instructions. In the meantime . . .

Bang!

After all, it seems, the Muscovites did win a "diplomatic victory" during their stop-over in Berlin. For at Rapallo, on Sunday, the 16th, there was signed a formal treaty between the Berlin and Moscow Governments.

This treaty deserves to be quoted in full:

Article 1. (a)—The German and Russian Governments have agreed to settle wartime questions on the following basis: The German Government and the Soviet Republic reciprocally renounce reimbursement of war expenses as well as reimbursement of war damages, and also damages suffered by their subjects in the war territories because of military measures, including requisitions carried out in the enemy's country. Likewise the two contracting parties renounce reimbursement of civil damages caused by the so-called exceptional laws or by coercive measures by State authorities.

(b)—All legal relations concerning questions of public or private law resulting from the state of war, including the question of merchant ships acquired by either side during the war, shall be settled on a basis of reciprocity.

(c)—Germany and Russia mutually renounce the payment of expenses caused by prisoners of war, in the same way as the Reich renounces payment of expenses caused by the internment of soldiers of the Russian army. The Russian Government renounces payment of the sum Germany has derived from the sale of Russian army material transported into Germany.

Article 2. Germany renounces all claims resulting from the enforcement of the laws and measures of the Soviet Republic as they have affected German nationals or their private rights or the rights of the German Reich itself, as

well as claims resulting from measures taken by the Soviet Republic or its authorities in any other way against the subjects of the German Reich or their private rights, provided the Soviet Government shall not satisfy similar claims made by any third State.

Article 3. Consular and diplomatic relations between the Reich and the Federal Republic of Soviets shall be resumed immediately; the admission of Consuls to both countries shall be arranged by special agreement.

Article 4. Both Governments agree further that the rights of the nationals of either of the two parties on the other's territory, as well as the regulation of commercial relations, shall be based on the most favored nation principle. This principle does not include the rights and facilities granted by the Soviet Government to another Soviet State or to any State that formerly formed part of the Russian Empire.

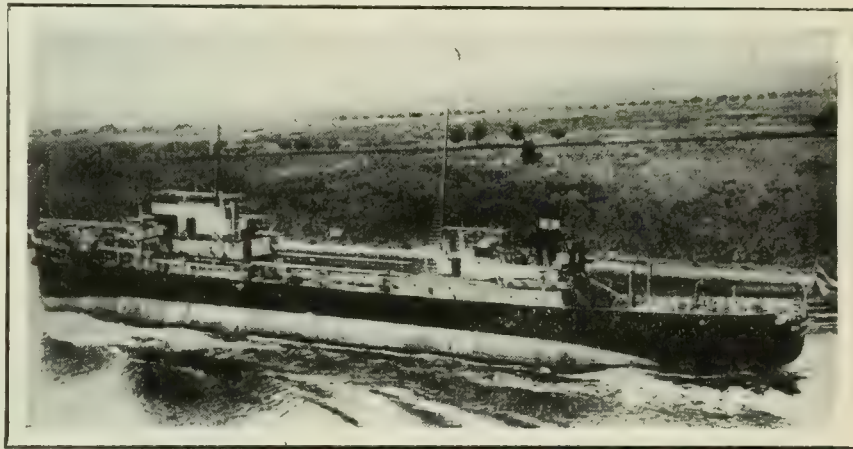
Article 5. The two Governments undertake to give each other mutual assistance for the alleviation of their economic difficulties in the most benevolent spirit. In the event of a general settlement of this question on an international basis they undertake to have a preliminary exchange of views. The German Government declares itself ready to facilitate as far as possible the conclusion and execution of economic contracts between private enterprises in the two countries.

Article 6. Clause 1, Paragraph B, and Clause 4 of this agreement, shall come into force after ratification of this document; the other clauses will come into force immediately.

A German Explanation

The following official German *communiqué* deserves quotation even more than does the treaty:

Several months of negotiation between the Germans and



Kadel & Herbert

A German freighter; the superstructure built upon the hulls of two submarines

Russians was brought to a conclusion Easter Sunday. A treaty has been drafted based on full reciprocity. Regular diplomatic relations will be resumed. All indemnity claims growing out of the war have been canceled, as well as the pre-war debts. The same arrangement has been made for claims growing out of the Russian nationalization of German property, with the provision that Germany benefits from any general arrangement Russia makes with an outside power. For the future Germany will enjoy the position of the most favored nation under reciprocal relations.

Thus the treaty in nowise affects the relations of the two nations with any third nation. The treaty wipes out the past and establishes a basis of future restoration. The advantages we may hope from the German-Russian agreement will be useful for all Europe.

This agreement made during the conference does not mean that Germany withdraws from the conference for general European reconstruction. Both contracting Governments are convinced the agreement will be useful for achieving the aims of the conference for the restoration of general peace.

Allied Comment

It is thought that prevailing comment in the British, French, and Italian press may be fairly summarized as follows:

The suspicion that the Germans and the Muscovites were "in cahoot" is thus seen to be fully justified. The signing of the treaty at this time is obviously a *coup*. The *communiqué* is "bunk."

The signing and publication of the treaty is a joint piece of propaganda, surpassing in impudence any single effort of Moscow or Berlin. Out of its setting the document might seem entirely moral and benevolent. It should be read with reference to the time and circumstances of its signing and

the purposes it is intended to serve, and along with the mendacious glosses liberally furnished by the Russians and Germans, who emphasize its benevolent objects. "Here," they say, "Germany and Russia are presenting to the other nations represented in the conference an example of mutual forgiveness and coöperation; an example to arouse in other nations a spirit of emulation, which will urge them to renounce their claims against Germany and Russia."

The following American comment seems a little cynical, but may be apt nevertheless:

It were silly to cry out upon the Germans and Russians for perfidy and general turpitude; only less silly than to allow them to "put over" their interesting *coup*. The philosopher will smilingly observe that here is the high-water mark of propaganda and mendacity, and watch results.

Result Number One

The representatives of the great Allies, the Little Entente and Poland, address the following note to the German delegation:

The undersigned powers learned with astonishment that in the first stage of the Genoa conference Germany without reference to the other powers assembled has secretly concluded a treaty with the Soviet Government.

The questions covered by the treaty are the subject of negotiations between the representatives of Russia and those of all the other powers invited to the conference, including Germany, and the German Chancellor himself declared at the opening session that the German delegation would coöperate with the other powers for a solution of these questions in a spirit of genuine loyalty and fellowship.

The undersigned powers therefore express to the German delegation in the frankest terms their opinion that the conclusion of such an agreement while the conference was in session is a violation of the conditions to which Germany pledged itself on entering the conference.

By inviting Germany to Genoa and offering her representation on every commission on equal terms with themselves the inviting powers proved their readiness to waive memories of the war and granted Germany an opportunity for honest coöperation with former enemies in the European tasks of the conference. To that offer of goodwill and fellowship Germany replied with an act which destroys the spirit of mutual confidence indispensable to international coöperation, the establishment of which is the chief aim of the conference.

At all conferences unofficial conversations between parties are permissible, often desirable. They are helpful so long as they are designed to facilitate the common task and so long as the results are brought to the conference table for common discussion and decision. But that is not what the German delegates have done.

This treaty is not subject to any examination or sanction by the conference. We understand that it is final and that it is not proposed to be submitted to the judgment of the conference. It is, in fact, a violation of the principles on which the conference is based.

In these circumstances the undersigned do not consider it fair or equitable that Germany, having effected her own arrangement with Russia, should enter into a discussion of the conditions of an arrangement between their countries and Russia; they therefore assume that the German delegates have by their action renounced further participation in the discussion of the conditions of agreement between Russia and the various countries represented at the conference.

(Signed)

LLOYD GEORGE (England)
BARTHOU (France)
FACTA (Italy)
ISHII (Japan)
THEUNYS (Belgium)

BENES (Czechoslovakia)
SKIRMUNT (Poland)
NINCHICH (Jugoslavia)
DIAMANDY (Rumania)

But What of the Neutrals?

It is to be observed, however, that the note quoted above is signed only by the representatives of the Great Allies, the Little Entente, and Poland; i. e., nine of the thirty-two Powers represented at the Conference. It is understood that the neutral Powers wish to have a say in the matter. What, if they are allowed to have that say, will it be?

A Delicate Situation

Space is lacking for adequate comment, but it is evident from the above that on the evening of Wednesday, the 19th, the situation at Genoa was "of a delicacy."

Is the result of the conference to be precisely the opposite of what Lloyd George intended: to wit, a new Balance of Power; one group, with Russia and Germany as the most important members; another group, headed by Britain, France, and Italy?

Parisian Echoes

One cannot help seeing what is meant by the most favored nation clause in the treaty. For practical purposes it gives Germany a stranglehold on Russian trade in future.

* * *

Germany is playing into the hands of the French military party, to whom she has given a war cry which is beyond their wildest hopes.

Sundry Matters

MR. F. DE ST. PHALLE, vice-president of the Baldwin Locomotive Works and president of the American-Polish Chamber of Commerce in New York, says that, "beginning with the year 1922, Poland will have surplus food, surplus oil, surplus coal, surplus textiles, surplus steel, surplus timber, and diverse manufactures: all available for export." He sees a very bright future for Poland.

* * *

The condition of the Chinese human hair trade is satisfactory. The European demand for the higher grades fell off in consequence of the Great War, but it is reviving.

The Chinese do a brisk trade in dog skins, particularly with the United States, which took 696,732 pieces in 1919. The Manchurian and Mongolian dogs are especially valued for their skins. The puppy born in November is killed and skinned in July.

* * *

Soon the services of the St. Bernard dog will no longer be required by travelers in the Swiss Alps; they are to be superseded by radio apparatus recently improved so as to withstand the atmospheric effects of mountain altitudes.

* * *

A conference at Rome of representatives of the States formed partly or wholly out of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, upon closing on April 8, issued a statement declaring itself a success. It seems that forty international conventions resulted from the conference.

* * *

The Yugoslav Government some while since addressed a note to the Governments of France and Great Britain, "suggesting that the latter coöperate in reestablishing order in Fiume and in execution of the Treaty of Rapallo." It does not appear what action, if any, in the matter has been taken by the Governments appealed to.



Keystone View Co.

Sir Ross Smith, the great Australian aviator, recently killed in an airplane accident near London

"Good News" in Recent Fiction

By H. W. Boynton

NOT long since, in a metropolitan daily, I came upon a department of several columns headed "Important News." Being a little jaded by the exhibits of the earlier pages, which happened that morning to deal exclusively with murders, kidnappings, burglaries, embezzlements, massacres, divorce "proceedings," and suicides, I was disappointed when the special department of "important news" turned out to be chiefly concerned with suicides, divorces, massacres, embezzlements, burglaries, kidnappings, and murders. And I found myself wondering if it would not be a sensible as well as novel idea for some newspaper to try a page or at least a column headed "Good News." Careful handpicking might retrieve, almost any day, a few items of cheerful note or augury from the dingy rubbish-heap of diurnal happenings. And surely many readers not totally committed to the Pollyanna or even the Pippa view of the cosmos would turn hopefully to such a column for something to go on with in the daily muddle.

And so I have been thinking of the novel. Why not, now and then, look over the miscellany of current fiction and pick out the books that have done or mean to do something for us, instead of simply stirring us up or letting us down—the books of health, and balance, and good temper? By no means the professional novels of cheer and uplift and the "glad" kind of thing. They do not need picking out; they lie, brightly ticketed, on the top of the heap, and get quite all the attention they deserve. I don't say they deserve no attention. It may reasonably be held that a studied chirp is better for all concerned than a studied snarl. Why should the gloomsters assume that their sad grimaces are less ridiculous than the glad grimaces of their opposites? But the fine healthy novel of our search has no pose or set countenance. It does not think about cheering us up, or waking us up, or virtuously putting a good face on a doubtful business. It accepts life and human nature as our common inheritance, which we can afford neither to snivel over, nor to snicker over, nor to preach about, nor to paint wantonly with rose-color, nor to drag wantonly through the mud.

Looking over the novels of the hour, and of very recent hours, from this point of view, one may take comfort in the many books of health among them. And it is perhaps more than coincidence that the list includes most of the current novels which one reader, at least, has welcomed for their "difference." Can it be that healthy sentiment and irony are really more varied and creative than the most faithful reproduction of fact or the most energetic enforcement of "ideas"? Robert Nathan's quaint and slender "Autumn" lingers in a memory which seems incapable of retaining anything but the titles of most of the brilliant and pretentious, and, alas, dull chronicles of our "youngest school" of novelists. Another light tale animated by the humor which is made of equal parts sentiment and irony, is "The Illusion," by Raymond Escholier, just published in English form. Like "Maria Chapdelaine," it has been crowned with a prize. What hypocrites these French prize-committees must be! "Maria Chapdelaine" is of sombre humor, an expression of the French genius darkened by the melancholy of the North. With a sad quietude it utters the heroic endurance of France, the pioneer, the exile. "The Illusion" is in brighter key, but a comedy in the deeper sense; a sympathetic study of folly and frustration. The social butterfly of the broken wing, the peasant *curé* of the unsatisfied heart, the whole humor and pathos of a tiny provincial neighborhood—all these are interpreted with the lightest, surest touch, in a spirit of fruitful irony.

In somewhat similar mood, different as its theme is, we must take "Pan and the Twins," by Eden Phillpotts. Strictly, this is a fable rather than a story of interpretation, but Mr. Phillpotts informs it with so much eloquence and sly humor, balances so skilfully his dialogue and his bits of narrative, and gives his typical figures so delicate an illusion of reality, that the whole effect is that of solid comedy. And its demure and pointed discourse comes home to the present, even more closely than in earlier fables of similar kind, "Evander," and the rest. Knut Hamsun's "Wanderers" is the vehicle of a more restless humor, but marks a stage upward in the author's progress toward the ripe and acceptant sympathy of his later work, a piece of constructive if not as yet heartily creative realism. In Walter de la Mare's "Memoirs of a Midget" an extraordinary theme is developed successfully, and the reader's interest maintained, entirely by reason of the mature and sympathetic cast of the author's mind and mood. It is "human nature," in the person of his tiny heroine, that he envelopes with the light of his warm creative irony. Faith in the creature man and even the creature woman is what sweetens the "Sweet Waters" of Harold Nicolson, in which the shabby side of humanity is by no means ignored or concealed. The setting and outward circumstances are strange and exotic enough; but in this slight social comedy of the Levant the larger worlds of human nature and human experience are mirrored clearly though minutely.

If "The Fair Rewards," by Thomas Beer, is among the best American studies of theatrical life, this is because it treats theatrical "psychology" as a manifestation rather than a "sport" of human nature—which is to say, the "psychology" of mankind in general. And if the mouth-corners of the comic mask have here a downward quirk, it is caused by distrust of current tendencies, not of the human stuff that is strong enough to weather such like tendencies, in every age. "Mendoza and a Little Lady" is, you may say, a piece of sheer light-hearted studio comedy. Or you may note that it is modern enough to scoff at the tyranny and hypocrisy of high personages like lords and editors. But it unaffectedly worships the clean body and the generous heart still, ingather to be found in humbler places.

Finally, we have the two outstanding novels of America in the making, "Vandemark's Folly," by Herbert Quick, and "Children of the Market Place," by Edgar Lee Masters. Of "Vandemark's Folly" I have recently spoken with enthusiasm, in these columns, as a fine, sound piece of imaginative creation. It is a romance unmistakably; one may easily convict it of that horrible thing, a plot; one may sum up the hero as an American adaptation of John Ridd. But the romantic materials are handled with ease and restraint, and somehow serve to hold together and enrich the sober historical texture of the tale. "Children of the Market Place" is a study of the time and the region which bred Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. Though Lincoln appears in the narrative, Douglas is the main figure. But it would be truer to say that the theme is that midland country of whose eager ambition and ruthless Americanism Douglas was spokesman. Can we fairly say that the method of the book is realistic? Its mood is upon that borderland of naturalism and idealism to which the "Spoon River Anthology" long since led our fascinated and perturbed fancies. But here, as always with Mr. Masters, our final impression is of a human nature sadly burdened and bemired on its earthly journey, yet never quite deserted of the stars.

Music

The Closing of the Season at the Metropolitan

By W. J. Henderson

THE closing of the season of very grand opera at the Metropolitan Opera House on April 22 invites the contemplative mind to considerations weighty, if not profound. A few plain facts ought to be stated here, and here in particular because there are few places in which they can be stated. The forthstanding features of the Metropolitan season were the appearances of Chaliapin and Mme. Jeritza, the dismissal of Miss Farrar, and the production of the operas "Die Tote Stadt," "Snegourotchka," and "Cosi Fan Tutte." To these productions may be added the presentation of "Le Roi d'Ys," the revival of Verdi's antiquated "Ernani," and the restoration of "Die Walküre," "Tristan und Isolde," and "Lohengrin" to the German list.

The count shows that twenty-four operas were performed in Italian, though not all were Italian; eight in French, not all of them French; four in German, all German, and two in English, neither of them English. The linguistic basis of the "greatest opera house in the world" is one of a shifting kind. Operas are sung not in the language best suited to them, but in that most convenient to the management and the singers.

The repertory reflects various tastes and influences. The revival of the two Verdi relics and the bombastic fantasia of Catalani may be fairly attributed to the preferences of Mr. Gatti-Casazza and his trusty Italian lieutenants. "Le Roi d'Ys" was produced in the hope of strengthening the French list. "Cosi Fan Tutte" was the choice of Mr. Bodanzky. "Die Tote Stadt" was put upon the stage to introduce Mme. Jeritza in a rôle in which she could challenge no comparisons. These were swiftly invited, however, as soon as it was found that the new singer was accepted as a "sensation" and might be utilized as a battering ram to shatter the intrenchments of the Farrar fortress. "Snegourotchka" was mounted because it seemed a possible successor to "Le Coq d'Or."

The sorry state of the Italian repertory must be patent to the most casual observer. "Traviata," "Aïda," "Il Trovatore," and "Rigoletto," the second with eight performances, "Lucia," "Pagliacci," "Cavalleria Rusticana," "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," and the invincible Puccini three, "Butterfly," "Bohème," and "Tosca," are the sinews of war at the Metropolitan. "Boris Godunov" is sung in Italian, except in so far as Mr. Chaliapin is concerned in it, and he remains faithful to the original text. "Don Carlos" is a surprisingly good Italian opera in these days when dead works are better than newly born ones. "Ernani" cannot even now be made thrilling, and the most ardent barbers, bootblacks, and fruit dealers in New York could not work up a brilliant success for it. More than that, it was to have glorified Titta Ruffo, who fell ill and allowed Mr. Danise to steal his thunder.

Catalani's "Loreley" was excellently presented. Urban's scenery alone was worth the price of a standee ticket. The retreat of the Rhine maidens was his only opportunity to create anything with fantasy, and he did it most effectively. The other scenes had to be conventional, but they had the time-honored imprint of the best operatic spectacle. Miss Muzio sang the title rôle of the opera very well indeed, and Mr. Danise made as much as possible of the hard luck stories of a baritone not at all connected with the real story. Mr. Gigli sang well, but acted as usual like an overfed undertaker. About "Snegourotchka" enough was said here after its production. It is an opera of delicate charm, it presents pretty pictures, and it provides Miss Bori with a part well suited to her.

The true "sensation" of the season was of course Mme. Jeritza, whose success was very skilfully created. She was pushed forward in operas in which her physical attractions, her powerful, though ill-regulated voice, and her vehemence of action would impress themselves on the public. She was acclaimed in two works, "Die Tote Stadt" and "Tosca." Her Santuzza in "Cavalleria Rusticana" missed fire. Her Elsa was praised by some and pitied by many more. Her Sieglinde was much over-praised, and a single performance of Mme. Easton on a Saturday night proved that the company contained a far better representative of the daughter of the Volsung. It will be interesting to watch the slow diminuendo of Mme. Jeritza next season. The Metropolitan management started her at the top of her possibilities. She is not a singer of high rank, and unless she can be kept supplied with rôles in which her physical vivacity and sheer magnetism can always be in the foreground, the opera-going public will discover her weaknesses. Conversational comments in the Metropolitan corridors toward the end of the season indicated that they had already been betrayed to many.

It has been printed in the accommodating newspapers that this prima donna is to take over most of Miss Farrar's rôles. This statement must be taken with salt. A Madame Butterfly five feet nine inches high is not to be desired. Perhaps Mme. Jeritza sings French, but it is impossible to see her as Manon. Zaza she might impersonate with hope of success. Without doubt she will be induced to sing Carmen. She has not given any exhibition of vocal art such as this rôle demands; but Metropolitan audiences will accept very bad singing, and there are many opportunities in Bizet's opera for purely pictorial effects.

It is inconceivable that "Carmen" will be permitted to disappear from the repertory even temporarily. It is one of the most popular of all operas. It is therefore incumbent on Mr. Gatti-Casazza to find a new representative of the gypsy cigarette maker. He will have numerous candidates. There is no contralto or mezzo-soprano so humble that she does not believe that nature designed her to be the ideal Carmen. Nor will the impresario be greatly disturbed if he fails to discover on the operatic horizon a second Calvé. One of those things which trained observers of Metropolitan Opera House methods have come to expect is that, Miss Farrar having ceased to sing Carmen, the rôle will be entrusted to some one who is not her artistic equal.

All opera lovers may assure themselves that there will be an earnest effort next season to divert their attention from any possible inadequacy in "Carmen" to the brilliant return of Richard Wagner interpreted by artists bearing the royal brand of Bayreuth. Several new German singers have been engaged and some of the Wagnerian music dramas not now in the active list are to be restored with all due glory.

Meanwhile, when we look back over the recent season, we do not find our eyes dazzled by the splendors of many successes. Of course it was a profitable season. The Metropolitan is a going concern and Mr. Gatti-Casazza is a master salesman of lyric goods. But the supreme artistic achievement of the winter was the production of the Mozart opera, "Cosi Fan Tutte," which came so late that only four performances could be wedged into the final weeks. It is possible that "Loreley" drew as much money as the Mozart opera, and if it did, that fact will be incessantly quoted as sufficient proof that it does not pay to indulge in esoteric artistry.

Some Romances of Business

By Archer Wall Douglas

RECENTLY, while looking over some sales records, my attention was arrested by two things: a falling off in sales of Mincing Knives and Wood Bowls and a steady growth in the output of Bath Room Fixtures.

I knew at once that something worth while was stirring in the little towns and on the countryside which took so many of our goods. For I had learned from past experience that many matters of great pith and moment are prefigured and forecast by such homely happenings. In the days gone by the romances were often mere creations of unbridled fancy: impossible heroines, Sir Galahads that were never yet on sea or land, most high-minded Pirates and Buccaneers, Soldiers of Fortune with all the virtues and no redeeming weakness. My problem was to discern the story that lay hid in the prosaic figures of increasing or decreasing sales of commonplace things, for it was surely there if I had only the prescience to divine it.

The first thing was to examine the orders, to see from what parts of the country they came. They came from all sections, from North Dakota to Florida, and all alike disclosed the same general drift and tendency. Now there is only one real way to find out things and that is to investigate them yourself, and not stay at home and evolve them from the depths of your inner consciousness.

One of the best places to find out what was going on was in Southeast Missouri, as I had had occasion to know in the past. It is in many respects a new country, in the sense that much of it consists of drained swamp land recently redeemed and settled. Prior to this it was regarded as one of the most backward and unprogressive parts of the State. It was, consequently, a composite section both as to progress and conservatism, so far as the theory of such things went. What I found was all one way. Electric lights, running water, labor-saving machinery on the farm and in the household were general features of the countryside. I discovered what was happening to Wood Bowls and Mincing Knives when I noted Food Choppers in the place of the old-fashioned methods of cutting up and desiccating food. Good roads were everywhere and these easy means of communication, along with automobiles, were solving the hitherto insoluble problem of keeping people, old as well as young, on the farm. In talking to the farmers' wives I found that very few of them really had any desire to live in the towns or cities, provided they could go and come from the farm at will, thus enjoying all the freedom and quiet of country life with those conveniences hitherto the luxuries of town life only. Food choppers, electric washing-machines, electric lights and electric irons, coal-oil stoves that cut out "toting" ashes and wood, bath tubs that banished "toting" water, kitchen sinks—these were the things that gave the farm woman some blessed leisure and surcease from endless drudgery, and made possible attendance at the town concerts and lectures, at sociables and entertainments. Inevitably in the wake of this development of easier communication and labor-saving devices, there came the call of education, which crystallized itself in the Consolidated School in the country districts and in the splendid High School in the town, which townsmen and farmers alike reckon as their proudest achievement.


Now that women have time for things other than household affairs, they are naturally taking part in the movements that affect home life and the family. In the little town and cities of Southeast Missouri which I visited, women's clubs were the source and inspiration of all the organized efforts to make the places more sanitary, more attractive, more fitting to live in from every point of view. The women tackled, and also got away with, problems that

the men folks had always been content to endure and leave unsolved. So the story of the Food Choppers and the Wood Bowls led me far afield and finally culminated in something for which all creation from the beginning has been travailing and groaning: woman's emancipation and her true place in the general scheme of things.

From all time few things have inflamed the minds and imagination of men more than the spirit of adventure and discovery, the spirit of romance that sought to take the wings of the morning and fly to the uttermost parts of the earth—Columbus and his caravels, Cortez and his conquistadores, Stanley through Darkest Africa, Peary in seven quests of the North Pole. With the realization that much that we deemed romantic and picturesque was so merely because of the enchantment lent it by distance, we are drifting to the general thought that the age of romance, if it ever existed except in our imagination, has given place to the days of practicality and of the commonplace. I had an experience a while ago which led me to challenge this conclusion and to hold that romance and adventure are inherent in human nature rather than in material facts and conditions, and that all that time does is to change their garb and form of expression.

One of our salesmen in the far-stretching, wind-swept plains of Western Oklahoma wrote in to know if we would add to our assortment of agricultural tools a certain style of knife used in harvesting Kafir Corn, Milo Maize, and Feterita, and it fell to my fortunate lot to find out what these strange things were and what manner of implements were needed in their cultivation. By good fortune I struck up an acquaintance with an expert of the Department of Agriculture, who told me the story of these singular plants and why they were domiciled in this country. The Western reaches of the Great Plains States, from Western Texas to North Dakota, are within that debatable land where once the Great American Desert straggled irregularly over the map. Agriculture in this semi-arid stretch was always a gamble because of the recurrence of long summers of rainless heat accompanied by hot winds that withered vegetation as with the breath of a furnace. Permanent settlement and habitation depended upon cultivation of agricultural products adapted to these arid conditions. Indian corn, oats, various kinds of hay had all been tried and found wanting.

So the adventurous spirits of the Department of Agriculture went forth into the waste places of the earth seeking drought-resisting plants which through endless æons had learned to accommodate themselves to an ever hostile nature, into lands where rainfall is scanty and there is only a great thirst, into the Sudan, the high plateaus of South Africa, the uplands that border on the great desert of Gobi. They brought back with them plants that Natural Selection had taught to conserve the remnants of moisture—how to suspend all growth in the long, blistering days of summer drought, husbanding their energies merely to live and get by till rains came that they might replace the shrivelled leaves and blades and take on new life, when Indian corn, once scorched, is incapable of resurrection. These sorghum grains, for such they are, had so wrought out their salvation in the long pitiless struggle for existence that they fertilize themselves, and thus avoid destruction in the critical stage of tasseling when the hot winds destroy the floating spores of fertilization. And so this debatable land became a sure habitation for men, because the explorers of business had gone into the ends of the world that their fellowmen might overcome hostile Nature by her own devices.



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Book Reviews

Conan Doyle, Spiritualist, on Tour

THE WANDERINGS OF A SPIRITUALIST. By Arthur Conan Doyle. New York: George H. Doran Company.

THE charitable treatment of this mission would be that of silence; and this the author would resent as an unwarranted condescension. A disrespectful critic, sampling the pages, put the book down with the comment, "Maunderings of a spiritualist." However ready to take the challenge of the volumes seriously, the responsible critic returns to it again and again as a pathetic human document. It is not the author's conviction of the return of the departed, revealed through the questionable performances of mediums, that forms the stumbling block to the respectful attention that one would extend to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, M. D., but the puerile (or is it senile?) credulity that pervades the pages, and a curious combination of personal vanity and provincial prepossession. This it is that betrays the ineptness of his mind in the affairs of logic and psychology. The volume tells the story of the strange case of Conan Doyle.

The temper in which the propagandist pilgrimage to Australia was undertaken appears in the ceremony of a visit to a medium just before sailing. "I had the joy of a few last words with my arisen son, who blessed me on my mission and assured me that I would indeed bring solace to bruised hearts. The words he uttered were a quotation from my London speech at which Powell [the medium] had not been present, nor had the verbatim account of it appeared anywhere at that time. It was one more sign of how closely our words and actions are noted from the other side."

The tour through Australia is described as a triumphant enterprise, with crowded audiences, enthusiastic receptions, and acceptable box-office receipts, all devoted to the "cause." One doubts neither the sincerity nor the ability of the gifted advocate; but the ardor of a zealot, being so largely an emotional attitude, weakens the keenness of perception, alike of logic and fact. Sir Arthur was aware of the prevalent attitude which his statements aroused, but listened mainly to the approving words of his fellow believers.

"I was welcome enough as an individual, but by no means so as an emissary, and both the Churches and the Materialists, in most unnatural combination, had done their best to make the soil stony for me." The *Argus* of Melbourne regarded the distinguished visitor as representing "a force which we believe to be purely evil"; another reported "the one thing clear is that Sir Conan Doyle's mission to Australia was a mournful and complete failure, and it has left him in a very exasperated state of mind."

"My psychic photographs, which are the most wonderful collection ever shown in the world, were received in absolute silence by the whole press, though it is notorious that if I had come there with a comic opera or bedroom comedy instead of with the evidence of a series of miracles, I should have had a column." The papers "timid as rabbits," were put down as examples of "reactionary intolerance."

What anyone in Sir Arthur's frame of mind—it matters little whether the mind is trained or untrained, with distinguished achievements or without them—persistently fails to understand is that his "miracles" are tainted with the suspicion of gross fraud in some instances, subtle delusion in others, logical misinterpretation in still others, and intensive prepossession throughout. What the critical reader or auditor looks for and listens for is the logical temper of the propagandist. He learns it by noting that Sir Arthur is as ready to credit discredited mediums as those sincerely contributing their personal revelations. A versatile medium by name of Bailey produces "spirit hands," and from the same spiritual source birds and birds' eggs and birds' nests, Assyrian tablets, and what not. Sir Arthur admits that "there was a disturbing suggestion of cuffs about those luminous hands"; that the Assyrian tablets were forgeries, and that Bailey lied. But we are asked to remember that "to the transporting agency it is at least possible that the forgery, steeped in recent human magnetisms, is more capable of being handled than the original taken from a mound"; that "physical mediumship has no connection one way or the other with personal character, any more than the gift of poetry"; and that despite the exposures Sir Arthur "cannot doubt that he (Bailey) has been a great apport medium," who has a record of bringing from the "beyond" "eighty-seven ancient coins (mostly of Ptolemy), eight live birds, eighteen precious stones . . . seven inscribed Babylonian tablets, one Egyptian scarabaeus, an Arabic newspaper, a leopard skin, four nests," and many other things, including a "young live shark." It seems to Sir Arthur "perfect nonsense to talk about these things being the result of trickery," just as it seems quite as perfect nonsense to the rest of us to talk about them as being anything else.

Sir Arthur's credulity is staggering. He still believes that the fairies whose photographs (showing the marks of the shears) he published are as "genuine" as his other psychic photographs forming the protocol of the "Society for the Study of Supernormal Pictures"; he believes that by their "clairvoyant gifts" mediums can see as much as is revealed to merely medical eyes by X-rays and laryngoscopes, he believes that when restless and sleepless a special providence sent "a very distinct pungent smell of ether, coming in waves from outside" to calm his excited nerves; he believes that a similar miracle was performed in his be-

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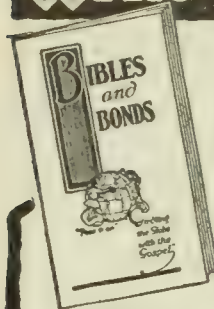
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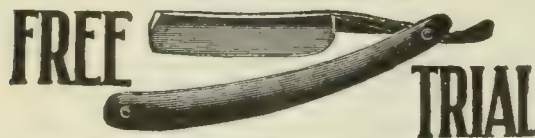
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half upon mosquitoes. "I prayed that my face would be spared" and "though my hands were like boxing-gloves and my neck all swollen, there was not a mark upon my face." He believes that a "psychic" dog had all the prodigious mathematical gifts attributed to him, "though age and excitement had now impaired them," and showed a knowing excitement in meeting so distinguished a fellow "psychic"; he believes in "ectoplasm," materialization, voices and usages from the beyond, and regards critical investigations as "fantastic precautions." To such a frame of mind ordinary argument loses its meaning; but the question of the defensive logic of prepossession remains.

Reliance is placed on photographs described as "almost too overwhelming for immediate propaganda purposes," which only when maturely considered bring the sense of "final proof . . . which no one with the least sense for evidence could reject. But the sense for evidence is not, also, a universal human quality." Unfortunately, true. But until the conditions under which these photographs were taken are minutely examined their "evidential" value of the thesis which they are made to support is precisely that of the proof that John Smith committed a murder, for here is a photograph of the place in which he did it; and photographs do not lie. They do not; but what truth they tell is not easily determined. On the other hand it is not the interpretation of evidence alone but the reliance upon fallacies that riddles the argument. "One positive result must always outweigh a hundred negative ones." It only needs one single case of spirit return to be established, and there is no more to be said. "How absurd is the position of those wise-aces who say 'nine-tenths of the phenomena are fraud.' Can they not see that if they grant us one-tenth, they grant us our whole contention?" Arguments of this kind are submitted to sophomores in courses on logic to cut their logical teeth on. In ordinary affairs of witness and evidence when 90 per cent. is perjury, few juries trouble about the rest. But whether such supports function as real props to faith or as Freudian compensations, one cannot say.

For here we return to the pith of the problem. The spirit belief as advocated by Conan Doyle is a religious consolation; as such one would show it the respect of silence. But when the author of "The New Revelation" points to ectoplasm on the screen in one address and offers messages to the bereaved in another, the critic is at a loss to know what his duty in the matter may be. He must interpret it by his individual sense of responsibility. At the moment when Sir Arthur is bringing the same message to the United States and Canada, and is again speaking to crowded houses, it seems necessary to set forth in plain language the nature of the man and his message under the critical scrutiny of a scientific logic and a modern psychology.

JOSEPH JASTROW

New Books and Old

Books of the Week

THE SO-CALLED HUMAN RACE, by Bert Leston Taylor. Knopf.

Paragraphs from his column in the *Chicago Tribune*, by the late "B. L. T."

MERTON OF THE MOVIES, by Harry Leon Wilson. Doubleday.

A novel about America's strangest industry, by the author of "Ruggles of Red Gap."

ASPECTS AND IMPRESSIONS, by Edmund Gosse. Scribner.

Essays on English and American novelists, on French dramatists and academicians and critics.

THE GREAT WHITE SOUTH, by Herbert G. Ponting. McBride.

The photographer of Scott's expedition to the South Pole writes a long but never tedious account of his experiences. Unusually beautiful and amusing illustrations.

IT is a feat to write a large book of more than three hundred pages, even about such an exciting event as an expedition to the South Pole, and to keep every page of it free from dullness. The average "travel" book has an occasional green oasis, but much of it reminds the reader of the Sahara desert, as described by a certain learned professor: "Limitless wastes of sand, blown about by hot air." The spirited and heroic men who constituted the Scott Expedition included scientists but no pedants. Mr. Herbert G. Ponting's book, "The Great White South" (McBride), may have had for its first purpose the publication of his extraordinarily interesting photographs. He was the official photographer of the expedition, and the book seems to have hundreds of his clear and beautiful pictures. Many readers of this will have seen the moving pictures taken by Mr. Ponting on the expedition; they were shown in this country about eight or ten years ago. The pictures of the Arctic scenery were remarkable, but the average spectator remembers them for the highly amusing pictures of animals and birds—especially for the penguins. This book includes, as illustrations for the chapter on penguins, many of the best of these views with penguins in all their amazing and unconscious humor.

By the loyalty and admiration of his friends, the verse in the late Bert Leston Taylor's "A Penny Whistle" was praised rather more than some readers could understand. But there can be little doubt that he had no real rivals as a writer of paragraphs. The new book by him, "The So-Called Human Race" (Knopf), with a preface by Henry B. Fuller, is nearly all in prose, and it consists of the brief paragraphs from his column "A Line-o'-Type or Two" in the *Chicago Tribune*. There are his own compositions, and also the delightful captions which he added to

the naïve items which his correspondents sent to him from the rural newspapers. Here are a few examples:

With the possible exception of Trotsky, Mr. Hearst is the busiest person politically that one is able to wot of. Such boundless zeal! Such measureless energy! Such genius—an infinite capacity for giving pains!

We have always been in sympathy with President Wilson's idea of democracy. He expressed it perfectly when he was President of Princeton. "Unless I have entire power," said he, "how can I make this a democratic college?"

Fish talk to each other, Dr. Bell tells the Geographical Society; a statement which no one will doubt who has ever seen a pair of goldfish in earnest conversation.

Maxwell Bodenheim has published a book of poems, and the critics allow that Max Boden's brays are bonnie.

We were sure that the headline, "Mint at Chicago Greatly Needed," would inspire more than one reader to remark that mint is the least important part of the combination.

HOW FAST THE LEAVES ARE FALLING!

(From the *Waterloo Courier*.)

Frank Fuller, night operator at the Illinois Central telegraph office, has been kept more than busy all day, all because of a ten-pound boy who arrived at his home last evening. Mr. Fuller has decided that he will spend his evenings at home in the future.

In his chapter on "Radicalism and Conservation in American History," in his new book, "New Viewpoints in American History" (Macmillan), Arthur Meier Schlesinger writes: "Whatever may be said in praise of either the conservative or the radical, both find themselves in bad company, for each makes his appeal to some of the basest as well as to some of the most ennobling qualities of human nature. The thinking conservative finds his chief allies in the self-complacency of comfortable mediocrity, in the apathy and stupidity of the toil-worn multitudes, and in the aggressive self-interest of the privileged classes. All those who dread uncertainty either because of timidity or from conventional-mindedness or for fear of material loss are enlisted under the conservative standard. The honest radical draws much of his support from self-seeking demagogues and reckless experimenters, from people who want the world changed because they cannot get along in it as it is, from *poseurs* and *dilettanti*, and from malcontents who love disturbance for its own sake. The two schools have more in common than either would admit; both have their doctrinaires and dogmatists; both tend toward a stiffening of intellectual creeds; and who can deny that each has its share of mental defectives and the criminal-minded?"

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entered this season is the beginning of the second act of that delicious play in which Mr. Wallace Eddinger takes the leading part. From that black stage, in an absolutely black theatre, the flute-like voice of the respectable Mr. Ambrose Applejohn, piping his "Yo, ho, ho, and a bottle of rum" (pronouncing the word "rum" as an elderly dormouse might do it), suddenly turns into the bellowing roar of the pirate, "Captain Applejack," with his raucous line: "Ten of the crew had the mur-r-r-der mark!" Stevenson would have loved it, and so would Mr. Young E. Allison, who wrote that fine ballad around the "Yo, ho" chorus.

"Captain Applejack," a romantic farce-comedy woven together with a burlesque melodrama, and "Bulldog Drummond," another burlesque melodrama, not accenting the word "burlesque" so much—at least, not in its American production—are two English plays. To contrast with them two American melodramas of this season is enough to make bring a blush to our patriotic cheeks. Why cannot our playwrights exercise a little restraint and practice the fine art of omission? Mrs. Mary Roberts Rinehart's great commercial success, "The Bat," is stuffed with enough crook business, thrills, creeps and crawls, murder and mystery, to make an apartment in "The Castle of Otranto" look, by comparison, like a rest-room in a retreat for the nervous invalid. I left the theatre with my head in a whirl, and plunged into an hour's discussion with my companion as to what it all meant, who really *was* who, and what on earth happened to him in the end. The third act asks us to believe that in a house of horrors from which any twelve Medal of Honor men in the United States Army would have rushed, shrieking for help, a collection of persons, partly women, and headed by an elderly spinster, went one or two at a time, into a dark attic and prowled about by the light of a candle!

Much lower in the scale of dramatic plausibility is "The Cat and the Canary," which is nothing but a series of false clues and ridiculous incidents served up to the audience by a writer who has not learned that fair-play is one of the requirements of the game. Superfluous horrors, which have no relation to the plot, are hinted at from the beginning; it is one of those plays in which no character, however commonplace, and upon however innocent an errand, ever opens a door to come upon the stage without doing it in awful slowness and stealth. You soon get to expect them to push their heads around the edge of the door and emit a low, blood-curdling, "Boo-o-o!"

Why do American dramatists concoct such childishness when they essay a melodrama of the better class? Are they trying to write for too many kinds of people at one and the same time? Why should they not try an appeal merely to the intelligent, and surprise themselves by finding what a large class that is? E. L. P.

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A play in five "episodes" is "Shakespeare" (Houghton Mifflin, \$1.50), by H. F. Rubinstein and Clifford Bax. Besides Shakespeare, there appear as characters Marlowe, Philip Henslowe, the "Dark Lady" of the Sonnets, "Mr. W. H.," also of that mysterious company; Burbage, and Judith Shakespeare.

Gertrude Hartman's "The Child and His School" (Dutton, \$3.00) is "an interpretation of elementary education as a social progress."

"A Gentleman in Prison" (Doran, \$1.75) is the story and confessions of Tokichi Ishii, who was hanged for murder in Tokyo prison, August 17, 1918. He became a Christian convert through Miss Caroline Macdonald, who with the Rev. Dr. John Kelman, vouches for the authenticity of the manuscript.

Arthur Eugene Buck has written a handbook on the forms and procedure of budget making with special reference to states. The title is "Budget Making" (Appleton, \$3.00).

Yone Noguchi's "Through the Torii" (Four Seas Co., \$3.50) consists of essays mostly on Japanese subjects—Japanese poetry, Japanese flowers, spring in Japan. There are two or three essays on English poets and artists.

Short stories of Canada, of French Canadians and Indians, in the Northwest, and in France during the war, are given in George Marsh's "Toilers of the Trails" (Penn Pub. Co.).

Biblical research and exploration, the verification of the Scriptures through archaeology, are the subjects of the Rev. Dr. John P. Peters's "Bible and Spade" (Scribner, \$1.75).

A study of the French drama, after Molière, is Eleanor F. Jourdain's "Dramatic Theory and Practice in France, 1690-1808" (Longmans, \$4.25).

Essays on the philosophy of conduct, in harmony with the Christian religion, by William George Jordan are published under the title, "The Trusteeship of Life" (Revell, \$1.25).

"Ireland and the Making of Britain" (Funk & Wagnalls, \$4.00), by Benedict Fitzpatrick, is an ardently patriotic book, more likely to please ardent Irish patriots than to be agreed with by English and Scotch historians—or any kind of historians.

A book of spiritualistic communications, through the mediumship of the Rev. Dr. Frederick A. Wiggin is "The Living Jesus; the Words of Jesus of Nazareth" (Sully, \$2.00).

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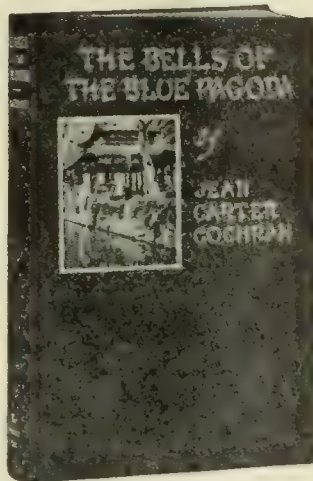
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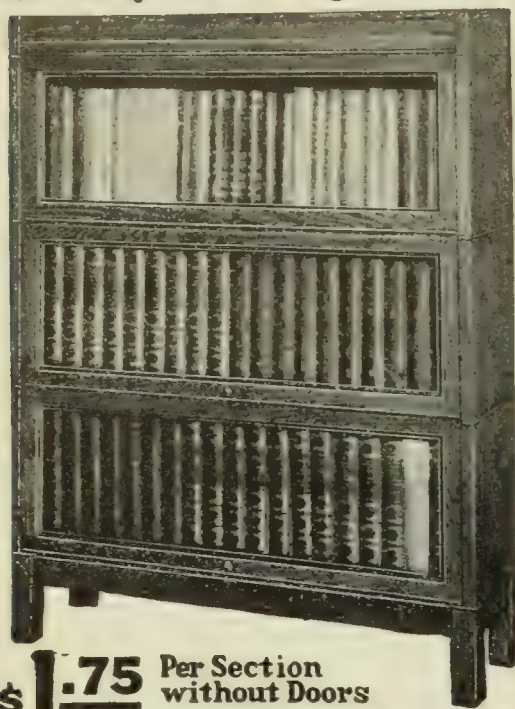
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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. What's the Matter with the Public Library?

1. What criticisms of present-day habits of reading are made in the article?
2. What methods of reading does the writer believe worthy of approval?
3. How does the writer satirize certain types of modern books?
4. "Four-fifths of the complaints come from people who do not understand how to use a public library." Give a clear explanation of the most helpful method of using a public library.
5. "The reading habits of people must change." What habits of reading must change? What habits should be encouraged?
6. "The American people do not buy enough books." Why is it often better to buy books than to borrow them?
7. What is the writer's answer to the question that forms the title of the article?

II. "Good News" in Recent Fiction.

1. Explain in full the following expression: "Books that have done or mean to do something for us, instead of simply stirring us up or letting us down."
2. Name at least one book that can be classified under the definition just given. Prove that the book belongs in the class suggested.
3. What sort of novel is "A fine, healthy novel"? Name such a novel. Prove that it deserves the appellation.
4. What is the difference between a fable and a story of interpretation?
5. Explain the following expressions: (a) Healthy sentiment and irony; (b) The mature and sympathetic cast of the author's mind and mood; (c) The setting and outward circumstances are strange and exotic enough.
8. Make a list of the ten books that are named with approval. What good quality does every book have?

III. A Few of the Spring Books.

1. Define the types of literature under which the various books are classified.
2. Name the most appealing titles under every classification. What sort of work does every title you select indicate?
3. Select from the list the names of authors who are widely known. Tell something concerning the work of at least three of the well-known authors.

IV. New Books and Old.

1. What is the writer's opinion of the recent work of American dramatists?
2. Prove that "Julius Caesar," "The Merchant of Venice," or any other of Shakespeare's plays studied in school is worthier than the modern plays the writer criticizes.
3. Explain what qualities make a play great.

V. Touch-and-Go in Ireland.

1. Explain the significance of the title.
2. Prepare a brief that will show the principal points that the writer makes.
3. Give a talk in which you summarize what is suggested concerning the immediate future of Ireland.

VI. Editorial Articles. The Story of the Week.

1. Select from the editorial articles the sentence that you think is the best opening sentence. Read the sentence aloud, and tell what makes it effective.
2. Select the editorial article that you think is most effective as a whole. Present the writer's plan for the article. Prove that the article is effective in introduction, in development, and in conclusion.
3. For every editorial article write a single long and well-formed sentence that will present the writer's opinion on the subject.
4. What news feature is emphasized in the opening sentence of every news article?
5. What grammatical form is used in the opening words of the first sentence of every news article?

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. An Easter Bombshell at Genoa, The Genoa Conference.

1. To get at the facts upon which the editorial discussion is partly based read The Genoa Conference before An Easter Bombshell. Underscore the parts of each which you consider most vital or significant.
- (a) From your underscored material summarize the chief provisions of the treaty.
- (b) Looking over those provisions, show the grounds for the statements: "Out of its setting the document might seem entirely moral and benevolent"; and "for the most part harmless."
- (c) What are the conditions "with reference to the time and circumstances of its signing and the purpose it is intended to serve," and "method of its conclusion" which form "its setting"? How does study of this setting give the basis for the charge of "effrontery and bad faith"?
- (d) How is it considered that "the Muscovites did win a 'diplomatic victory,'" in which "the Bolsheviks scored heavily"? What are the ideas of the diplomats opposed to them which the editor considers mistaken?
- (e) Did the Germans win a victory in the treaty? What is the meaning and significance of "the most favored nation clause"?

(f) What in the editor's opinion is "the true significance" of the treaty? What does he consider the greatest danger in official recognition by the Powers at Genoa?

(g) How does this method of studying the text and surrounding circumstances illustrate the method of study of the historian?

II. The Standing Threat of Socialism.

1. What in the opinion, is way to combat socialism?

2. The best way to form an opinion of socialism is by a careful study of Economics. Are you planning to take that subject in school or carry on a course of reading in it by yourself? If socialism is to be "the live issue for as many years as any one need trouble to think about," is it not your duty as a citizen to have an informed opinion?
3. Why does Russia's failure not prove that Communism is impossible?

III. Some Romances of Business.

1. How does the lot of these settlers in "new country" differ from the lot of early settlers in the West?
2. How has the lot of women changed?
3. How does this article illustrate the changed conditions of country life?
4. How does this illustrate the way "Agricultural Research" is helping the farmer?
5. What does he mean by saying "that romance and adventure are inherent in human nature rather than in material facts and conditions"?

IV. Touch-and-Go in Ireland, The Irish Situation.

1. Describe the threatening aspects of the situation.
2. What examples of wise action are given?

V. A Wanton and Baseless Attack, Semenov.

1. What is "the Semenov case"?
2. Describe the official status of Mr. Bakhtmetieff? Describe the "service" he has done America.

VI. Our Population.

1. Summarize the chief features shown by the statistics of (a) the race make-up of "The Foreign-Born Population of New York State," (b) the naturalization of that population, (c) "Immigration" into the whole country.

VII. Summarize the latest moves in regard to: The Naval Bill, Immigration, Disabled Ex-soldiers, The Ship Subsidy Bill, Fiume, etc.

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will be published in the inter-
mediate weeks, containing the
Story of the Week, the lesson
plans, and other educational
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The Independent

A Fortnightly Journal of Information and Discussion

May 13, 1922



SOMEONE should advise President Harding better when he considers office-seekers from Missouri. E. Mont Reily as Governor of Porto Rico and Nat Goldstein as Collector of Internal Revenue at St. Louis are appointments that must be classed as blunders, and worse than blunders, calculated to do the President much harm. Surely he must have failed to identify the latter of the two with the Goldstein of unsavory record, repudiated by Governor Lowden at the Chicago Convention, else he would never have placed him in a position of trust.

ALARM over the threatened lowering of civil-service standards at Washington has by no means subsided. It is based not so much on the spectacular removals that have actually been made—which, though unfortunately unexplained, may be explainable—as upon the utterances of men high in office expressly discrediting the principle of the merit system. The plea that officials above a certain grade ought to be in political sympathy with the Administration is not new; on the contrary, it has been the stock resource of spoilsmen ever since the Civil Service Act was passed in 1883. To a certain number of posts the plea does, of course, properly apply; but the number is extremely small, and what the spoilsmen are after is a vastly greater number. Mr. Foulke, acting President of the National Civil Service Reform League, punctured the argument of Assistant Postmaster General Bartlett very effectively by simply quoting what that very same gentleman had said on the very same subject only a year or so ago. Mr. Bartlett was

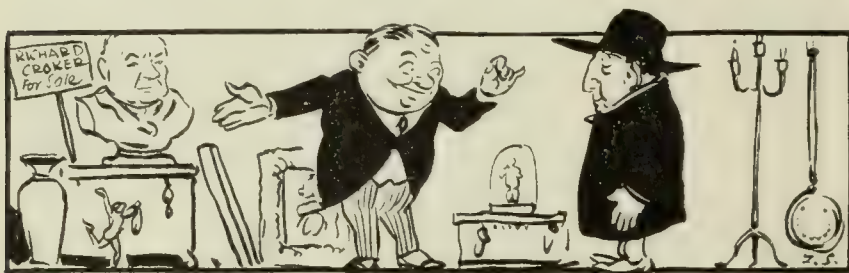
then President of the United States Civil Service Commission, and he was then as emphatic as Mr. Foulke himself now is in declaring for the application of the merit system not only to all the positions to which it now applies, but to “the higher administrative positions now unclassified”!

SOME arrangement seems about to be made with France about her debt to this country. It is impossible for the arrangement to be too liberal. Anything approaching pressure would be monstrous, and we have no doubt that the American Debt Refunding Commission will go to the limit of its powers in accommodating our hard-pressed ally. That the debt ought to be cancelled altogether—that the money advanced ought to be regarded as a natural and proper contribution from our great and rich country to the common cause in which France suffered so much more than we—is the clear conviction of Supreme Court Justice Clarke, Professor Seligman, and many other men of light and leading. It is emphatically our own conviction. But if this cannot be done, let our country at least play the part of a humane and generous creditor. Anything short of this would be a national disgrace.

THE Soviet rulers started out to upset things the world over. They made no secret of their intentions. They were going to run their country on a new plan, and the rest of the world would be compelled to follow suit. Now that the plan has failed to work, they are calling upon the rest of the world to enable them to make it work. Was anything

more inhuman ever seen than the failure of the capitalist countries to help the Bolsheviks out in their scrape? Is it not the height of cruelty to let the poor Communists run their revolution without the aid of outside capital?

TWO powerful chieftains, Chang-Tso-lin and Wu-Pei-fu, are engaged in a life-and-death struggle for the mastery of China. Chang has risen from a bandit leader to be the great military Tuchun of Manchuria and, rich in the plunder of that province, has massed his army about Peking



W. R. Hearst, famous antique collector, goes treasure hunting

seeking to make himself the supreme power. His opponent, Wu, is a much more reputable citizen and has the backing of the better elements and the support of the central and eastern provinces. The foreign legations, except the Japanese, would welcome his success. As we go to press the issue of the struggle seems to be going to Wu. The striking fact is that it is real warfare, utterly different from anything the pacific Chinese have known for many a century. It may prove a prelude to the militarization of China with all that this portends.

Down in Canton sits the wily Sun-Yat-sen, president of the Republic of South China, waiting and watching to see to which side he shall attach himself. To the world at large he makes considerable appeal by prating much of democracy and constitutionalism. As a professional revolutionist, talk about these is his stock in trade and with it he seems to have made a considerable impression on certain American observers. The truth is that Chinese have not much real sympathy for what we term democracy and constitutionalism; they may do lip-service to them when diplomatic contact with the West requires it, but to them these are children's diseases of civilization which they passed through centuries ago. China's weakness lies in her lack of unity, her lack of unified nationality. The Republic appears impotent to overcome the inertia of age-long tradition and to supply this need. If the present struggle shall produce a strong man who can unify China and eliminate the bands of independent military leaders, it may bring stability and peace. It may, however, lead only to devastating civil war, general destruction, and utter confusion.

CROKER, the Tammany boss of other days, is dead; Murphy, the Tammany boss of these later years, is growing old; but Hearst is neither

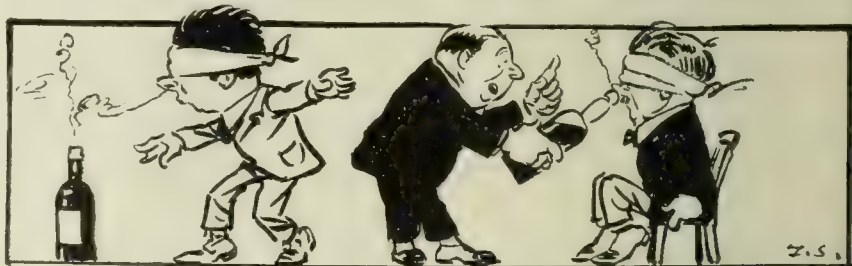
dead nor old. Coincident with the news of Croker's death is much talk of a revival of Hearst's personal political ambitions, based on the strangle-hold which he is generally supposed to have upon Tammany. New York has better government than she had in the days of Tweed or of Croker; in spite of all setbacks, the efforts of two generations of public-spirited citizens have accomplished a great advance. But when one thinks of the power of Hearst, and of the instrumentalities by which that power is maintained, one hesitates to indulge in much rejoicing over the march of progress. The demagogue and the boss can't do some things which in old days they could do; but as for the man himself, it is a sorry thing to choose between the brutal bossism of a Tweed or a Croker and the slimy and degrading demagoguery of a Hearst.

TO the credit of the press be it said that a kindly forbearance has been shown to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle—such is the gratitude felt for the hours spent in Sherlock Holmes's fascinating company. Yet the lecture tour of Conan Doyle, which is to most people merely pathetic, has possibilities of real harm. It has given a fresh impetus to the whole fraternity of clairvoyants, spiritualistic mediums, and similar frauds. It clothes their nefarious professions with a garb of respectability. It has the same effect that is seen when some reputable citizen lends his name to the board of directors of a get-rich-quick stock-selling company. Against the recrudescence of this gang, thanks to the *cachet* of the author of Sherlock Holmes, the police of our cities should be on their guard.

The great fear of the age is the fear of being taken for a conservative.

If the melting-pot ever ceases to work, America will be the great laboratory of internationalism.

Even as it is, do Americans have the same feeling for New York that the French have for Paris or that the English have for London?



The gentle art of learning how to become a prohibition agent

Pollyanna is the right soul-mate for Dos Passos. The one puts fake joy into life and the other takes real joy out of it.

When our modern realists could find no other reason for the existence of a nasty book, they decided that it was a case of indecency for Art's sake.

Now that kings have fallen from their mighty estate, the world is under the rule of a tyrant—Propaganda.

WHAT is the secret of that great desideratum among radicals—to be ahead of one's time? The ancients had a pretty myth that once in so many years the universe swung full circle, and that then events were actually back at the point whence they started. The thought is interesting. After all our fussing and fuming to get on, are we today back in the Dark Ages? Plenty of disappointed persons would say yes. In that case being ahead of one's time today is no great shakes.

* * *

Or is the present not the Dark Ages, but another great awakening, the Renaissance come to visit us again? Is Lenin Plato's philosopher-statesman at length seen in the flesh? It's all very confusing. If progress is circular, as discouraged reformers are sometimes tempted to believe, then all our excessive activity today is little more than the hysteria of a squirrel in the cage.

* * *

Perhaps the world is just as well off for not being able to agree on a definition of "progress." Accuracy here would take the zest out of life. The

sense of moral superiority which the pacifist had during the war and which many intellectual radicals are now experiencing, on the ground that they have been ahead of their time, would be no more, because being ahead or being behind time would be



Sherlock Holmes back on the job

nothing more virtuous than being early or late for breakfast: merely keeping up with the indicator.

* * *

No, let us not spoil life by knowing too accurately what progress is. Let us agree merely that it is something very choice. And let us all continue to swell with pride at the thought that we at least are progressives, whatever others may be. Once upon a time there was a Pharisee . . . have we swung full circle to him?

The Prime Obstacle to Recovery

THE cause of all our confusion today is not economic, despite the overwhelming tendency to look for an economic interpretation of everything. If the difficulty were economic, there would be hope of a comparatively speedy solution. Foreign exchange is a knotty problem, so is the question of reparations and other adjustments. But they are trifles compared with the deadlock created by the new arguments. The battle of the immediate present is the battle of sweeping ideas—self-determination, abstract justice, brotherhood of man, internationalism by means of a huge mechanism of politics and economics.

Take a portion of Mr. Bryan's recent letter to President Harding urging him to have this country represented at Genoa:

The world has been wearing the devil's yoke and the devil's burden has become too heavy to be borne. Christ's yoke is not only easy, but his burden is the only bearable one. The world needs an anthem in which the world can join, and there is no other than the one that startled the shepherds at Bethlehem, "On earth peace, good will toward men."

Who can fail to be moved, temporarily, by that argument? So when the "liberals" kept citing the teachings of Christ to get sympathy for the ideas underlying Bolshevism, or for the revolt in India, they put their opponents in the unpleasant position of seeming to resist the growth of the finest ideals. The Sermon on the Mount is the noblest of utterances, and it speaks well for the heart of mankind that references to it have so stirred people during the past few years that the solution of world prob-

lems has seemed quite simple: deport selfishness and the rest is easy.

Let it be admitted at once that present-day "liberals" have given more hope to a weary world than all the rest of us put together. From their vantage place of being neither declared socialists nor conservatives they have got the reputation of being the only true progressives among a host of selfish groups. Their words have the glow which kindles hope; of the sincerity of many of these persons there can be no doubt. In certain quarters they have made the love of lofty conceptions infectious. Yet they have done an enormous amount to defeat honest thinking and to hinder solid progress.

Mr. Bryan's desire for peace is profound and, bolstered by Scripture, his argument will strike many as conclusive. Yet a moment's reflection should make it clear that peace to him can be no dearer than it is to a man like Mr. Hughes, who has advised against our taking part in the Genoa Conference. If the latter is immovable when confronted by Scripture, it is because he knows that the invoking of noble sentiments cannot in itself work wonders, and that the way to get peace and stability is not to underestimate the difficulties.

Mr. Hughes has given no indication of a desire to take up with old discredited ways—on the contrary. One reason why he refuses to treat with the Soviet Government—his hatred of the autocratic methods practised at Moscow—should be regarded by Americans as idealistic in the best sense. Un-

fortunately, a sentimental softness has squirmed into that word which seriously threatens our leadership among the nations. In some fashion many persons have come to believe that there is a short-cut to the millennium, and that foolish notion has been accompanied by two things: a blind worship of theoretical peace and a warm hospitality to revolutionary ideas.

The "liberal" press is reveling in the situation. It has caught the fancy especially of the young; but it has also given much comfort to persons of all ages who are eagerly straining towards the dawn of a new hope. The sound progressive cannot win such persons to his standard, or maintain a large body of original followers, merely by exposing the flimsiness of many of the goals which are sought. He must keep alive the faith in a better order of things, but he must also bring out the superior manliness of the steady struggle to consolidate, step by step, the gains which are within the reach of practical statesmanship and practical living.

It is a situation which requires a vigorous campaign of education. Upon the sound progressive, who still looks to logic and the lessons of past experience, devolves the task of sifting out the real and substantial from the visionary and dangerous.

It is a great cause, and worth a good fight.

How Germany Can Pay

ABOUT the whole question of German reparations there has revolved a mass of controversial charge and counter-charge that has tended to confuse the subject and render a solution the more difficult. Out of this confused mass, frequently complicated with astronomical figures and colored by political bitterness, let us endeavor to extract the salient points.

In the first place, there is no disagreement on the point that Germany should pay to the limit of her ability in reparation of the damage she wrought in the war. In the second place, few observers believe that Germany in her present condition can meet the obligations imposed by the Versailles Treaty. As a matter of fact, Germany today may be compared to a debtor concern in grave financial difficulties. A wise creditor should see that to attempt to realize on the cash assets of the concern would, on the one hand, throw it into bankruptcy and, on the other, yield but little to the creditor. A wise creditor in such a case would naturally nurse the debtor concern back into economic health, furnishing more capital if necessary, with the assurance that thus put upon its feet it could pay out in full. Yet France, in her nervous state, fears that a Germany brought thus to a state of economic prosperity, would take advantage of her recovered strength to refuse to meet her obligations. The result is a desperate *impasse*.

Much has been written to show the impossibility

of Germany's meeting the terms of the reparation clauses of the Versailles Treaty. Perhaps the ablest and sanest analysis is that made by John F. Bass and Harold G. Moulton in their recent volume on "America and the Balance-Sheet of Europe." They point out that Germany, like most other countries of Europe, cannot in her present condition even balance her own budget and is enmeshed in the vicious circle of the unlimited printing of money. Furthermore, even if this were not the case, France could not accept the payment of the huge amounts demanded. International debts are not like debts between parties within national boundaries. They cannot be paid in currency. Also they cannot be paid in gold, for the supply of gold is limited and its international service lies in its use for balancing moderate and temporary inequalities in trade. To abstract from Germany her last remaining gold would end the possibility of further payments. Large payments between countries must take the form of goods, and France cannot accept vast amounts of goods without ruin to many of her own essential industries. The Wiesbaden agreement, whereby Germany was to furnish on reparation account actual materials for the restoration of the devastated regions, was widely heralded as a satisfactory solution, but it proved largely a failure, because of the opposition of French dealers in the same materials.

Is there a way out of this complicated and dangerous situation? Is there a way in which Germany can be put in a position to pay large reparations while at the same time the Allies are safeguarded against her taking advantage of her recovered strength to bid defiance to their demands? Is there, further, a way in which she can pay reparations without doing serious injury to the industrial life of her creditors? Thus far, the Allied statesmen seem to have been floundering about in a morass of contradictory plans and policies, each in turn tending to render the situation worse and to retard still further the restoration of tranquillity and prosperity in Europe.

It would be presumptuous to lecture the statesmen of Europe on what they ought to do and especially to offer an easy panacea for their troubles. Yet at this distance, free from the pressing exigencies of national politics and the pressure of distracting business, it may be possible to offer a suggestion worthy of their consideration. The suggestion is a bold one, but the situation demands bold and courageous measures. Germany in her industrial plant and organization has great resources, and the question is how they may be mobilized, both for the recovery of her own prosperity and for the settlement of her obligations under the treaty. We are not concerned primarily with the amount of those obligations, since that is a matter with which the Reparations Commission is empowered to deal in the light of ascertained facts. We are

rather concerned with the method by which the obligations, as determined, may be acquitted. Corporate organization is a means of mobilizing capital and industrial resources; it is also a means of distributing the profits arising from them. The industrial wealth of Germany is represented by its corporations. Suppose, then, that every industrial corporation of Germany were to increase its capital stock by a specified amount, say 20 per cent., and that the shares represented by this were turned over to the Reparations Commission. It would not be difficult to figure out an amount which would approximate Germany's proper reparation liabilities. The shares thus furnished could be delivered to the respective Governments and in turn sold to their own people or in the open market. On the one hand they would at once become a basis for credit where credit was required, but still more they would represent a mutual interest in the prosperity of the German enterprises themselves, which would become the surest guaranty of future peace in Europe. Probably no better antidote for chauvinism could be found than an interest of one country in the industrial enterprises of another, an interest which would suffer if threatened by militaristic policy or political aggression.

Doubtless many practical difficulties stand in the way of the realization of such a programme. To the Germans it would appear an unwarranted interference in their own affairs, yet on sober second thought it ought to be welcomed by them both as a means of postponing actual payments which would be ruinous, and of interesting the world at large in the success of the enterprises upon which their whole economic life depends. In view of the fact that thus far no comprehensive plan has been proposed to meet the pressing economic difficulties of the reparation problem and at the same time relieve Europe from the corroding influence of bitter national animosities, it seems worth while at least to suggest the consideration of such a radical innovation.

Hughes versus Lloyd George

THE desire that the Genoa Conference may bring some measure of tranquillity to Europe and lay foundations for economic recovery is universal, but the negotiations thus far give little ground for sanguine hopes. The reason is basic. The two questions a solution of which is an essential prerequisite to European peace—German reparations and limitation of military establishments—are ruled out of the agenda. As we have pointed out before, the real purpose of the Conference was to find some clever formula whereby, without too great a shock to the moral sense of the world, certain financial interests might acquire from the Soviet Government the opportunity to exploit the resources of Russia. The main issue is how

to accord to the Soviet Government the recognition that will enable it to transfer to the foreign capitalist the vast properties which it has confiscated from their legal owners, and at the same time, by that recognition, not compromise the rights and claims of the foreigners who have suffered loss by the Soviet socialization programme. It is manifest that a deal of this sort, so destructive of the fundamentals of international commercial morality, can not achieve eventual success.

A body blow to this scheme has just been delivered by Secretary Hughes. In reply to a committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom which called upon him to urge immediate recognition of the Soviet Government, he stated the American policy so clearly and so firmly as to leave no doubt whatsoever. The following trenchant paragraphs are unanswerable in fact or logic:

There are no legal obstacles to trade with Russia. The obstacles that exist to trade with Russia are due to the situation in Russia, which is in the control of those who dominate the affairs of Russia.

Some time ago I pointed out the essential conditions for a return of productivity in Russia. That was not a formula; that was not an artificial conception; that was simply a statement of fact. Russia needs credit, but it is idle to expect credit unless there is a basis for credit. That basis for credit cannot be supplied from the outside. That basis for credit has got to be supplied inside of Russia.

Political recognition follows the establishment of a sound basis for intercourse. Political recognition is dependent upon the existence of a Government that is competent to discharge and shows a disposition to discharge its international obligations. The whole matter is in the control of those who dominate the affairs of Russia. We are most desirous to do what we can to aid in Russia's recuperation.

The effect of this statement at Genoa was immediate. The intimations disingenuously circulated by certain Washington correspondents that the President was inclining to Soviet recognition were given the lie. It was with a feeling of relief that Belgium and France received the assurance, which enabled them to take a strong stand against the insidious schemes that were being pressed upon them.

It is high time that a serious investigation should be made of the persistent and carefully coördinated campaign that is being carried on for Soviet recognition. The societies organized for this purpose, of which the one above mentioned is an example, bear a striking resemblance to the peace societies organized by the Germans in this country during the war. One of the most suspicious circumstances is the part played by some of the Washington correspondents. There is not the slightest doubt as to where President Harding and Secretary Hughes stand on the matter, yet their attitude is continually misrepresented, not indeed directly, but by intimation and false interpretation. It is reported that a former journalist, Judson C. Welliver, now holding an important position in the executive office at the White House, has been giving aid to this movement. If so, it is a matter deserving searching investigation and drastic action.

Mr. Gompers Against the World

SAMUEL GOMPERS has a forceful and pungent personality which has made him one of the outstanding figures of American public life. And his unusual qualities have seldom been more engagingly displayed than in his recent testimony on labor matters before the Lockwood Committee of the New York Legislature.

The substance of his contention then was that organized labor must have an absolutely free hand to work out its own policies. If this course involved hardships and seeming injustice, either to individuals or to the public, these must be endured until labor of its own volition changed its policy. As to legal intervention, Mr. Gompers's motto was "God save Labor from the courts!" Many of his opinions were wittily expressed, and the record of them made interesting reading in the morning newspapers. A frequent comment on it has run: "Pretty stiff, but it was meant for union consumption."

It is precisely because this is true, that Mr. Gompers's testimony—repeating the substance of his declarations for many years past—becomes significant as a statement of the policy of the unions comprising the Federation of Labor. That policy may be summed up as "Get all you can, and hold it. Every union for itself, and the Devil take the losers, whoever they may be."

In a world harassed by many economic and social burdens, and striving to lighten them by coöperative action; it would seem that the time had now arrived for American trade unionism to modify its attitude of feudal militancy, and to acknowledge that there are some obligations to the common welfare that are binding even upon labor unions. The present relations of organized labor to the rest of society are obviously not right, though the maladjustments are by no means wholly the fault of labor. But unless we admit that economic relations in this world are a permanently and hopelessly irremediable mess, we must hold that there are discoverable principles, not entirely militant, on which fair and peaceable relations may be established.

The American Federation of Labor has made not one contribution towards the discovery of such principles of coöperative economic peace. Mr. Gompers, as spokesman of the unions composing the Federation, stands now, and always has stood, stiffly against the idea that there is or can be any principle of labor relations except the unchecked will of the unions. The only contributions to the principles of coöperative industrial peace have come from the courts, from progressive employers, from professors and other "theorists" on the outside, and from the despised and rejected Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Mr. Gompers has bitterly assailed every idea—the application of the law of the land—unemployment insurance—employee representation

—the impartial chairman system of industrial peace relations—that would tend to lessen the power and importance of the labor leader. Mr. Gompers, in short, has consistently opposed every species and aspect of real coöperation between workers and employers. He has insisted that labor must secure better wages and other gains always by compulsion on the employer—never through friendly understanding with him.

Mr. Gompers during the war gave service that was generally considered of great value to the country. His opposition to Bolshevism undoubtedly has been a helpful influence. But while we do not account Mr. Gompers and the other leaders of American trade unionism any worse, by and large, than other men in positions of power and influence, neither do we see any reason for considering them any better. And the lesson of every day, in politics, in business, in the church, everywhere—is that those who have power try to hold it by such measures as they believe will succeed, and that they come to believe in the eternal verity of whatever does succeed. This rule applies as fully to labor leadership as to any other.

We do not overlook the political exigencies that must often influence the course of the labor leader, and of every other leader. We have often admonished hostile critics of organized labor that they were denying to the labor leader that "adjustability," to use a euphemism, which they concede as a matter of course in ordinary politics. The position of the wisest and most sincere labor leader in respect to the conflicting forces he has to deal with is sometimes perplexing and difficult almost to the point of being "impossible."

But the time has certainly come when recognition of the obligation of coöperation for the general good may be demanded from the trade unions, as from all other forces. Mr. Gompers's world is populated entirely by trade unions more or less at war with one another. But neither he nor any other labor leader can keep the rest of humanity permanently in an outer Purgatory of needless industrial conflict. The obligation is not exclusively upon organized labor, but labor cannot escape its share. Mr. Gompers's theory is at bottom predatory, monopolistic and in the large sense anti-social. It is time for the rest of the labor world, at least, to prepare to abandon it.

Announcement

WITH the present issue Mr. Franklin assumes the position of contributing editor, relinquishing the duties of responsible editor which he has shared with Mr. Fuller since the founding of THE WEEKLY REVIEW.

Mr. Fuller remains as responsible editor.

Mr. Hamilton Holt retires from the editorial staff.

On Taking in One Another's Washing

By Fabian Franklin

A VERY old jest is that about the inhabitants of a remote village who earned a precarious living by taking in one another's washing. But the state of mind of those imaginary villagers is not so very different from that which has borne a great part in the actual shaping of policies of infinite moment to the world. None but a fool would deny that foreign trade may be a very important factor in a nation's prosperity; but to take it for granted that it is necessarily an essential factor—that any nation without it is doomed to poverty and wretchedness—is to commit precisely the absurdity which is embalmed in the classical jest I have referred to.

A country like the United States, with its immense variety of resources, could command not only prosperity, but constantly increasing wealth, without any foreign trade whatsoever; its people would lose much, would be far less abundantly supplied with many things which they desire; but they would have food and clothing and shelter—and ample luxuries too—even though, in accordance with the express wish of extreme protectionists of the Henry Carey school, the ocean had been turned into a sea of fire that would cut off all importations of foreign goods. And the same thing is infinitely more true of Western Europe in relation to Russia. After months, indeed years, of shilly-shallying (for it began long before Genoa) the spokesmen of the rest of Europe have plainly told Russia that while they would like to trade with her they are under no necessity to do so. This is so obvious that any schoolboy ought to know it; and yet the failure to see it clearly and say it plainly has been at the bottom of a great deal of the ineptitude with which the Russian question has been treated. In the year 1913 the exports of Russia to the countries of Western Europe amounted to less than \$500,000,000—a mere drop in the bucket as compared with the home production of those countries. The portion of this that went to the United Kingdom was \$133,000,000; which amount, if it were all clear profit, would be just about enough to cover one-fortieth of the taxes which the British Government has recently been levying annually upon the people. And yet a large part of the support of the Lloyd George policy toward Russia was derived from the thoughtless notion that to get back the trade of Russia—even in her present crippled condition—was a matter of immediate and extreme importance to the people of England.

All this, at last, people are beginning to realize. But more than this is true; and more than this it is important to see clearly if we are to appraise correctly the Russian economic situation. Not only is it quite possible for Western Europe to get along without Russia, but *in the nature of things* it is quite possible for Russia to get along without Western Europe. I say "in the nature of things," for it is quite plain that in the actual condition to which Russia has been reduced, and *in the absence of a radical change within Russia*, that great country is doomed to a long continuance of abject misery unless help comes from the outside. But it is absurd to suppose that this doom has been imposed upon Russia from the outside. She has within her

own borders the means of abounding prosperity, to say nothing of mere subsistence. Even if there had been at any time such a blockade as the Bolsheviks pretend, and even if such slight approach to a blockade as there was had continued up to the present moment, Russia would, long before this time, have developed her own resources to a point satisfying all her essential needs if her economic energy had not been paralyzed by the Bolshevik insanity. Before the war, not only did she raise all her own food and a great deal for export, but her mineral resources were being exploited in constantly increasing volume, and her manufactures were growing. "Between 1887 and 1911," one reads in the International Encyclopaedia, "Russia quadrupled its production of iron and steel;" and again: "Russia supplies four-fifths of all the coal and pig-iron consumed in the country, and nearly all of the steel;" and as for the enormous potentialities of her natural resources, no one denies them. In these circumstances, what would happen in a normal country if she were cut off from importations? Would there not be a tremendous stimulation of the process of internal development? Would not the mining of coal and the production of iron and steel increase by leaps and bounds, supplying a like increase to manufactures and to transportation facilities? Why has this not happened in Russia, but precisely the reverse? To say nothing of the appalling decline of agriculture, with its sequel of devastating famine, why is it that mining and manufactures have dwindled to insignificant proportions and that the transportation system has been reduced almost to impotence?

There can be but one answer. The political and economic system of the Bolsheviks has dried up the very springs of economic energy. It has taken away the motive of private enterprise, and has dismally failed to substitute anything effective in its place. It has driven to despair and starvation the men of intellectual and practical ability, and attempted to accomplish without their leadership that which in all the world beside has been accomplished only through their leadership. And it has superimposed upon all this extinction of what is most vital in economic life a corrupt bureaucratic despotism which has made the ruin complete. Yet in the face of all this, there are persons who think of themselves as "intellectuals" who explain the wreck of Russia as merely a result of the failure of other nations to take in her washing and give her theirs!

I am not unmindful of another excuse which is often put forward—that Russia has been engaged in war all this time. But this excuse is hardly less trivial than the other. It is four years, if not five, since Russia has carried on war upon a scale large enough to constitute a fatal, or even a serious, drain upon a country of her magnitude, provided only that her economic system was on a sound basis. In this country, throughout the World War, production was so enormously stimulated that the drain of the war itself was, for the time being, hardly felt; and what Russia has had to do in the shape of military measures for defence against outside aggression during the past four years

is a mere bagatelle in comparison. It must be admitted, of course, that the disturbance of old economic connections with the outside world, especially in a relatively backward country, was a very serious matter, and would have been felt as such by any country in like circumstances; the remarkable thing is the total failure of Russia to make head against such a difficulty. The obstacles which to other countries have been but a passing hardship, and which, after a time, have often been turned into an actual gain through the intensifying of internal energy, have been accepted by her as fatal to all her enormous natural possibilities. The fact is that they have played but a small part, one way or the other, except as a plausible excuse for the unthinking; the real cause, even of the failure of foreign trade, has been neither blockade nor war, but the failure of that production at home, and the absence of those conditions at home, upon which alone foreign trade can be based.

There is one more consideration in the case, and a consideration of the first importance, which has received singularly little attention. Whatever drawbacks

Russia really has suffered under, she has been in the enjoyment of one extraordinary and tremendous advantage. She has had no blood-sucking capitalists to wrest from the hand of toil the fruits of its labor. Her honest workmen and sturdy peasants have not been called upon to pay over to heartless landlords and capitalists that frightful toll of rents and interest and dividends which in less favored lands keeps the masses in bondage and misery. What is a trifle like the loss of a few hundred million dollars of international trade in comparison with the lifting of that awful burden? If Russia has been reduced to want and wretchedness in spite of this enormous and unparalleled advantage, how desperately bad must be the system that has accomplished such a miracle of failure! *MM. les intellectuels*, let us have an explanation of this mystery. Why do we hear no pæns of joy over the emancipation of the masses from the crushing exactions of capitalism? What has become of the billions that have been gained by the people through the elimination of the blood-sucking parasites who had been battenning upon their misery?

Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor

IX—A Wolf Chosen Shepherd by the Lambs—Mrs. Humphry Ward as Guest and Observer—Turgeniev's Traits and Thoughts

By Henry Holt

THE allusion to the Carnegie dinner at the Authors' Club in the preceding instalment of these garrulities reminds me of perhaps the only external circumstance in my life worth recording. I told you at the outset that my life had contained no out-of-the-way travel and no adventure, no service in politics or war—nothing, in short, of the experience that in most cases makes reminiscences interesting. But the circumstance to which I now refer was so remarkable that I have felt from the beginning that it must be told somewhere, and I may as well overcome any modesty I may have (and here I do have to overcome *something*), and dispose of the matter now, and have it over with. In my experience the impossible has happened: the lambs did really elect the wolf their shepherd, and kept him in office twice as long as they ever kept any other shepherd, and elected a successor only when the incumbent suggested that it might be time for them to return to their traditional practice. The lambs were the Authors' Club, and I was the wolf, being a publisher. In speaking of modesty above, I'm afraid I wasn't quite honest: for I'm prouder of that fact than of anything, outside of the love of a few people, that ever came to me or could come to me, and perhaps even in this there was some love to justify the pride. I hope so.

And, after all, I'm not sure I'd have told of it but for the number of times I've had to listen about the Bible that Byron gave Murray, and about the authors who drank the health of Napoleon because he shot a publisher. Only recently an eminent author declared in a speech at the club, after John Lane and I had spoken, that he'd always wanted to kill a publisher; but on saying goodnight he said he was glad he hadn't killed me.

The wolf continues his pleasant recollections of the sheep—and without licking his chops.

Somewhere about 1912, Mrs. Humphry Ward with her daughter spent a few days with us at our summer home in Burlington, Vt., and an extraordinarily satisfactory guest she was, despite the fact that the first night, when her hostess asked at what time she liked to breakfast, she answered, "Six o'clock." But later she showed a little outfit of a tea apparatus with jam, biscuits, and potted food, which she always carried, and which her maid arranged upon her bed at six o'clock. As I remember, she said that it was her working habit to begin, after that nip of breakfast, with the unfinished mail of the day before, and if that were slight, perhaps a little reading or other writing; then to bathe and dress in time for the usual breakfast; soon after that, to begin the real day's work, and knock off in time for a half-hour walk before lunch; soon after lunch to start work again until teatime; after tea to avoid everything suggesting work. I remember that we took long drives, so we probably had tea early or ignored it altogether. She appreciated the wonderful scenery, and when we were on Shelburne Point said she wanted to get a house for a summer



International Film Service

Mrs. Humphry Ward

and write a book there. The intention was never carried out, perhaps because of the war.

When she came down for dinner the first night, I was quite overwhelmed—not merely because she was a magnificent woman—large and splendidly built, coloring rather dark, and beautifully dressed—or revealed—I was not altogether new to that sort of thing—but because she carried her long gloves: I had not seen enough of English ways to prepare me for that on the part of a lady staying in the house.

As we were in Vermont, it was very natural to ask how, without having been in America, she got the Vermont girl Lucy, in "Eleanor," so true to type. She told us that in England she had a lot of copies of the *Springfield Republican*, and studied up the local gossip columns devoted respectively to Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont, and found the best material under Vermont.

I asked her if the reason why there was then ("present company always excepted") no outstanding figure in English literature, was that there were no peaks as high as those of half a century before, or because there were so many of that height that none stood out. She was not of those authors who, consciously or unconsciously, endeavor to magnify themselves by depreciating the Victorian Age. She realized the comparative inferiority of literature since, and named Galsworthy as the man most likely to redeem it—the first time I remember hearing of him. I at once read some of his books, and formed hopes which have been disappointed by his falling into the dangerous too-current stupidity of not realizing that civilization depends on the family, and that the family depends upon the regulation of the sexual instinct.

Of her own work up to that time, she was best satisfied with "Helbeck of Bannisdale." And I haven't read it yet! Such are mortal intentions!

In 1879 in London it was my great privilege to meet Sir Henry Maine. He was one of the most strikingly urbane and agreeable men I ever knew. One does not often hear that said of the world's greatest thinkers. In person he reminded me of William D. Whitney—the same phenomenal great round forehead.

I first went to see him at the India House, where he gave me more time than I deserved. I dined with him and sat next, he told me, to the editor of *The Quarterly Review*, and so ignorant was I that I asked "What Quarterly"? Of how much farther I got my foot in through that dinner I remain blissfully ignorant. It was there that I got my first idea of one marked difference between English and American ways. After the ladies went out, Sir Henry, in his genial way, called the men to his end of the table with a "Come, close up!" intimating by tone and gesture that now the real fun was to begin; and I think a new wine was produced, or perhaps only a former one was repeated, when I, at least, had had enough already. But not a whiff of tobacco and, if I remember rightly, no coffee. I'd had a taste of the same ways at the very first hospitable table which blessed me in England: a friend at Oxford took me off to his library and lent me an old coat to smoke in.

The difference in usage was attributed to the dampness of the English climate, which fastened the smell in the curtains. I haven't been there for twenty-five years, although when I first went, many years before, I

told my friends that of course I was coming every summer. I've been there just twice since. But reports give me an impression that they found their timidities about smoking mainly superstitions, and, whether they were or not, have got over them. Why, even among us, when the present University Club house was built, some twenty-five years ago, they had a separate room, and appropriately decorated it was, for pipe smoking.

That same summer I met Turgenev. I believe it was my privilege to be the publisher who introduced him to English-speaking readers. In the late sixties, Eugene Schuyler, who graduated at Yale three classes ahead of mine, translated, and I published, "Fathers and Sons." I followed it with three or four



Ivan Turgenev

other Turgenev books, but had no encouragement to continue. A generation later, however, the public demand for high-class foreign literature began to increase rapidly. Apropos of these books, he wrote me a letter, of which the following passage seems to be of public interest. The English is his own:

My friend Mr. W. Ralston has transmitted to me your letter with the included check. Unexpected as it was to me, I can frankly tell you that seldom or never has anything during all my literary career given me such unmitigated pleasure. The deep sympathy I always felt for America and the Americans has been accrued by it; and the appreciation of your countrymen, testified by your amiable letter, makes me proud and happy.

Because of these publications, in the summer of '79, in Paris, Turgenev invited me to come to see him.

As I mounted a circular staircase to his apartment *au troisième*, he was leaning over the rail to greet me, and as I looked up at his full-bearded, strong, kind face, I seemed to be ascending to a prophet. He was a big but not very tall man, with blue eyes, as I remember.

We talked, or rather he did, for an hour or two, but the only thing that I remember of that interview was his saying: "I am no puritan." This is illustrated by the legend that when the Germans entered France in '70 a detachment of them took possession of a villa in which their commander recognized over the principal mantelpiece a portrait of Turgenev, and was told: "It is the father of Madame." I believe that he never was married. The German ordered that the place was to be unharmed and scrupulously guarded.

He must have found me an appreciative listener: for he invited me to spend a day with him at his country home near Bougival. There I heard much more than I remember. By the way, he spoke much better English than I did, he having been at school in England, and having had to *study* the language, which few American boys of my time did.

I reached Bougival towards noon. He was a wonderful host: for it was no small proposition to have on his hands, for five or six hours, a transatlantic stranger of whose tastes and ideas he knew so little. He received me in a second-story room surrounded by woods. It was evidently his work-room, and he showed me, with characterizations, an astonishing number of high-class Reviews published in Russia. There may have been half a dozen. I should not have felt confident beforehand that there was one.

After the samovar and some biscuits had been produced, he led me across the hall to another large room where he slept, and which, unlike his work-room, commanded a very wide and attractive prospect.

I said: "It's plain why you didn't make this your work-room: the view would have distracted your attention."

"No," he answered, "I don't react to it at all: it doesn't interest me: nothing without life does." (And I've just read his description of the graveyard at the end of "Fathers and Sons"!)

"But," I expostulated, "that's a singular instance of how little we know ourselves: for you have given virtually every one of your great scenes an appropriate natural background."

"Well," he said, "I hadn't realized it. So far as I know myself, if all beings were arranged in an orderly progression from inanimate matter up to the highest thought and feeling, my interest would begin where conscious life begins. I can sit for hours watching an ant, and taking the keenest interest in everything it does, and come home and, with interest just as keen, write out every detail." He paused a moment, and then exclaimed: "And if I couldn't do that, I should die."

In view of the relation of the great artist's mind to philosophy, the story of the villa and the portrait is not to be wondered at. As I have had occasion to say before, even in this short paper, some minds do not deal with such considerations as that the family is the basis of civilization, and that the family depends on the regulation of the sexual instinct. To the impermeability of the artistic temperament—and of the feminine intellect—to such considerations is due the breakdown of our traditional sanctions of morality, the present flood of "sex" literature, and the fact that even the unspeakable filth of "Jurgen" was exuded by an artist of no mean power, published, after its suppression in America, by a London house previously of some respectability, and was even reviewed favorably in the *London Times*.

Charles's Purgatorial Paradise

By Harvey M. Watts

THE passing of Charles of Austria at Madeira has its pathos, but in many ways it was pathos that marked the last days of his life in what is described by the palpitating guide-books as an



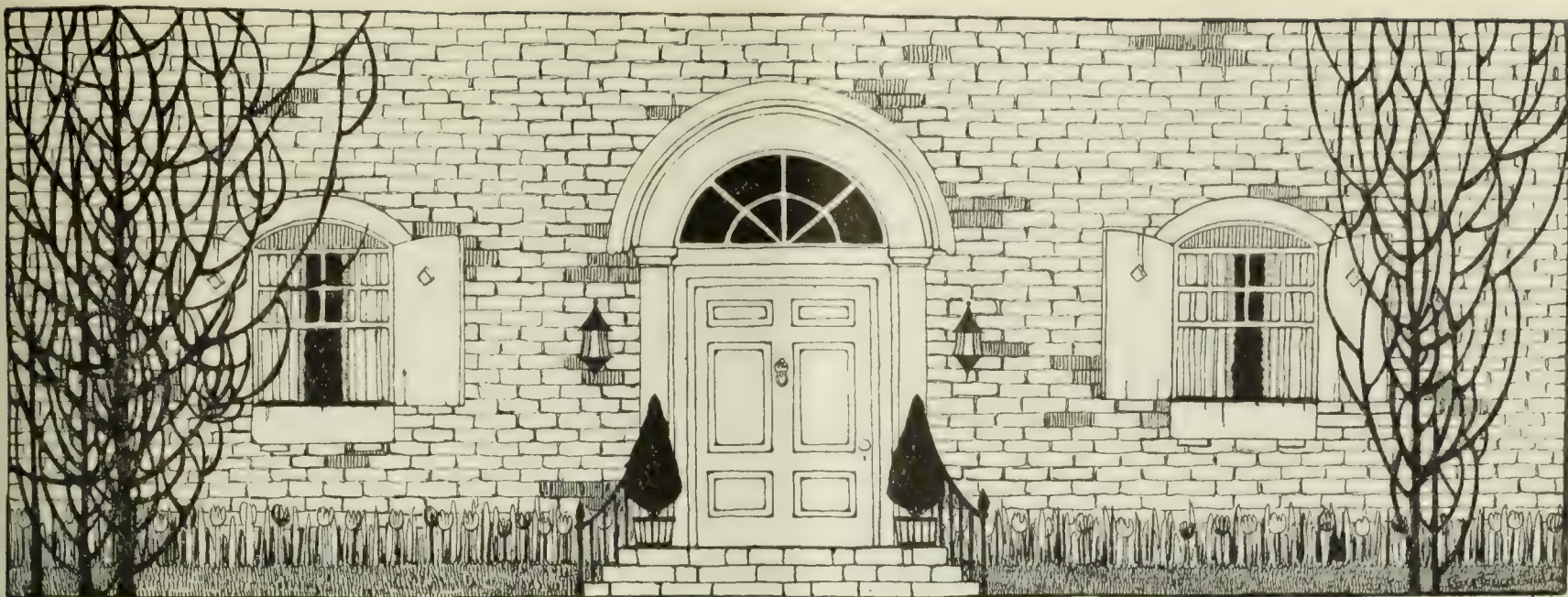
Kadel & Herbert

"earthly paradise." The cables which have told so scantily the details of his final moments have been silent as to the essential facts. They are these: the climate of Madeira, which the ex-Empress Zita and her family wish to flee from, is all very well if you do not take too much of it at one time. Charles fell a victim to it largely because he could not stand the cheap ignominy of being an object of casual and nonchalant curiosity to tourists and hotel guests. He was housed at first in the Villa Victoria. There, amid palms and camphor trees, magnolias and evergreens, and the everlasting

flowers of Madeira, he found himself with his family continually under observation in a community so small that everybody knows the doings of everyone else, save those who live in some of the larger villas surrounded by luxuriant plantations heavily walled in.

Consequently, Charles mistakenly elected to try living in one of the secluded summer villas near the mountain top on a slope which rises precipitously behind Funchal. The villa, which was little more than an unheated bungalow, would have been a cool and delightful place for July, but was chilly and cloud-enwrapped in February. On February 26, when Charles had what was practically his last political talk with his visitor from France, he was then feeling a little "rocky." This was his last good day, his last outing; for which he had gained a privacy that even the most penetrating tourists could not disturb: the conditions of it cost him his life.

That he would have done anything with his life is doubtful. For the ideas which he expressed in his last conversation of the twenty-sixth, the day before he took to his bed, were quite as much in the fog as the villa he was living in. He had a curious idea that in some way the salvation of Austria lay with France. He wanted an alliance between France and Austria, with Hungary as the friendly associate. He argued earnestly for this entente with his French visitor. But there was nothing in his conversation in the raw fog-filled sitting-room, some 3,000 feet above the Atlantic, that removed the essential melancholy involved in the spectacle of an ex-autocrat living in a Purgatorial paradise and completely out of touch with everything. Not even the kindness of the clergy and the aristocracy of Funchal could overcome the fact that in becoming ridiculous he had ceased to be a figure in his own time.



Spring Thoughts on Home-Building

By Gardner Teall

WHEN John Howard Payne wrote the immortal song of "Home, Sweet Home" into his opera of "Clari, the Maid of Milan," he unknowingly echoed the burden of the lines on Home of the ancient Greet poet, Leonidas, given to us by Robert Bland in these words:

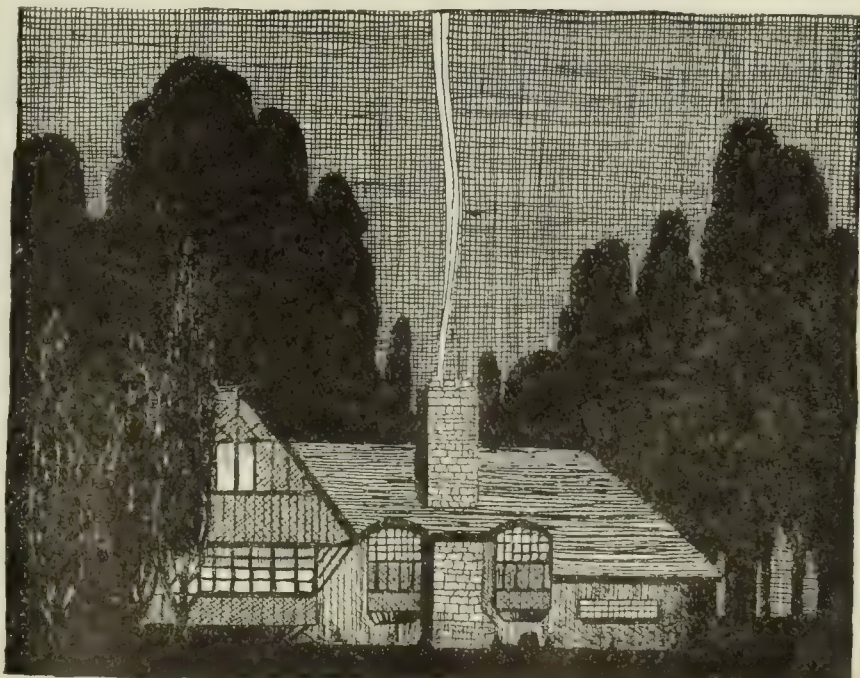
Cling to thy home! if there the meanest shed
Yield thee a hearth and shelter for thy head,
And some poor plot, with vegetables stored,
Be all that Heaven allots thee for thy board—
Unsavoury bread, and herbs that scattered grow
Wild on the mountain brow,
Yet e'en this cheerless mansion shall provide
More heart's repose than all the world beside.

It is certainly true that through all the centuries the human heart has felt that there is no place like home, one's own home, and yet there are over twelve million families in the United States who today are living in rented homes. Some of these may be doing so from choice, but I dare say that the majority are not, and that the desire for a home of one's own is in the heart of every man and woman in the land.

With the advent of spring the thought of home-building quickens. After all, is it so impossible to have the home one has longed for? So often you hear some one say, "The So-and-so's are building a house this spring; how do they manage it?" in a tone that suggests that the speaker might add, "We would like to, but we can't." Strangely enough, the country is full of people who long for homes, but honestly imagine they cannot manage to go ahead and build, when as a matter of fact they could, *if they knew how to go about it*. Now this statement is not designed to raise the hope of some alchemical recipe that will fill the empty purse; it is only to suggest that, if the purse is being continually emptied, is it not possible that the emptying could be diverted to home-building instead of to a landlord's pocket?

These are things to think about, to ask one's self, and to study. Not all alluringly written home-building schemes are trustworthy, but a little investigation with the help of one's bank, or some business friend of good judgment, will enable one to sift the traps from the havens. But perhaps the prospective home-builder is imbued with the idea that building costs at the moment are prohibi-

tive. From where I am writing, I can look out upon an entire new neighborhood of delightful little houses that have been erected within the past two years, and home-building is continuing here eastwardly with enthusiasm. This is a locality where costs are no less than elsewhere, and a locality where land is not cheap. Notwithstanding this, let it be understood that all of the owners of these new houses are people of moderate means, and I cannot but believe that, if they see the way, others can do likewise. It is not to be denied that home-building is now a more expensive matter than it was before the war, that even then the costs of building were higher than they were ten years earlier, and twice as high as they were twenty years before that. But it seems to me an excellent slogan would be "Have a Home Now!" I doubt if delay will bring advantages to offset what one will miss in the interim of not having a home. It may seem ridiculous and unnecessary to dwell upon these things, but it is a fact that a great number of houseless ones actually need to be told that their dream may be brought about, if they will set to it as others have done and investigate the *ways* instead of looking at what appears to them to be the *means* through the wrong end of the telescope.



Perhaps one of the greatest faults in home-building is not stopping to reflect on the finished effect of the premises. There are questions one should ask oneself at the start, such as "What relationship ought my house bear to that of my neighbor and to the locality, in order to maintain or create harmony?" "What are the ethical rights of my neighbors in regard to the house I am planning to build? I may own the land on which I am building, but when the accommodation of a foot east or west, north or south, will *not* shut out my neighbor's light, ought I not to regard this fact?" "If I build in the spring, or in the summer, am I bearing in mind the climatic conditions of the winters to

follow, planning my house accordingly?" "If my house is to be occupied by others than myself who are to share its home equally with me, am I taking into consideration their occupations, their requirements, their happiness?" "In building today am I thinking of tomorrow?" "Am I building the sort of house I can reasonably expect to keep up properly?" "Here is my lot; how best can I place my house upon it to obtain the best landscape effect, even though the plot of ground is a small one?" "Have I considered room for growing things?" "If there are to be servants in the house, am I giving thought to their comfort?" "Am I building the sort of house that my children will love as well as myself?"

Current House-Building Problems

By Richardson Wright

THE majority of us choose the architecture for a house in the same way in which we choose a hat.

The hat becomes us, we think ourselves quite splendid in it, friends and neighbors admire us, it suits the sort of person we are. Just as we can visualize ourselves in that hat, so can we see ourselves living in that particular sort of house.

The choice of domestic architecture is a fairly safe indication of personality. Some of us are Dutch Colonial people and others English half-timbered; some Italian and others early American in the Georgian manner. Let architects speak learnedly of the relation of a house to its site (which is very necessary), and builders of relative costs (which one should study before building); the fact remains that the average man and his wife select the architecture for their prospective house because it will be the sort of house they can see themselves eventually gracing, the sort of background against which they can live their lives to the fullest advantage.

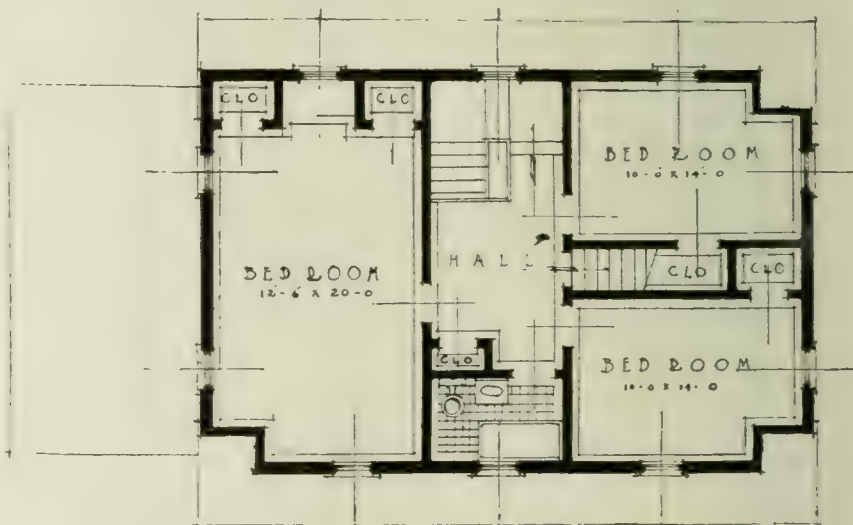
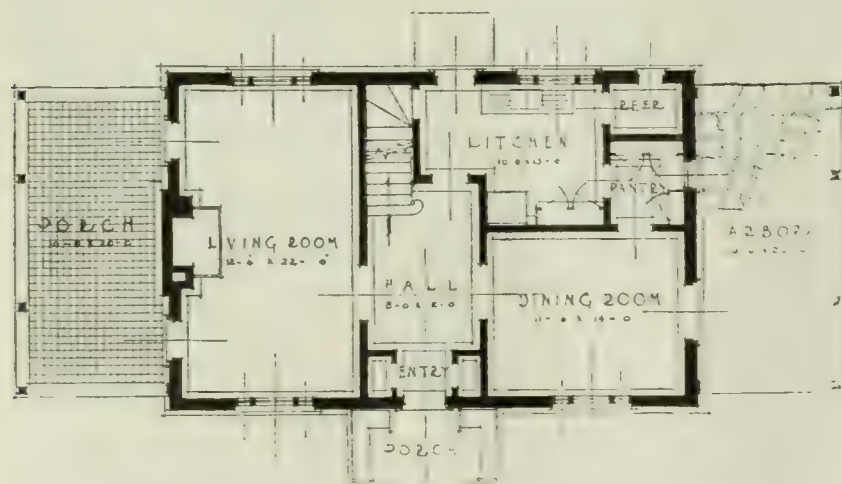
Except for our profligate use of timber, it is quite impossible for us to put a finger on any one architectural style and say, "That is a purely American house." There

are localities in this vast land of ours where the Italian style seems perfectly at home—some parts of California especially. There are others where the New England farmhouse seems to grow naturally out of the ground, and others where it will not.

In still other sections the adobe is a native product. Originally most of these architectural styles were a product of climate and the availability of building materials. Many of these we follow today, adapting them to local conditions. If we keep in mind the climate and the native materials we may not go so far wrong in the choice of our style of architecture.

However, it often happens that the sort of house we can visualize ourselves gracing and the sort of

house that would naturally fit the prospective site are two quite different problems. This gulf between dream and reality can be bridged by the architect. For there is more to the architect's profession than the drawing of



complicated plans; he sits as an arbiter between client and house, he takes the client's vague desires or incoherent plans and interprets them in terms of brick, stone, stucco, shingle, or clapboard, in a manner that



will satisfy both the client and suit the location of the house. It may be possible for a layman to build a good house without the aid of an architect, but it is highly improbable. If you doubt it, consider some of the monstrosities common to many suburban developments.

The small or medium - priced house that is architecturally commendable presents one of our most serious current problems of building. Its design and construction are matters that are engrossing architects in all parts of the country today. We are sorely in need of many thousands of good small homes, but this demand should not be taken as

an opportunity for the lowering of architectural standards. Let the layman coöperate in advancing the standard by availing himself of an architect's services:

While in the older countries a man used to build his house with a view to its being occupied by future generations of his family, in this country the average man sees his house as having an eventual real-estate value. Our way may not be ideal, but it serves a useful purpose in that it encourages good construction and a willingness to invest substantially.

This also presents a current building problem—with a promise of lower building costs, can a man afford to build now? Can he be sure of his money being returned if he sells the house ten years hence? Such prophecy is impossible to make: tomorrow's real-estate values will depend on today's development. Meantime, he has a home to live in. After all, one-third to one-half of a man's life is spent in his home, and certainly more than half of the life of women and children. Even in the practical matter of building a house there is much that cannot be put down in dollars and cents.

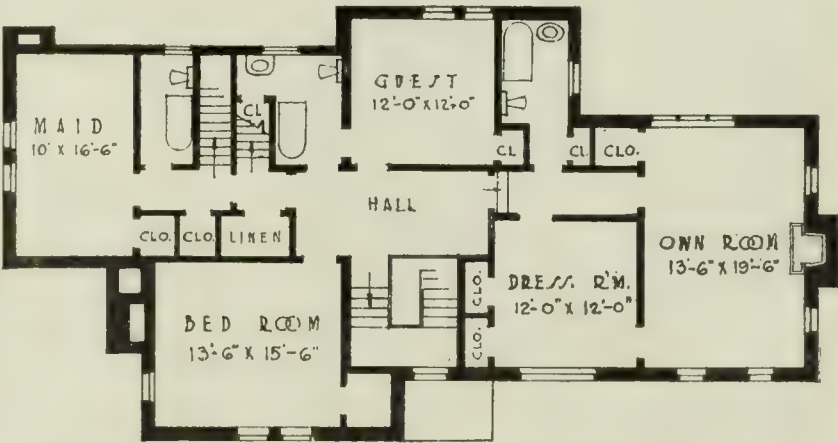
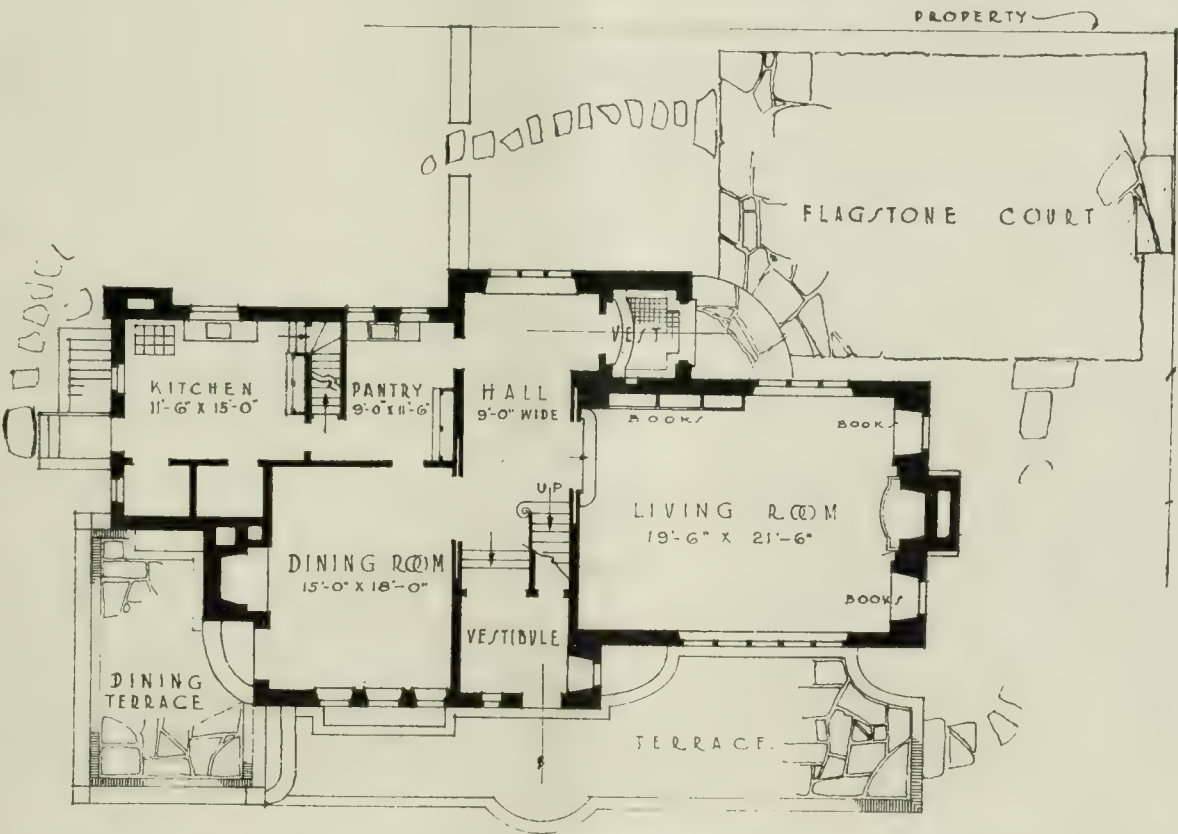
But the current cost of building can be put down, and for the majority of prospective home-builders that is the greatest problem of all. One of the first steps is

to choose a simple plan, a plan with not too many grades of roofs, one in which the plumbing and heating systems can be compactly arranged, and all irregularities of floors be avoided. It is a good rule to remember that extra angles cost money. Likewise, having decided on a plan, stick to it. Changes made in the process of building are always expensive.

With these simple facts in mind, the kinds of building materials can be considered. Dressed stone leads in cost—and permanence. Brick is permanent and may not be too expensive, if one's architect knows how to handle it. Some of the pleasantest examples of domestic architecture being built today are of common brick whitewashed. A cheap substitute for brick is a frame house with a brick veneer. Hollow tile finished with stucco gives a permanent house, well insulated and as nearly fireproof as it is possible to build. Wood construction with wire lath and stucco follow in the de-

scending scale of costs, and then clapboard and shingle. It is estimated that a brick house is from 5 to 12 per cent. more expensive than one built of wood, and between 8 and 10 per cent. more expensive than one built of wire lath stuccoed. Hollow tile is from 6 to 9 per cent. more expensive than shingle or clapboard and from 2 to 6 per cent. more expensive

than wire lath and stucco. A shingled house will cost 1.6 per cent. more than clapboard.



A recent authority figures that house-building today costs 72 per cent. more than it did in 1914, and all figures show that the price of building materials has come down, having dropped 26 per cent. from the peak reached in 1920. For this year, at least, no further reduction is expected. Consequently 1922 should see a great increase in the building of homes which will be good investments.

Home Building—A Gallery of Suggestions



M. H. Northend

Residence of S. E. Hutchinson, Beverly Farms, Mass.



Underwood & Underwood

This is not in Paris but in New York



Graham Photo Co.

A Spanish note in California architecture



Graham Photo Co.

The charm of simplicity without severity



Underwood & Underwood

Summer home of R. S. Bradley of Boston on the North Shore



M. H. Northend

"House on the Moor" at Eastern Point, Mass.



M. H. Northend

Residence of Henry G. Morse, Marblehead Neck



Coggins

The house with gables



M. H. Northend

A charming Dutch Colonial type



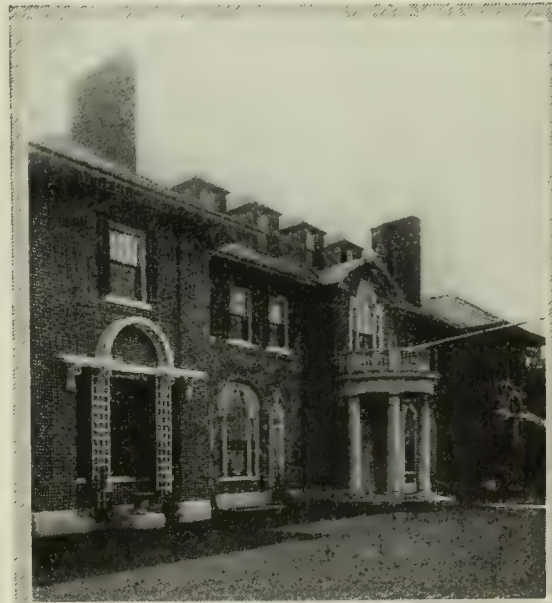
Underwood & Underwood

Transplanting Japan—a tea house at Newport



Graham Photo Co.

An English inspiration



M. H. Northend

The Curran residence at Phillips Beach, Mass.



Coggins

A snug little kingdom



M. H. Northend

Another type for which England is responsible

New Wonders of Science

By Edwin E. Slosson

THIS is an era of revolution in almost all of the sciences. New knowledge is pouring in at so rapid a rate that it is hard to assimilate. For whenever a fundamental discovery is made all the old facts have to be redissolved and recrystallized on a new thread of theory.

In astronomical research more rapid progress is being made than ever before in the world's history, and America is leading in this field. Thanks to the unparalleled equipment of our observatories the remoter regions of the universe are now being explored. The stars have seemed to retreat as the astronomer approached, for the larger he made his lens the smaller they looked through it. But when he attached a spectroscope, which sorts out the colors of the light, he was enabled to deduce the size, age, distance, chemical composition, and motion of the stars as if he had them in his own laboratory.

What the Spectroscope Tells About the Stars

TURNED on the sun, the spectroscope can discern the magnetic fields produced by free corpuscles of positive or negative electricity, smaller than the smallest atom, whirling in the gigantic cyclones that rend the solar atmosphere and are barely perceptible to the naked eye as sunspots. Michelson's interferometer, mounted on a steel bridge at the top of the largest telescope on Mount Wilson, expands the eye of its 100-inch reflector to more than twenty feet and makes possible the measurement of a star's diameter. The bright star in the shoulder of giant Orion, which the Arabs named Betelgeuse and which Americans *will* call "Beetle-Juice," has been so measured and found to be 215,000,000 miles in diameter. The ray of light that conveyed this information to us started out from the star the year George III was crowned and has been traveling straight toward us ever since at the rate of 186,000 miles a second. Antares, the fiery red star in the heart of the Scorpion, is very much bigger than Betelgeuse; possibly twice as broad, certainly not less than 280,000,000 miles in diameter. We cannot tell how large it is until we know how far away it is. The ancients named it "the Rival of Mars" (Ares) but the planet that is often mistaken for it is really as a fly to an elephant. The *orbit* of Mars would not be a belt to Antares, and if Antares were in the place of our sun it would take Mars more than two years to go round it at his regular pace.

But for all their size, such stars as Betelgeuse are mighty thin and unsubstantial, nothing more than gigantic gasbags—minus the bag; the gas more attenuated than what we call the "vacuum" of a Crookes' tube. The Mother Goose of the future will have to be revised to read:

Twinkle, twinkle, little star,
I know exactly what you are,
A floating sphere of flaming gas
Condensing to a solid mass.

Twinkle, twinkle, little star,
I need not wonder what you are
For seen by spectroscopic ken
You're helium and hydrogen.

How Physics Has Aided Chemistry

SCIENTIFIC frontiers are shifting as suddenly as European boundaries. Years ago the chemists and the physicists came to an amicable and informal agreement as to the division of their contiguous territory. The molecule was the dividing point; everything larger belonged to physics, everything smaller to chemistry. But a band of bold physicists, headed by Thomson and Rutherford, raided the hinterland of chemistry and opened up a new field inside the atom, which the chemists had neglected, and which they could not hold because of their unpreparedness in mathematical weapons. So the realm of chemistry has been reduced to a mere strip of territory—a sort of Danzig corridor—crowded in between two broad domains of physics.

The chemist is still allowed to play with his pretty little models of molecules, made of lettered atoms stuck on valence lines and looking like pictures of spiders and centipedes done on a typewriter, but even here on his own ground he is not long to have his own way. He wants atoms like caltrops with fixed stiff valences stuck out in all directions, bonds that will bend and spring back like steel wires. But the physicist insists that the atom is a sort of solar system, even emptier and livelier, with a nucleus of positive electricity and one or more infinitesimal electrons with a minus mark revolving round it with incredible speed. The chemist does not see how he can build stable molecules out of such vivacious and vacuous material, and he is further bothered because the physicist has destroyed his faith in the fixity of atomic weights, which since the days of Dalton have been the foundation stones of his science and which he has laboriously calculated out to the fourth decimal.

The Tempestuous Atom

THE atom was endowed by its inventor, Democritus, with the attribute of indivisibility. For over twenty-three centuries it maintained its reputation for integrity, but in 1897 Professor J. J. Thomson of Cambridge University destroyed it by showing that the atom contained within it, and occasionally shot out, corpuscles of negative electricity. These particles are so small that it would take about 1800 of them to weigh as much as the smallest atom, hydrogen. For cutting the Gordian knot Alexander was made ruler of Asia. For cutting the atomic knot Professor Thomson was made Sir Joseph. Both sighed for other worlds to conquer. Sir Joseph Thomson has recently taken another and still longer stride in the direction of the infinitely little by suggesting that the real bricks of which the universe is built are particles so small that it would take 100,000,000,000 to make up the mass of one electron. These, he thinks, would be sufficiently small to be used for almost anything, for ether and light and electricity as well as ordinary matter. He would interpret a light-wave as a jerk of these particles strung along a line of force like beads on an elastic string.

The interesting feature of the situation is that physicists have been compelled to go back and pick up an old theory that they had definitely discarded a hundred years before. Newton held the theory that light

was due to the emission of minute particles which moved in straight lines and bounded back like elastic balls from reflecting surfaces. But this could not explain interference, which occurs when two light-rays running in the same direction join and produce not double the light but a band of darkness. This could be prettily explained by the theory of Newton's rival, Huyghens of Holland, who held that light was not material but wave motion of a hypothetical ether.

The Wave Theory No Longer Suffices

THE wave theory served admirably to explain not only light but also electricity, until recently when it has been found that light has momentum and exerts a kick when it leaves and a push when it strikes a body and that there are corpuscles concerned in the interaction of light and electricity. It seems, then, that both theories, Newton's and Huyghens's, told the truth, but neither of them the whole truth, a very common case in science as well as on the witness stand. So now physicists are in the queer quandary of having to use both theories, without being able to see how they can be reconciled. Sir William Bragg, Professor in the University of London and Nobel Laureate, gives the following witty statement of the situation in *Discovery* for September, 1921:

No known theory can be distorted so as to provide even approximate explanation. There must be some fact of which we are entirely ignorant, and whose discovery may revolutionize our views of the relation between waves and ether and matter. For the present we have to work on both theories. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays we use the wave theory; on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays we think in streams of flying energy, quanta, or corpuscles. That is, after all, a very proper attitude to take. We cannot state the whole truth since we have only partial statements, each covering a portion of the field. When we want to work in any one portion of the field or other, we must take out the right map. Some day we shall piece all the maps together.

This quantum theory is quite as important and even more disconcerting to ordinary ideas than the relativity theory, but the public has not yet heard so much about it—perhaps because Planck is not so picturesque a personage as Einstein. At the recent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Toronto, the largest lecture room of the University was packed on the afternoon of the “quantum symposium.” Each successive speaker confessed that he did not understand the theory in all its bearings, but each brought out of it some new and startling idea. It seemed that these physicists were proposing to take the atomic theory away from chemistry and put it into optics. I was also shocked to hear them talk so coolly about abrogating the ether, especially since they had nothing satisfactory to substitute. I was much attached to the ether in my youth. So I nudged the distinguished physicist who sat next to me and whispered: “But I thought that light traveled in continuous waves like this”: and I drew on my notebook a wavy line.

“Forget it!” he replied. “Light goes in gobs like this”: and he took the pencil out of my hand and drew on the page something that looked like a chain of sausages.

The Quantum Theory

THE quantum theory (vulgarly known as the “jerk theory”) had to be invented when it was found out that radiant energy, such as comes to us in the sunbeams, is not absorbed by the things it falls upon con-

tinuously and smoothly, but in certain definite quantities, to be taken in all at a time or none at all; and that these quantities (called “quanta” for short) vary in size according to the frequency of the vibrations of the light they contain. In other words, that light (like oatmeal, nowadays) comes only in packages and you cannot take part of a package. The bigger the package the shorter the wave-length of the light it carries (though we are rather uncertain what it is that waves). The packages of violet light, for instance, contain nearly twice as much energy as the packages of red light. The X-ray packages are most energetic of all.

Later it was found that a certain quantum of energy would knock out a particular electron from its orbit in the atom, and that this electron would travel off with a speed depending upon the quantum of energy it had received, until it ran into something, when it would deliver up undiminished the quantum of energy that had been imparted to it in the first place. Like a relay race, you understand. So when an electron, revolving in an outer orbit of the intra-atomic system, falls with a jerk into an orbit nearer the central nucleus, where less energy is required, it sends out its surplus energy with the speed of light in the form of definite quanta of a particular wave-length; and this when it strikes an electron in a similar situation will knock it out of its ring. It seems, then, that energy can be carried interchangeably in two ways; first, by streams of free flying electrons (as in the cathode rays); and secondly, by quanta of radiation (as in a beam of light). Here again I must quote Bragg, because I cannot think up an illustration half so striking as the following:

I drop a log of wood into the sea from a height, let us say, of 100 feet. A wave radiates away from where it falls. Here is the corpuscular radiation producing a wave. The wave spreads, its energy is more and more widely distributed, the ripples get less and less in height. At a short distance away, a few hundred yards perhaps, the effect will apparently have disappeared. If the water were perfectly free from viscosity and there were no other causes to fritter away the energy of the waves, they would travel, let us say, 1,000 miles. By which time the height of the ripples would be, as we can readily imagine, extremely small. Then at some one point on its circumference, the ripple encounters a wooden ship. It may have encountered thousands of ships before that and nothing has happened, but in this one particular case the unexpected happened. One of the ship's timbers suddenly flies up in the air exactly 100 feet, that is to say, if it got clear away from the ship without having to crash through parts of the rigging or something else of the structure. The problem is, where did the energy come from that shot this plank into the air, and why was its velocity so exactly related to that of the plank which was dropped into the water 1,000 miles away.

The quantum theory and the relativity theory work together in breaking down the traditional barrier between matter and energy, for the two seem to be in some ways interchangeable. It was discovered in the nineteenth century that one form of energy could be transformed quantitatively into another; for example, machine power into heat and electrical current. It was discovered in the twentieth century that one form of matter could be transformed quantitatively into another, even one element into others, as, for example, radium into helium and lead. It seems now that we must go further and admit that in certain circumstances matter may be quantitatively transformed into energy and the reverse. So that for the two separate laws, the Law of the Conservation of Mass and the Law of the Conservation of Energy, we must substitute some single conservation law that shall embrace them both.

Chemistry Gaining Control of Biology

WHILE chemistry is losing ground to physics, it is in compensation gaining ground from biology. Vast areas which biologists once claimed but had neglected have now gone over to the chemists. In fact, it seems that whenever a vital process or product has been thoroughly studied and understood, it is found to belong to physics or chemistry. Consequently the chemist is inclined to regard biology as merely an unexplored province of chemistry. Many a loyal biologist in pursuit of some legitimate line of research well within his own territory has found in the course of time that he had unconsciously become a chemist.

In the study of the human body, chemistry, physiology, physics, and psychology are now so mixed up that there's no telling which is which. The ductless glands, which the earlier physiologists could see no use for and therefore assumed were useless, turn out to be potent agents in the control of our health, growth, and character. They send their mysterious messengers (hormones, if you insist upon Greek) throughout the body, regulating the composition and circulation of the blood and thereby influencing our complexion and conduct. Some of these messengers have been caught by the chemist and are now manufactured by him; for instance, adrenalin, which when you get "mad" hastens to close down the capillaries so that if you get into a fight you will not bleed to death; and thyroxin, the secretion of the thyroid gland, which seems to be something like what the man in the street calls "pep." An abundant supply of thyroxin might make a man a national hero and President; an excessive amount might cause him to quarrel with his friends and break up his party. A deficiency makes a child slothful and stupid, but a daily milligram dose of thyroxin may restore him to normalcy.

This new science of the glands (endocrinology) promises to extend our vision in time as much as the spectroscope extends our vision in space. If a particular chemical excreted by a gland into the blood causes a change of complexion or the unusual development of some feature or limb, we may be able some day to explain the origin of that remarkable sport of the human species, the white race. We may get an explanation more rational, though less fascinating, than Kipling's of "How the Camel Got His Hump." We may analyze the blood of a saurian that lived millions of years ago, just as with the aid of the spectroscope we can analyze the composition of a star that is millions of miles away.

A Widening Outlook

ALL the sciences seem to be widening their outlook. The botanist who used to be content with a type specimen in his herbarium now takes to the open and talks of the sociology of the vegetable kingdom. The psychologist has ceased to be absorbed in the contemplation of the Ego and has taken up the observation of the Alter. He has discovered that the rule "Know thyself!" does not imply a knowledge of other people. As Christianity expanded from the salvation of one's soul to the salvation of society, so now psychology is turning from introspection to circumspection. I use the word "circumspection" here in its original sense of "looking around," but the psychologists are likely also to need it in its secondary sense "looking out," for as soon as they leave their laboratories and go into the

shop, the church, the hospital, and the legislature they will surely make trouble for somebody and so get into trouble themselves. I venture to prophesy that in the future psychology will be a storm centre as evolution, "higher criticism," and economics have been in the past; that the professor who is suspected of having "unsound ideas" on, say, the relation of reaction-time to fatigue in industry, or of the rating of intelligence-tests in appointments, or of the influence of the unconscious on popular moral standards, may be made to feel the weight of administrative discipline or of public indignation. But the social psychologist is coming just the same, and he will insist on having his say in the affairs of the family and the nation.

"Revolutions" That Do Not Destroy

IN closing this swift survey of the sciences, I must add a word to prevent a very prevalent misconception. When we talk about a "revolution" in science or of the "overthrow of a law" we are using metaphorical and misleading language. A scientific "revolution" usually leaves the facts and figures in the textbooks quite unchanged. The scientist very rarely has to "take back" anything, but he has to keep making over everything.

The carrying over of that unfortunate word "law" from politics into science has caused an infinite amount of misunderstanding. "Law" in science does not mean a command or ordinance. Consequently a scientific "law" can never be "disobeyed," "violated," "evaded," "reversed," "suspended," or any of those things. A law in science is simply a description in the fewest possible words of what happens. It is a summary of all that is known on that subject at the time it is formulated.

The confusion has been made worse by including theories and hypotheses under the term "law." A theory or hypothesis is either a law on probation (like a bill before the legislature) or, more often, a mental picture or mechanical model that makes the idea easier to grasp. There is therefore no inconsistency in discarding one hypothesis for a better one, or even in holding two incompatible hypotheses at the same time, if neither alone is adequate, which, as Professor Bragg amusingly shows in the quotation given, is now the case in regard to theories of light.

When of a morning you look into the magnifying side of your shaving glass you see a very different face from the one you view in the other side. What seemed a fair smooth cheek in the plain glass is here shown as rough and pitted as the moon seen through a telescope, and your only consolation is that the world does not see what you shave. Now the scientist holds a mirror up to nature and it is a magnifying mirror at that. Every new instrument and mathematical device adds to the power of man to look closer and this puts a new face on things. The new aspect has to be described in new words, not because the old description was wrong, but because it has become inadequate to cover the added knowledge.

There are no laws in nature. What we call "the laws of nature" are the memory schemes we invent to aid us in grasping a lot of facts at one time. When our knowledge is growing rapidly, as it is now, we have to shift to new and larger formulas very suddenly. But this requires stretching the mind to take in bigger ideas, which is as painful a process as stretching an unused muscle. No wonder we tend to dodge it.

Judge Hooper on Luxury

By Ellis Parker Butler

OUR eminent jurist, Justice of the Peace Lem Hooper, put down the evening paper and spoke to his wife.

"My dear," he said, "once in a while I see something in this newspaper that makes me want to throw up this Justice of the Peace job and get myself elected to Congress and go down to Washington and raise the average of common sense if not of intelligence. I do get so mad!"

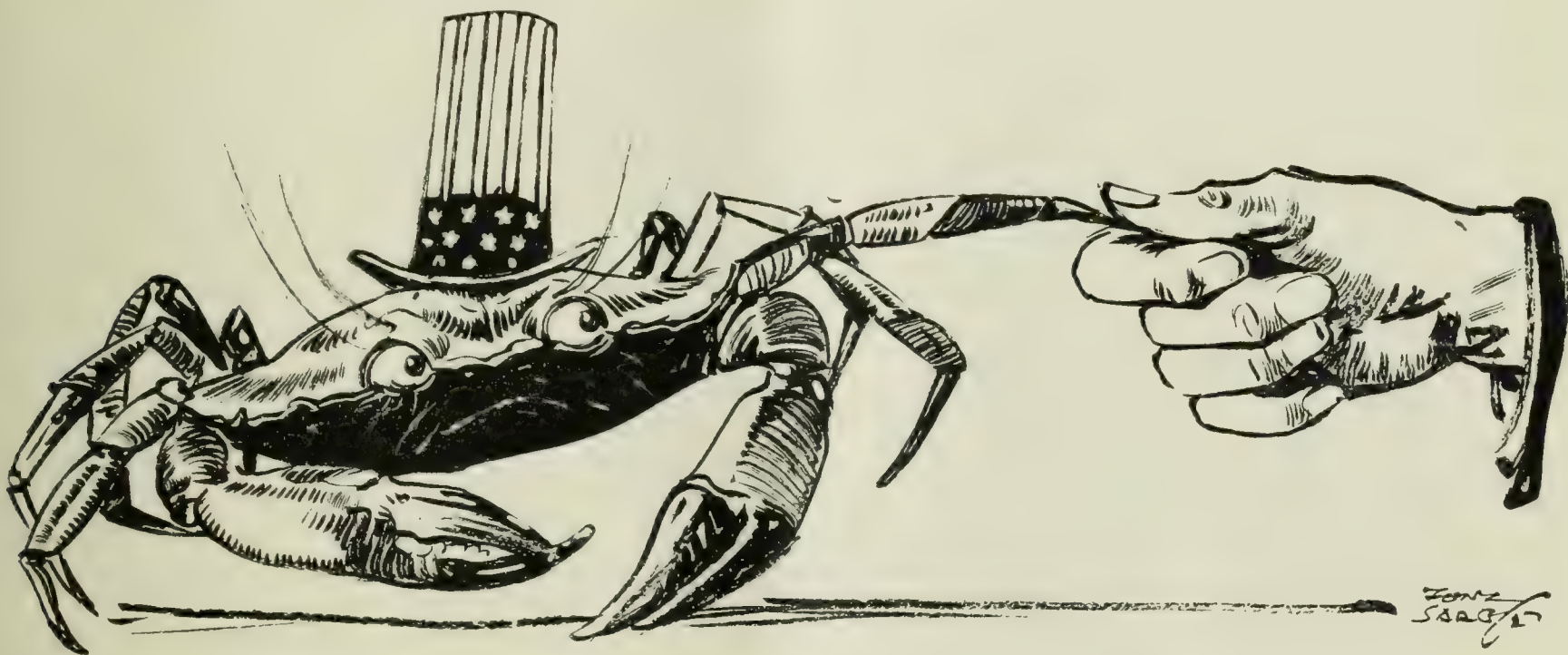
"You shouldn't, dear," said Mrs. Hooper. "I'm sure it raises your blood pressure, or lowers it, or something."

"I don't care a hang if it does," said Judge Hooper. "Look at the way Congress would have cut down the navy if Harding had let it, until it would have been about as powerful as a kindergarten afloat on a raft. Look at the way it wants to cut down the army!"

"The trouble with Congress is that it has the 'mini-

think the Thirteen Colonies got together so that there would be someone to send out a Thanksgiving Proclamation every November, do you? 'Notice! The navy now consisting of one (1) ferryboat of the vintage of 1845 with three slabs missing from the paddle-wheel and the army now being composed of two (2) lady stenographers and the one-armed janitor, we, the President of the United States, beg to announce that this nation has been annexed by the Republic of Panama. Let us give thanks!' A mighty poor way to economize.

"Thrift; I tell you, my dear, luxury won the war. Back in the days when the doughty men of war poked each other in the ribs with the pitchforks they grabbed out of the haystacks when the war-cry sounded this cheese-paring thrift was well enough in its way, but when war comes now ten million men must be thrown neck and crop into munition factories and necessity making. And where do you get them? Out of the



mum' disease. When it reaches any desirable appropriation item its motto is, 'Pare its toe-nails just below the knee.' Don't say I want this nation over-armed or over-navied, because I don't, but when I see those men down there thinking that the voters' mandate to pull off the iron mit and cast it away means getting out the carving knife and taking the bones out of the nation's fist so that its good right hand will be as flabby as a wilted jelly fish and just about as useful, I roar!"

"I should think you did!" said Mrs. Hooper, calmly threading a needle. "And I'm not deaf, you know."

"I roar!" repeated Judge Hooper. "I tell you this thrift business is being carried too far! What do we have a Government for? Tell me that!"

"We have to have one, don't we?" asked Mrs. Hooper. "Or there wouldn't be anybody to pay the taxes to, would there?"

"Taxes? We're so used to paying taxes that if there was no Government we'd pay them to the ice-man. Or the fish-man. Or the man that comes to read the meter," said Judge Hooper. "The first duty of the Government is to protect us against any possible foreign foes. You don't

luxury shops and luxury factories! Ten billion dollars must be thrown into the Government coffers. And where do you get them? You give up your luxuries and buy bonds—Government bonds—and pay taxes.

"That's the idea. Luxuries! Our luxury expenditures are our reserve force. We are a great nation because we earn as no other nation earns and we earn because we are an extravagant luxury-buying nation, and we are unconquerable because we are so confounded luxurious and extravagant that when war comes, we can fight the big fight with the luxuries we give up. We have the men—making luxuries—to put to work overnight making gunpowder and guns; and we have the dollars—buying luxuries—to put to work the next day buying bonds and paying war taxes.

"This is a great nation, my dear. It has a pair of earrings to match every gown and it has a gown for every day in the week. When Columbia isn't having her hair permanently waved by a man fully able to bore a rifle she is having her finger-nails manicured by a girl thoroughly capable of making a gas mask. War—and Alonzo Rosetti turns off the electric current and goes and bores rifles! War—and Mame O'Toole locks

the orange stick and the pink paste in her drawer and goes and makes gas masks.

"And it is the same in peace, my dear. When the emergency comes Henry J. American is not crawling along two feet from the poorhouse gate. He gets out of his automobile and sells it for \$268 and faces Fate with both feet on the ground. He fights hard for luxuries when all is well and when the ill wind blows he has something to do without that he can do without. He's a crab. A crab has a lot of fun with its multiple legs, but if you grab it by a leg it can shed it and get along as well as could be desired. If you pull a couple of legs off the thrifty ant, my dear, it is a gone ant. I repeat, a reasonable extravagance has made this nation great!"

"Lemuel!" said Mrs. Hooper, "I can't imagine why

you are talking to me like this; you never do. Have you been invited to go to New York and make a speech before the Silk Stocking Manufacturers' Board of Trade, or before the Amalgamated Union of Fifteen Dollar Silk Shirt Makers? Are you trying out your speech on me?"

"No, my dear," said Judge Hooper; "nothing of the sort."

"Then what is the matter with you?" asked Mrs. Hooper.

"Nothing!" said the Judge. "Nothing! I have merely paid my Federal Income Tax, and my State Income Tax, and my Poll Tax, and my Real Estate Tax, and have looked over the new Tariff Bill, and I am trying to persuade myself that I have a right to buy myself a new spring hat."



Coronal

WHAT shall I bring
To my Fleurette
From Spring's green acres,
Wild and wet,
Hyacinth or daffodil,
Crocus from the windy hill?

Nay, from the green,
Wet wilds of Spring,
The frail arbutus
I will bring.
It only,
Fitting coronet,
For one as lovely
As Fleurette.

HARRY LEE

Trees

I LOVE the presence of the friendly trees,
Whispering about my cottage by the sea.
When the white sirens of the surf allure,
The trees are mindful of the land and me.
When the wind tempts me with its wayward call,
And fairy colors dance across the foam,
My poplars gossip safely in the sun,
My maple croons a quiet song of home.

The prairie charms me with its lonely grace,
Its drift of clouds, its sweeping earth and sky.
But there is peace of sturdy trunks and boughs
Where brown old orchards lie.

I love the presence of the friendly trees
Down garish streets when twilight shuts them in.
With all the surging crowds I pass and meet,
The trees seem kinder and of closer kin.

ROSE HENDERSON

What the World Is Doing

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

Domestic Affairs

THE past two weeks in the United States have been poor in striking incidents. Therefore a part of the space ordinarily devoted to domestic affairs is given to the Genoa Conference, which needs it.

The Mississippi Flood

Fourteen hundred square miles in Louisiana, and 1,700 in Mississippi, are flooded by the waters of the Mississippi, and the crest is yet to come. In many towns of Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the depth of water is in the neighborhood of twenty feet. Some communities are precariously protected by temporary embankments constructed in frantic haste. Thousands of refugees are being cared for in the larger cities or in relief camps.

The Coal Strike

The bituminous coal output during the week ended April 29 was about 4,150,000 tons, much the largest since the beginning of the strike. The United States Chamber of Commerce estimates that at present rates of production and consumption there should be no danger of a general coal shortage for at least five weeks longer.

On April 29 strikers in the Fayette County coke region of Pennsylvania broke into wild riot and attacked a small detachment of State police. The police firing in self-defense, the rioters resorted to the elegant stratagem of using women as shields, and thus prevented further firing. As the strike drags on, perhaps a slight increase of tendency toward disorder is observable; but on the whole it has been an orderly strike.

Business Failures

According to Senator McCumber, arguing for the Tariff bill as reported to the Senate, during the first three months of 1922 there were 7,517 business failures in the United States, against 4,872 in the corresponding period of 1921, and 1,627 in the corresponding period of 1920.

The Senator says that the bill, if passed substantially as reported to the Senate, will produce \$350,000,000 of revenue.

A Temerarious Anthropologist

An eminent anthropologist told the International Congress of Eugenics, which met in New York several months ago, that "the male of the Old American species

is a somewhat better physical product than the female." The male of the Old American species has had too much sense to broadcast this statement, and the female apparently has disdained to notice it. By "Old American" the lecturer meant persons with American forbears going back at least three generations.

Americanization of Jews

A certain Jewish-American finds that there are a million Jews in the United States who read only Yiddish. But it seems that several Yiddish newspapers are aiding Americanization by printing the same articles in English and in Yiddish side by side. These same public-spirited journals conduct bureaus of information for the special benefit of Jewish immigrants and print many articles on American civic and social subjects for the education of their readers.

A Charming Benefaction

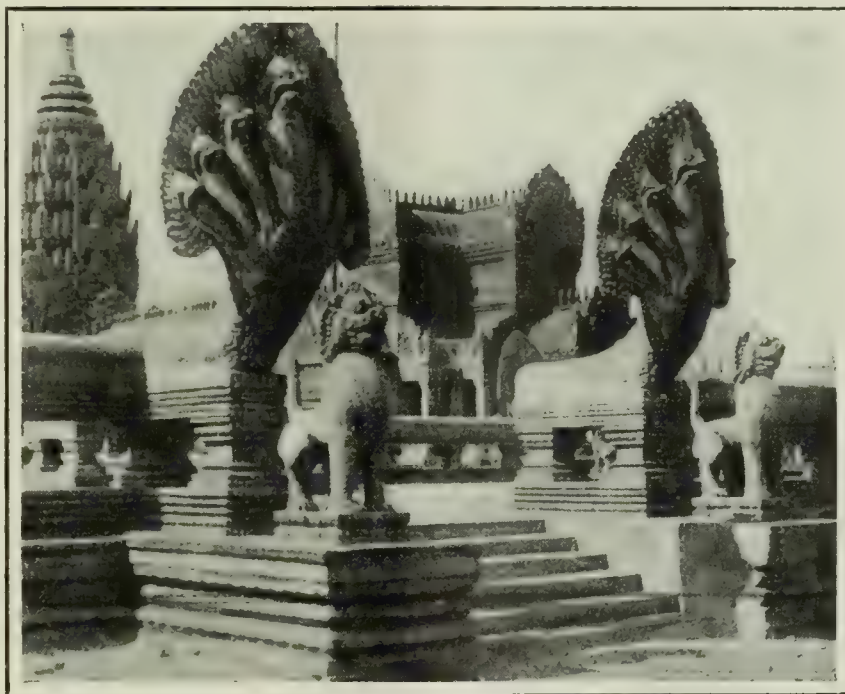
The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is to devote \$150,000 towards rebuilding the little town of Fargniers in the Department of the Aisne, France; a town which was awarded the Croix de Guerre for the almost incredible heroism of its inhabitants during the war. Before the war the population was 3,000. Less than 1,000 are there now; living in cellars or temporary shacks, for the town was obliterated during the war. The town is

to be rebuilt around the Place Carnegie, which will be adorned by four model public buildings, all the gift of the Carnegie Endowment: the Town Hall, the Postoffice, the Library, and the Public Laundry and Baths.

Certain English and American towns (the former themselves in many instances desperately struggling against hard times) have "adopted" devastated French towns. It seems strange (considering our prosperous condition) that the idea of so charming a relationship should have commended itself more widely in England than in this country.

An Institute of Economics

The Carnegie Corporation of New York has set aside a sum of \$1,600,000 for the financing during a period of ten years of an Institute of Economics just established for the purpose of gathering, collating, and impartially distributing (chiefly through publications) economic information, for the behoof of private individuals, business concerns, and Government officials. The



Underwood & Underwood

Indo-Chinese temple at the exhibition about to be opened at Marseilles, France

institution is expected to "go far to make available to the people of the United States those fundamental economic facts which so closely concern the industrial life of individuals and nations."

A heartening announcement!

A New Yale

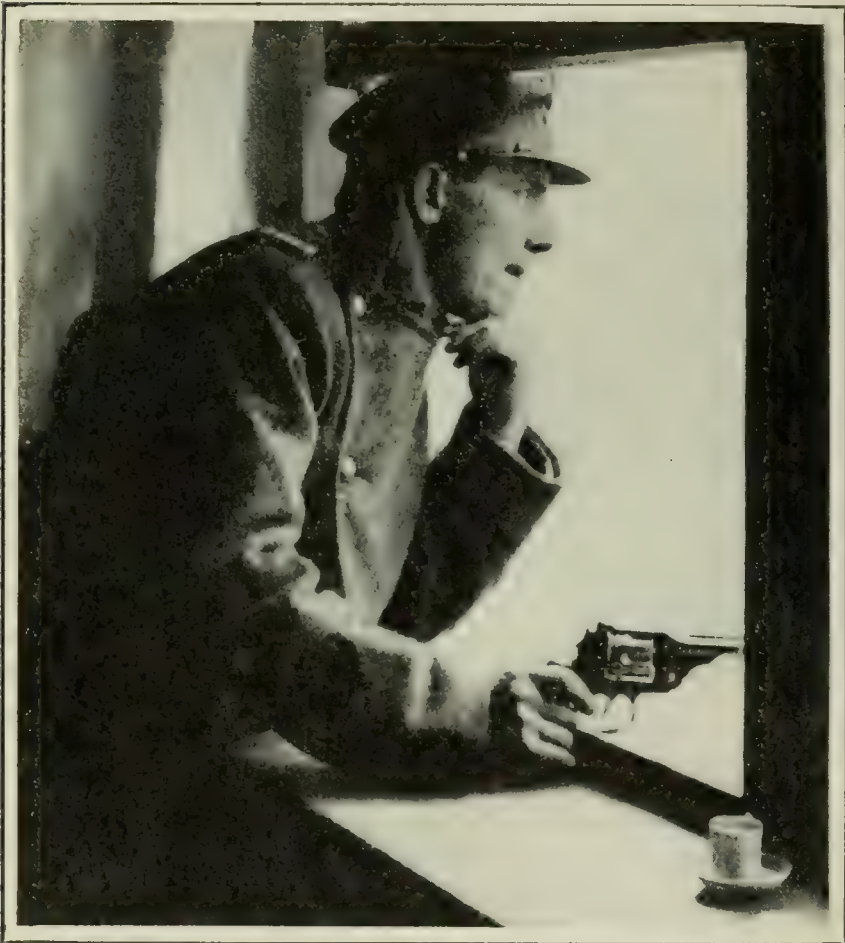
James Gamble Rogers, the architect of the beautiful Harkness Memorial group at Yale, is making great architectural plans for a new Yale. Quite as important as the buildings, in the wise estimation of Mr. Rogers, are the settings; the trees, and the vistas. It is said that Yale has available \$8,000,000 or more, to be expended under Mr. Rogers's direction.

If so, the new Yale should rival Oxford for beauty.

Population of New York City

The following details from the 1920 census of New York City are interesting:

The native whites in 1920 numbered 1,164,834, an increase of 243,516 since 1910. The foreign-born whites numbered 4,294,629, having increased by 546,758 since 1910.



P. & A. Photos
Major General McKeown, Commanding General of the troops loyal to the Provisional Government of the Free State, watching a meeting being addressed by Arthur Griffith

The following table shows the leading foreign elements:

Russians	994,356
Italians	802,893
Irish	637,744
Austro-Hungarians	603,167
Germans	593,199

The greatest percentage of increase between 1910 and 1920 was that of the Italians.

Brief Items

The debates on the Bonus bill and the Tariff bill drag wearisomely along in the Senate.

The textile strikes in New England continue, with no incidents of special importance.

* * *

Secretary Davis announces a marked and steady improvement in industrial conditions in practically all States during recent months, especially in the building trades, the lumber industry, and agriculture. Nevertheless, there are said to be 600,000 unemployed in New York State.

* * *

On May 7 Trinity Church of New York City will celebrate the 225th anniversary of the granting of its charter by William III of England. The Trinity corporation is the richest church corporation in the world.

* * *

Within the last twenty years John D. Rockefeller has given \$130,000,000 for educational purposes.

* * *

A national anti-blue-law conference will be held in St. Louis, June 23, 24 and 25, under the auspices of the Anti-Blue-Law League.

The Genoa Conference

The Seven Days April 20-26

IN the last regular issue of *The Independent*, the story of the Conference was brought down to include April 19. The heads of delegation of the great Allies were then engaged in informal discussions with the Russian delegates. On April 15 they had presented certain formal proposals to the Russians, and they were expecting a reply thereto. The heads of delegation of the great Allies, the Little Entente, Poland, and Portugal, had just sent a note to the German delegation, informing the latter that, in consequence of the conclusion of the Russo-German treaty at Rapallo on the 17th, they would be excluded from further participation in Conference discussions on Russia. The Germans were reported to be framing a haughty reply. The well-wishers toward the Conference were in the doldrums on the evening of April 19.

But the Germans were persuaded by the Italians to make answer in a conciliatory strain, accepting exclusion from the discussions on Russia. They could not, however, refrain from submitting arguments in justification of the Rapallo Treaty. Replying, the Allied delegates and their associates in disapproval intimated that the German arguments were sophistical. Their note ends thus:

The undersigned expressly reserve for their Governments the right to declare null and void any clauses in the Russo-German treaty which may be recognized as contrary to existing treaties. The incident may now be regarded as closed.

The last sentence could have no effect beyond ending the exchange of notes. The Treaty of Rapallo is the outstanding fact of the Conference to date. Its conclusion and publication discredited the Germans and confirmed the general distrust of the Russians. Whatever arrangement with Moscow may be arrived at will seem precarious and dubious in the light of the Treaty of Rapallo. Not improbably that treaty has determined the attitude of France and Belgium toward an arrangement with Russia.

On April 21st the Russians submitted a formal reply to the formal proposals of the "creditor Allied Govern-



Underwood & Underwood

The "Viva" sails a little too close to the bank in a race of the Tamisis Sailing Club at Teddington, England

ments." The Allied proposals were in substance as follows:

The debts of whatever Russian Governments to foreign Governments must be acknowledged in full by the Soviet Government. The creditor Governments were, however, prepared to write down the war debts by a percentage to be determined later; and would consider postponement of payments of interest, and even remission, in whole or in part, of interest.

There must, however, be no writing down of Russian debts to foreign nationals, and there must be full return of property of foreign nationals confiscated by the Soviet Government and "compensation for damage or loss in respect thereof." The Soviet Government must solemnly pledge itself to the above effects.

Claims of the Soviet Government to indemnities upon the account of Allied help to Kolchak, Denikin, etc., would not be admitted by the Allied Governments.

The Russians in their reply agreed to accept the Allies' proposals (save for an important qualification to be noted later) upon two conditions: an Allied pledge of "the financial assistance vital to the economic reconstruction of Russia," and *de jure* recognition by the Allies of the Soviet Government. *De jure* recognition must precede any Soviet commitments.

Committee No. 1 (the great Committee on Russia) accepted the Russian reply as a basis for discussion, and designated a sub-committee of seven (one from each delegation of the five great Allies; a Swiss, representing the Neutrals; and a Czechoslovak, representing the Little Entente) to thresh matters out with the Russians. The sub-committee quickly got to work; or, rather, the Russians at once began to talk.

A week ago matters were in a more hopeful posture than on April 19.

Reference was made above to an important qualification to Russian acceptance of the Allied proposals of April 15. That qualification will appear in the following:

What Virtue in Some Words!

The press in general has charged the Russians with inconsistency in that, having in their formal reply to the Allies' proposals of the 15th agreed to restore property formerly owned by foreign nationals which has been nationalized by the Soviet Government or, where such restoration is "impossible," to make "compensation for damage or loss in respect thereof"; immediately thereafter, in conversation with the sub-committee of seven, they declared their policy of nationalization to be sacred as the ibis, and intimated that "compensation" was used by them in a special, mystic, Muscovite sense.

Now the interest of truth requires the pointing out that, in this instance, Muscovite conversational statements were not inconsistent with the Muscovite printed word. Chicherin, of course, would be disgusted by any such backhanded vindication, for the Muscovites are only consistent with themselves when inconsistent. Inconsistency is, in the popular phrase, their "middle name." But, *pace* Chicherin, the Muscovites were in this instance consistent. This is what they said in their formal reply of April 21 to the Allied note: "The Russian Government would be ready to restore to their former owners the *use of* property nationalized or reserved, under the reservation that, in the event of that being impossible, satisfaction shall be given to the *legitimate* claims of the former owners."

So neither in conversation nor by the written word did the Muscovites propose to restore full possession of properly confiscated by them. They do not admit any

moral obligation in respect of the former ownerships. But they generously offer to restore the *use* of property formerly owned by foreigners, where "possible." It has now been proposed to escape that *impasse* by restoring the use of confiscated property under "leasehold," instead of "freehold" or "allodial," tenure. "Leasehold" is a right bourgeois word and a right bourgeois conception. If the Soviet Government should deal honorably, the leasehold solution might be, though not desirable, yet admissible. But it is easily seen how

by a thousand exactions and vexatious rulings a "leasehold" might practically be nullified.

But let that pass; and consider the words in the above quotation: "impossible" and "legitimate." There's much virtue in your "impossible" and your "legitimate!"

Note that the



Knott, in Dallas News

An' ol' Brer B'ar he up an' move a motion

Muscovites insist that all claims of foreign nationals must in the ultimate appeal be decided by the Muscovites themselves. It is obvious that without inconsistency restoration even by leasehold tenure might be found "impossible." And Muscovite and bourgeois notions of legitimacy are so different.

Of course, all this Russian tall talk is largely pure bluff. What the Russians are after is *de jure* recognition, a big cash loan, control of materials and manufactured articles sent into Russia on credit, partnership of the Soviet Government in all foreign enterprises and the lion's share of the profits therefrom, and always and everywhere Soviet control, the Government's finger in the pie, a sure lease of life to that blood-stained crew of liars and incompetents. The above grand points yielded by the bourgeois Powers, it is quite possible that the Russians would sign on almost any dotted line—with what intention of fulfilment?

"Now, gentlemen," say the Russians, "note well that, if you don't come across, there's the Rapallo Treaty. Think of its possibilities. Perpend the idea of 200,000,000 hungry Russians and 60,000,000 angry Germans in closest union joined! But Lloyd George and Mr. Sidebotham have told you all about that. You had best take counsel of your fears."

A New Note to the Russians in Preparation

When the Russians had talked themselves out, or the sub-committee felt themselves sufficiently edified, the latter dismissed them and proceeded to frame a new set of formal proposals. The British submitted one draft of a note and the French submitted another. The job of the committee was to reconcile the differences. At last agreement was reached, except as to the matter of restitution of nationalized property. All agreed to the "leasehold" idea (discussed above) except France and

Belgium. After all, ran the argument, one shouldn't ask Chicherin and his colleagues to commit political suicide; and that's what renunciation of the principle of nationalization would amount to.

The following details of the new proposals are culled a little dubitatively from press notices (the full text has not appeared at this writing):

The Soviet Government is called on to recognize in full the pre-war foreign debts of the Czarist régime and the war-debts of whatever Russian Government. Apparently (the dispatch is vague) the pre-war debts with interest must ultimately be paid in full, but (unless direct arrangement can be made with the creditors) methods of payment shall be determined by a commission to include a representative of the interested Powers, a representative of Moscow, and a chairman to be designated by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Apparently another commission shall determine the extent to which war-debts shall be scaled down and interest thereon remitted, taking into account Russia's war-service to the Allied cause.

Mixed tribunals (one for each nation whose nationals have claims) shall pass on private claims of foreign nationals.

The note shows in considerable detail what aid in money and goods and technical personnel the Powers will immediately extend to Russia, if she will accept the terms offered; adding that vastly more will follow if Russia makes good on her plighted word. Our old friend, the £20,000,000 consortium, comes out of hiding and shows his benevolent face.

The New Note Goes to the Russians

On May 2 the new note went to the Russians, but without French or Belgian signature. M. Barthou left for Paris in the morning to consult with M. Poincaré. Lloyd George had at last obtained the assent of the French delegation to the note, although the Belgians still held out. It only remained to sign (except for the Belgian representatives) the note at the committee meeting in the afternoon. The committee met, and M. Barrère (head of the French delegation in the absence of M. Barthou) announced that he had just received a telegram from M. Poincaré ordering him not to sign at present. M. Poincaré must first consult M. Barthou. Lloyd George remarking that it might be perilous to postpone action, the members of the committee, except the representatives of France and Belgium, signed the note and it was dispatched, with the statement that final French action awaited instructions from Paris. As to whether Lloyd George was justified in taking counsel of his fears, is a nice question. It may be remarked that the French nation is the nation chiefly concerned in the matter of Russian foreign debts. If ever delay was justified, the French are justified in delaying the decision in so momentous a matter. On the other hand, if Chicherin sees his account in breaking off the general negotiation, and in offering to negotiate individually with the several Powers for treaties after the model of the Rapallo Treaty, he has a colorable pretext.

The Belgian delegation has sent a note to Premier Facta, announcing that they are done with the Russian negotiation and withdraw all offers of participation in Russian reconstruction, including their consortium sub-

scription. It seems likely that Poincaré's telegram was occasioned by an appeal to him from the Belgians, begging him not to abandon Belgium; indeed, it is difficult to see how Poincaré can honorably do so.

On the 3rd, the French Cabinet decided to stand by Belgium and to adhere to the Allied proposals to Russia only when (or if) they have undergone such alteration or amendment as may satisfy the Belgians.

It is probable that Russian criticism of the new note will be directed not so much to what it contains as to what it does not contain. It does not contain an offer of a loan direct to the Moscow Government. The Powers offer to finance discreetly their nationals or groups of nationals enterprising in Russia, but that's as far as they will go.

A pretty crisis that—on the evening of May 3.

A Plenary Session

A plenary session of the Conference was held on the 2nd to receive and vote upon the reports of the Committees on Finance, Economics, and Transport. These reports will be noticed after their full texts appear. They were adopted.

The Chinese War

THE big fight is on in China. General Chang Tso-lin's men started it, but the important fighting began on April 29 with an attempt by General Wu Pei-fu to turn the right flank of Chang Tso-lin's army, which is south of Peking, covering the city. Feng Yu-hsiang, Tuchun of Shen-si, known as "The Christian General," directs Wu's turning movement.

The representatives at Peking of the Great Powers have warned the struggling Tuchuns not to endanger the lives of their nationals, and it is likely that, in fear of foreign complications, the Tuchuns will try to keep Peking out of it. The total number of legation guards in Peking on April 29 was 1,000.

The alignment of troops from the various provinces is not disclosed by dispatches. It seems that Sun Yat-sen has failed to send troops to Chang Tso-lin's support, not because of lack of will, but because of lack of funds. But the South China fleet of the Peking Government (two cruisers and seven gunboats) being in Canton harbor, his aviators attacked it from the air and compelled its surrender.

The Admiral of the Navy of the Peking Government has proclaimed the navy (or what's left of it) in sympathy with Wu Pei-fu.

* * *

The fighting continued on April 30 without decisive results. So far apparently it has mostly been an artillery duel. The numbers in position on either side are estimated at 50,000; reinforcements are arriving for both leaders. Wu Pei-fu's airmen have been dropping proclamations down to Chang Tso-lin's lines, denouncing that warrior as a monarchist and one-time bandit. Evidently Wu has been studying Lord Northcliffe's methods. Chang Tso-lin has retorted with a proclamation accusing Wu of Napoleonic ambitions, and assuring his countrymen that, when he has disposed of Wu and saved the Republic, he will retire to private life.

Martial law has been proclaimed in Peking.

Wu Pei-fu gained ground on May 1. He pushed back Chang Tso-lin's right wing upon the Peking-Tientsin railroad. Thereupon the foreign diplomatic body in Peking wired a protest, declaring that, if the railroad were not cleared by the Chinese, the foreign detachments must act to clear it, as authorized by the convention of 1901. General Feng Yu-hsiang still hammered at Chang Tso-lin's right wing, trying to crumple it up and to get between Chang Tso-lin and Peking. Chinese cruisers have arrived at Shan-hai-kuan, where the Great Wall reaches Liao-tung Gulf; ready to cut the railroad between Peking and Manchuria at that point, should Chang Tso-lin attempt to retreat into Manchuria.

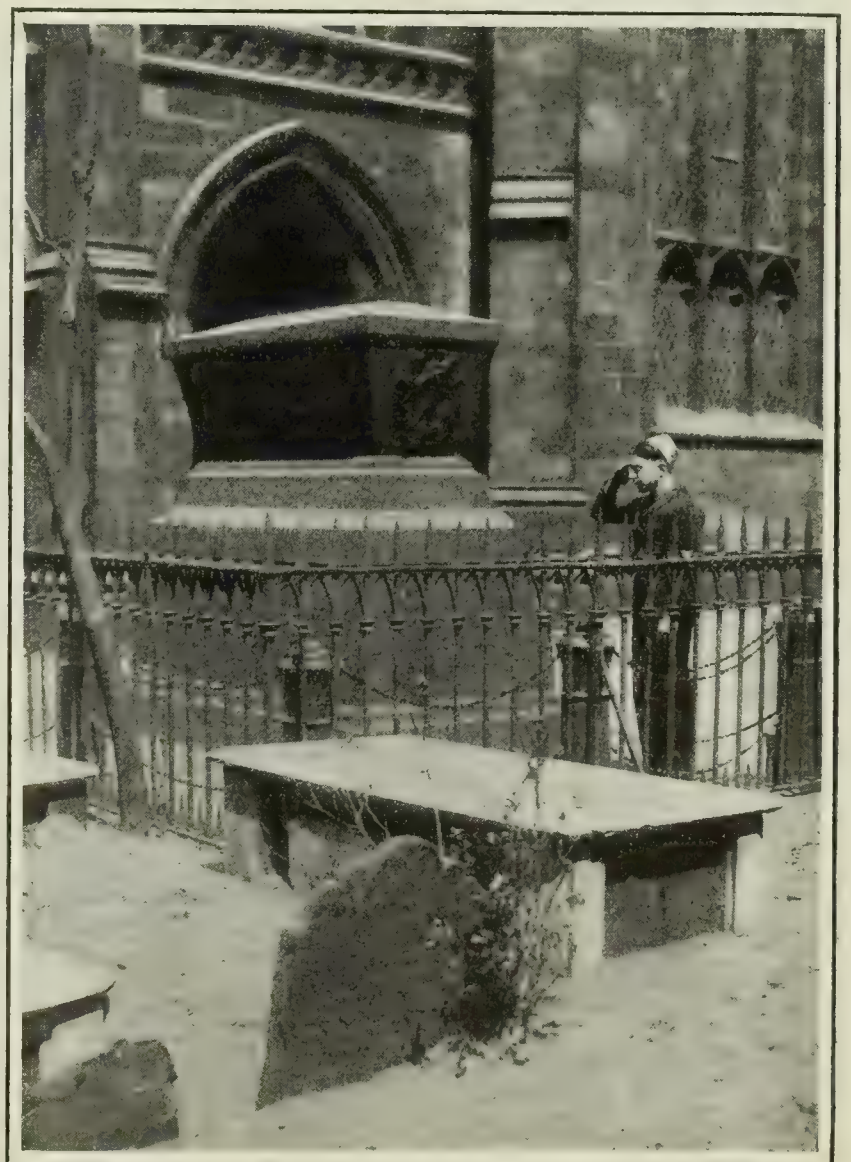
But so far it's anybody's game. Chang Tso-lin may not wish to retreat. Though the fighting has been more desultory and amateurish than is the way of the West, a good deal of blood has been shed; both sides are standing up to it. Fact portentous, perhaps! Hitherto the Yellow Peril has been discredited through general acceptance of the allegation that the Chinese have no stomach for stand-up fighting.

* * *

The battle continued brisk but indecisive on the 2nd and 3rd, the advantage, if any, being Wu Pei-fu's.

* * *

As this goes to press, a dispatch arrives announcing a decisive victory for Wu Pei-fu—fortunate for China if Wu Pei-fu is the man some say he is.



International

Tomb of Captain Lawrence in the graveyard of Trinity Church, New York City; Captain Lawrence of the Frigate Chesapeake, who, mortally wounded and his ship a shambles, called out as they carried him below: "Don't give up the ship!"

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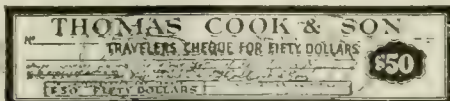
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New Books and Old

Books of the Week

GENTLE JULIA, by Booth Tarkington. Doubleday.

America's foremost writer of human and humorous stories is at his best in this book.

THE BLOCKING OF ZEEBRUGGE, by Captain A. F. B. Carpenter, V. C., R. N. Houghton Mifflin.

One of the great heroic exploits of the War.

CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN NOVELISTS, 1900-1920, by Carl Van Doren. Macmillan.

Excellent conversation about living writers by the Literary Editor of *The Nation*.

PAGES FROM THE PAST, by John Ayscough. Longmans, Green.

Recollections by the writer whose real name is Monsignor Count Francis Bickerstaffe-Drew.

THE ADVENTURES OF A TROPICAL TRAMP, by Harry L. Foster. Dodd, Mead.

Amusing account of travel in South America.

IT might be gathered that Mr. Tarkington's descent into the valley of the shadow, when he wrote "Alice Adams," had not pleased many people except the professional Dismal Jimmies and Gloomy Gussies. In "Gentle Julia" (Doubleday) he is back again, painting in color once more, instead of loading his canvas with mournful purple and the shades of night. Florence Atwater, the thirteen-year-old heroine of "Gentle Julia," Kitty Silver, the cook, Noble Dill (who was loved by Florence because he was so "uncouth"), and the two boys who published *The North End Daily Oriole*, are all characters as pleasing as any in "Penrod," "Seventeen," or "Clarence." And that is to say that there is nobody else who could describe them, or make their most trivial performances so important. Nobody but their author could look on with so much gravity, and record with such perfect command of humor the spirit of a neighborhood, the world of small inter-family gossip, the comment of the kitchen and the back porch, the United States as viewed from the top of a fence by boys and girls of ten, twelve, and thirteen. Consider Kitty Silver's protests when she feared an attempt was being made to convert her into a "cat-washwoman" in the service of the two "Berjum" cats. Kitty's duties as custodian and victim of the pets which Julia's admirers sent to the house had made her path a thorny one down to the day when she walked into her kitchen "one mawnin' right slam in the face of ole warty allagatuh three foot long

a-lookin' at me over the aidge o' my kitchen sink."

As Mr. Carl Van Doren's "The American Novel" was original, vigorous, and thoughtful, so his new and briefer work, "Contemporary American Novelists, 1900-1920" (Macmillan), is probably without any rival for its presentation of the work of such living writers as Hamlin Garland, Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser, Booth Tarkington, Edith Wharton, Willa Cather, Joseph Hergesheimer, and others. Many other writers are mentioned briefly. The only fault which I can discover in the book is that the author turns up his nose and arches his supercilious brows over Booth Tarkington. He is caught by the current fallacy that the gloomy work like "Alice Adams" is necessarily the better work.

The art of making a paper box to contain a live fly is one of my very few accomplishments. And even that is rendered unspeakably difficult by the fact that it is usually so hard to prevail upon the fly to stand still while the box is being slowly and painfully formed about him. But the box itself—if my audience does not insist upon the fly—is almost always a success. In "Houdini's Paper Magic" (Dutton), by the magician, Mr. Harry Houdini, I do not find my fly-box mentioned. There is almost every other trick with paper—paper tearing, paper folding, and puzzles with paper. But perhaps he regarded the fly-box as my exclusive property. Deep calls unto deep, and wizards respect one another.

Men who were in prison-camps in our Civil War seldom spoke and almost never wrote about the worst of their experiences. An old fashioned theory of decency prevailed; authors had not adopted the idea that it is a proof of power to provoke physical nausea in their readers. For the group which now models its work upon the filthier portions of the writings of James Joyce, the modesty and the manners of the apes in the Zoo are quite good enough. To dwell upon and to return again and again to the foul sights and loathsome smells of a military prison is a sign of desirable "outspokenness," "courage," and "beauty." Mr. E. E. Cummings, who drove an ambulance in France in 1917, was put into prison by the French Government, along with spies, traitors, prostitutes, and others. He was charged with receiving treasonable letters, and he is content to make very vague statements about the justice of the charge. If his book, "The Enormous Room" (Boni & Liveright), which he now publishes to describe his prison experiences, may be taken as indication of his judgment, his friends and correspondents may well have been men who engaged in letter-writing of a kind which in war-time has an ugly name. If the book represents his taste, no pity need be wasted upon him,

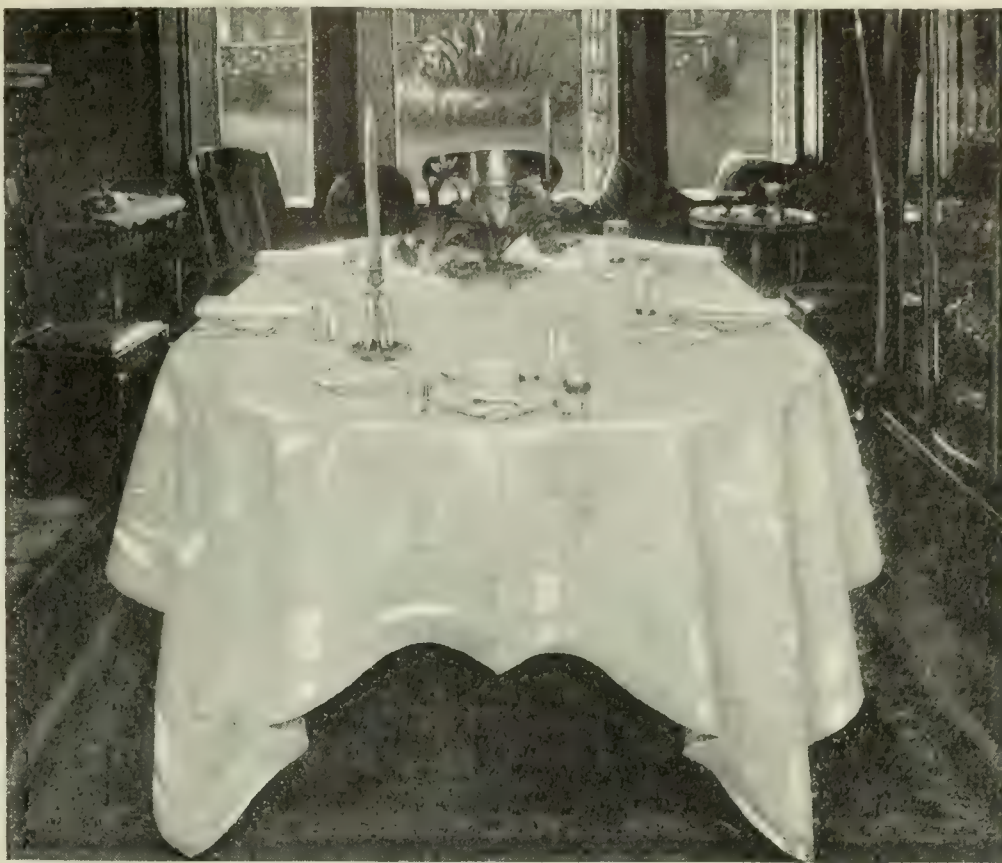


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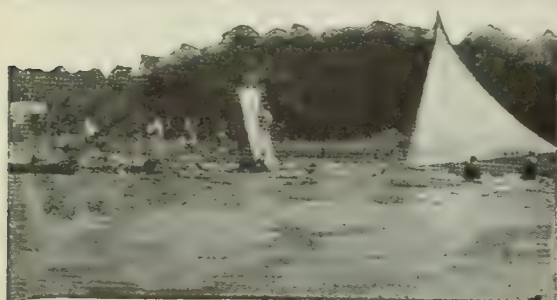
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for his surroundings in prison can by no means have been uncongenial.

The petty officer in charge of one of the guns on the *Vindictive* during the attack on Zeebrugge was asked at what ranges he fired. He said that he opened fire at about two hundred yards, and continued until close to the Mole. "How close?" he was asked. "Reckoning from the gun muzzle," he replied, "I should say it was about three feet." This extraordinary exploit, recalling such feats in our own Navy as the burning of the *Philadelphia*, Cushing's attack on the *Albatross*, as well as the sinking of the *Merrimac* at Santiago, is described by the commander of the expedition, Captain A. F. B. Carpenter, in a book of the greatest interest, "The Blocking of Zeebrugge" (Houghton Mifflin). The development of modern warfare, the complicated and highly ingenious nature of the German defences, and the numerous considerations of light, weather, wind, and tide made the preparations for the attack so complex that it became an enormous and many-sided problem. The description of it is not difficult to follow, however, while the thrill of the moment when the hand-to-hand attack upon the Mole began makes the book unique in all the literature of the war.

Mr. Harry Foster, author of "The Adventures of a Tropical Tramp" (Dodd, Mead), did not think highly of himself as a diplomat after his first day in the American Embassy at Lima. He had accepted a temporary clerkship, which they agreed to gild with the title of "attaché." Warned that the new Ambassador would be besieged with beggars and solicitors for subscriptions, he paid no attention for some time to the ringing of the doorbell. There were no servants in the new house, and finally the "attaché" decided that his dignity must permit him to open the door. Outside stood a priest, but Mr. Foster had already marked several mendicant friars going from door to door, collecting alms. "Here's twenty cents," he said, "it's all the change I have."

The priest, however, turned his back and walked away. While the "attaché" was pondering the incident, the telephone rang and the secretary of the Embassy told him to be prepared to receive the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, and to take him to the Ambassador's hotel.

"You'll know him," added the secretary, "he's the Papal Nuncio. He dresses like a priest."

"The Little Book of Society Verse" (Houghton Mifflin) has an unfortunate name. But the compilers of this anthology, Claude Moore Fuess and Harold Crawford Stearns, may well have been put to it to find a better name for their collection. No satisfactory translation of *vers de société* has ever been found. The book itself deserves favorable consideration.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

Book Reviews

Yellow Is Black

CHILDREN OF THE MARKET PLACE. By Edgar Lee Masters. New York: The Macmillan Company.

WHITE AND BLACK. By Hubert Anthony Shands. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

BIRTHRIGHT. By T. S. Stribling. New York: The Century Company.

"CHILDREN of the Market Place" is not primarily a story of slavery or a study of the negro problem. But it is a broad picture of an America, a mid-century America, which lived and moved, North and South alike, in the negro question. Even in its portraiture of Stephen A. Douglas, the book deals perforce with the dilemma of the black man in a white man's country. Douglas would take no uncompromising moral ground with regard to the ethics of slavery, but sought and vehemently advocated a settlement of the question on the basis of States' rights. The times exacted at least the appearance of an ethical decision: hence the pleader for a political decision was to fall between two stools. Like Mr. Quick in "Vandemark's Folly," Mr. Masters casts his historical narrative in the third person. The supposed story-teller comes of "good people" in England. He is at Oxford when news comes of his father's death in America. He is eighteen, the year is 1833. His father has been among the Illinois pioneers, and leaves much land there. But this property is the fruit less of his own industry and enterprise than of a bargain made with a white man, whose octoroon daughter he has married for a price. His own daughter Zoe, something less than an octoroon, is still technically black, and his property therefore goes to his son. The son takes a magnanimous attitude towards his half-sister; but nothing can bridge the gap between them or protect her from her fate as chattel of the American white man. That under another name and in a foreign soil she wins place as a great singer, is among the ironic chances of her blood. . . In this book, after all, the problem of the negro in America is only part of the general problem of liberty and equality as time has sought to work it out—sought but not as yet succeeded.

The episode of Zoe's piteous conquest by the white Lamborn and her legal helplessness to seek redress, brings us within the field where the whole action of "White and Black" takes place. This may be called a study in miscegenation. It is a little difficult for a northerner to understand the conditions and the attitude of mind from which such a book as this emerges. It is the northerner who keenly feels that physical barrier which the southerner professes. The northerner does not mind sharing a public vehicle with a negro—a seat or two away—but the idea of closer contact is strongly repugnant. In the fraternity house of my north-



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Keeps teeth dingy

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Attack it daily

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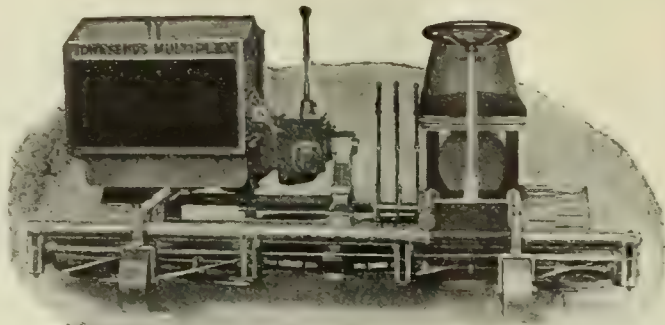
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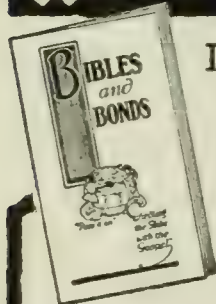
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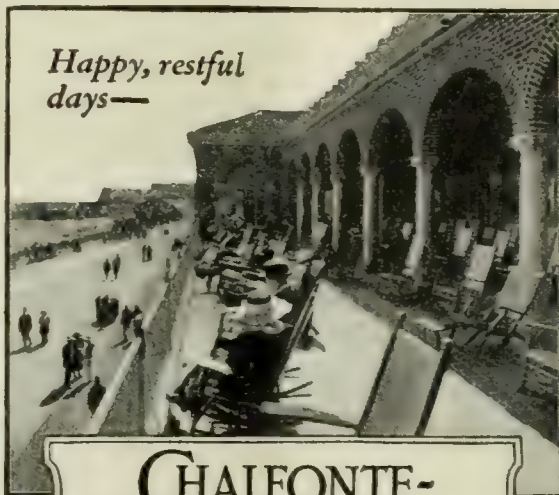
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ern college we had a negro janitor, a most lovable fellow, and the pet of the "chapter" for generations of college men. The only brother whom I ever saw touch him willingly was a South Carolinian, whose method, quite natural, was to curse him shockingly one moment and fondle him the next. And George loved if he did not like it better than our distant consideration. There we have the southern situation. Miscegenation to the southerner does not mean the crime (if it be a crime) of mingling the black race and the white; it means the union of white woman and black man. For the white man of the South, if we are to accept the testimony of "White and Black," the black woman presents an incessant and almost irresistible temptation. And (on the same evidence) he is a little deterred by the chances of his casually increasing that particolored breed which he may so easily dispose of, socially and politically, as the black "race." In short, the moral and physical relations of non-African and African, or part-African, remain much the same as in the world of "Children of the Market Place," or even of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." There is no way out.

Such is the burden of "White and Black," a story of modern Texas, by a Texan. The whites in the tale are small planters, shopkeepers, a doctor, a parson, and the common ruck of a southern farming community. The blacks are their ex-slaves, tenants, cooks, laborers, casual mistresses and unacknowledged offspring. Every one of the white men is a real or potential seducer of black women, and at the same time the hysterical defender of his own women against the black man. Even the fine, stalwart planter who is the central figure in the action has been true to type in youth; and when his son's entanglement with a yellow girl—or rather two yellow girls—comes to light, he can only regard it as the natural and wellnigh inevitable thing in such a society as theirs. The sexual irresponsibility of the black and yellow women is stressed; so that the white mother here lays the blame upon the yellow girls rather than upon her son: it is they and their like who "ruin our boys." The sole demonstrations in favor of racial purity are the lynching of a negro for assaulting a white woman and the mutilation of a white man for living openly with a negro mistress and her children. The lynching mob and the "Ku Klux" purifiers are both made up largely of men who have had relations with "nigger women." The good planter of the tale is killed as a result of his attempt to check the spread of the mob mania.

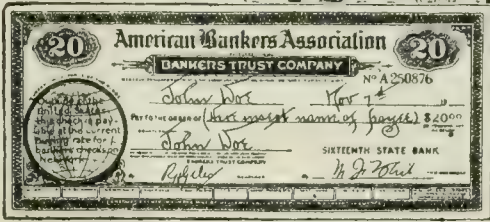
An unpleasant and depressing narrative, which we might willingly cast aside if its evident sincerity and disinterestedness permitted. It is written, unmistakably, out of a deep sense of reality, not to condemn or even to moralize the facts so much as to present them. It strips off the sentimentality and hypocrisy with which the actual sources of the mongrel South have been shrouded. It finds little to

hope for, while the curse of a somehow-colored majority persists in that country. It shows the negro, the person with negro blood in him, as incapable even of comprehending the white man's code of theoretical morality. And it shows the white man (that is, the white male) seduced, in actuality, by the easier code of the black. There is the fat cook who sees no real conflict between her piety and her frank amours. And there is the young black parson who reverts. Educated in the North, he has come back South to help spiritualize and lift his people. But they are too much for him, and in the end he marries, for her "bright" color, a mulatto girl who has already willingly belonged to a white lad of the neighborhood.

In "Birthright" a similar situation is developed. This also is a frank and unsentimentalized study of the modern negro of the South, though the plight of his white neighbors does not come into it. The central figure is Peter Siner, a young mulatto, who returns to "Hooker's Bend" after four years at Harvard, eager to set up school among the ignorant dwellers in "Niggertown," the black quarter of the Bend. He has forgotten how squalid the place is, how unseemly in all its externals. His own mother is a gross negress who has toiled to keep him at college, not that he might be of use among his own race, but that he might be above them. She has no sympathy with his visionary schemes. The only person in Niggertown who does understand (or seems to understand) him is Cissie Dildine, an octoroon girl who has also had some schooling away from Hooker's Bend, but is not thereby the better fitted for a Niggertown mating. She quickly turns to Peter as her best chance. Despite her professed sympathy, what she really wants is that they two shall escape together from Niggertown and Hooker's Bend, and go up North where they may avoid in part at least the ban of color. And this is what comes about; but not till Peter has seen how futile his hopes are of doing anything for his people, as of seeking to deny the black blood in him. He cannot feel what the code of his white education urges him to feel. His father, he learns, is a white gentleman, a squire of some degree, who has helped towards his education and openly befriends him thereafter. But the roots of his nature lie in his inheritance from his black mammy. When he learns that Cissie, for fear of exposure as a thief, has yielded herself to a white boy and is pregnant, his first thought obediently registers the horror and repugnance of his white training. But his real feeling does not follow. "As for the disgrace of marrying such a woman as Cissie Dildine, Peter slowly gave that idea up. The 'worthinesses' and 'disgraces' implicit in Harvard atmosphere, which Peter had spent four years of his life imbibing, slowly melted away in the air of Niggertown. What was honorable there, what was disgraceful there,

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somehow changed its color here." Hence he is brought to certain startling reflections: "Morals are always directed toward one particular race, but the individual members of that race always feel that their brand of morals does and should apply to all the peoples of the earth; so one has the spectacle of nations sending out missionaries and battleships to teach and enforce their particular folkways." . . . "And yet there is no such thing as absolute morals. Morals are as transitory as the sheen on a black-bird's wing; they change perpetually with the necessities of the race. Any people with an abounding vitality will naturally practice customs which a less vital people must shun. Morals are nothing more than the engines controlling the stream of energy that propel a race on its course. All energies are not alike, nor are all races bound for the same port." . . . "Here Peter Siner made the amazing discovery that although he had spent four years at Harvard, he had come out, just as he went in, a negro."

So Peter Siner and his Cissie (accepted now as his, without qualm or regret) depart from Hooker's Landing towards the certain and respectable job in Chicago which a classmate of Peter's has kept waiting for him. The mulatto and the octoroon and the unborn child of a white youth's scheming lust: what fate are they bringing into the northern world, and what has that world in store for them?

Of these two "first novels" by Southerners, which attempt, with equal seriousness, to tell "the truth about" the negro problem, "White and Black" is the more solid piece of work. In "Birthright" we never get safely away from our types or our idea. Moreover, the author has a theory which he is not able to resist expounding: to the detriment of his tale as a tale. "White and Black" is a many-sided book, which succeeds in presenting impartially the salient facts, if not all the facts, on both sides of the race question, or rather situation, as it exists in at least one part of the South. Such a book deserves careful reading by those who are soberly interested in problems of race impact and entanglement. Mrs. Atherton now announces, with characteristic vigor, that the chief battle with us is not between white and black, but between the races of northern and southern derivations—the Nordics or long-heads of Britain and Scandinavia, and the round-heads of Alpines and Mediterraneans who are the degenerates and the scum of Southern Europe. The inferior races are not only outbreeding the superior, but already, as evidenced by the racial authorship and character of much of our latest and most-lauded fiction, are assuming the lead, or at least the centre of the stage, in our literature. . . . Mrs. Atherton often seems to me to be shooting wild; but this time, surely, she has "said something." I cheerfully recommend the reader to look up her article in a recent number of *The Bookman*.

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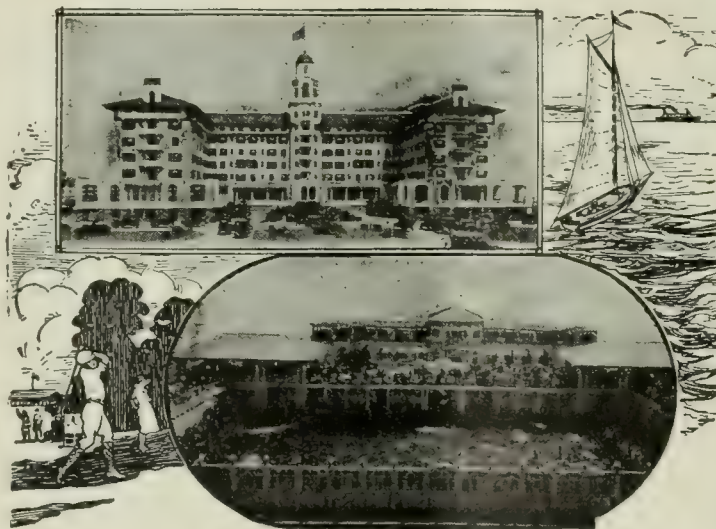
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Governmental Philosophy

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT. By Alpheus Henry Snow. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

UNTIL recently it could scarcely be said of any nation that it had a philosophy of government. Traditions of government, of course, all nations have had for a long time; but these were rarely so fixed and well grounded, or so fully accepted as a part of the national life, that they could be said to constitute a system of political philosophy. In the United States, to a greater extent than in any other country, perhaps, it is now appropriate to use such a term. Certain outstanding and fundamental convictions as to what a well-ordered government ought to be—most of them expressed in well-worn phrases—are now part and parcel of the American temper; they must be reckoned with in any attempt to analyze the public opinion of the United States, especially in its bearing upon our relations with other countries.

The opening chapter of Mr. Snow's volume deals in an illuminating way with this theme. The author shows how the various tenets of our political philosophy first got their grip upon the public imagination, what forms they have now assumed, and what influence they exert upon the trend of actual government. The Constitution of the United States may be the "supreme law of the land," as it declares itself to be; but the Declaration of Independence is the source from which most Americans draw their political inspiration. Although it has no force or sanction in the American law courts today, the Declaration is gospel to the mass of Americans whenever the rights of men or nations come into controversy. That is why the phrase "self-determination" proved a harmonic to the American ear. It is, or was thought to be, a full-fledged synonym for "the consent of the governed." Mr. Snow's thirty-page chapter on the Declaration is clear and logical writing, by the way, and suffers nothing by omitting the platitudes which usually come to the front when men talk about this theme, or write about it.

The greater part of the book, however, deals with facts, not theories—with the practice and not with the principles of government. There is a suggestive essay on "The Mandatory System" and its probable influence upon the course of international relations. The Covenant of the League of Nations is dissected in order to show the various features which, apart altogether from such practical objections as may be urged against them, run counter to the traditional American method of doing things. Several other chapters deal with such matters as the American doctrine of judicial supremacy, the limits of international arbitration, the possibility of international compulsion, and the execution of judgments against States. An interesting discussion of a wholly new subject is presented in the final chapter on "The Participation of the Alien in the Political Life of the Community."

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Drama

Mr. Milne Misses Something

THE TRUTH ABOUT BLAYDS. By Alan Alexander Milne. Booth Theatre.

LIKE most dramatists who find themselves precipitously plunged into popularity, Mr. Milne now faces the danger of giving us plays not quite worthy of his talent, plays written too hurriedly and too sketchily, plays in which the full potentialities of idea and theme remain in a state of arrested development. Thus, while "The Truth About Blayds," strikes me as, in a certain sense, his most arresting achievement thus far revealed to us, it is interesting rather as a fine failure than as a successful play. It is one of those plays, always more admirable than any successful *tour de force*, that suggest the great unwritten play the dramatist has failed to produce. Its possibilities, one feels, were unlimited. There was a powerful current of ideation that might have carried the dramatist to the very goal of a great ironic truth about human nature. Yet at the very moment he is about to reveal this truth, as he stretches out to grasp it—and as we in the audience stretch with it—his support falls away and he drops back into a mire of good-natured British sentimentality.

On his ninetieth birthday the great Victorian poet, Oliver Blayds, confesses to his youngest daughter Isobel that all his poetry had been written by a young man named Jenkins, with whom he has lived in Islington seventy years before. Jenkins was "perhaps the greater poet because he knew he had not long to live. The poetry came bubbling out of him and he wrote it down feverishly, intent only on recording the melodies of this divine spirit within him, before the hand became cold and the fingers could no longer write." Jenkins died; Blayds published the dead poet's work as his own. In seventy years he has established a supreme reputation as one of the great Victorians. His daughter Isobel has sacrificed her own life to nurse him in his declining years. His son-in-law, William Blayds-Conway, has become his official Boswell and biographer. His grandchildren, Oliver and Septima, enjoy an immense social prestige through his reflected glory much as they revolt against home life with a celebrated nonogenarian. After making this confession to his devoted daughter, Blayds dies. And the little family group is confronted with the disconcerting and devastating truth of his literary crime.

Blayds in truth, as Mr. Milne deftly suggests, had become a sort of public institution, a vested interest. Socially and possibly financially, the family had been living off this great name. William Blayds-Conway, the Boswellian son-in-law, had been business manager of the enterprise, cultivating and husbanding the Blayds reputation,

and extracting every possible advantage from that enviable and amiable British vice of honoring great poets. Should he now give up the preparation of the biography in two volumes, the innumerable obituaries and memoirs, the respect of the younger generation? Confronted with this unpleasant task, he quite humanly refuses to believe the confession as recited by Isobel. His son and daughter, as well as his wife, ally themselves with his point of view.

But perhaps Mr. Milne's most admirable achievement is to be found in the manner in which he suggests that even the truth-telling and truth-loving Isobel finds herself facing the unpleasant task of destroying her own father's reputation, of telling to the great idolizing public a disagreeable and destructive truth. Would the public believe it? So asks the young literary man who is in love with her. Literary idols are not so easily dethroned. And even Isobel finally admits the futility as well as the unpleasantness of any such undertaking. And so, in accepting the proposal of Royce, she takes up again, at the age of thirty-eight, the belated business of living.

Nevertheless Mr. Milne has failed to carry his irony to its full and legitimate fruition, it seems to me, in remaining satisfied with the purely literary and satiric aspects of his fable. On the one hand, he has neglected none of the rich possibilities for satire in the figure of the poet who has lived beyond his age and is valued beyond his true worth. He exposes the familial and business aspects of the literary idol. He recognizes the absurd tyranny of such reputations over the non-literary younger generation, the pathos of sacrifice to a celebrity who was not, after all, the real thing. He is ruthless in diagnosing that type of literary parasitism represented by William Blayds-Conway, and he is eloquent in evoking a picture of the true poet, who with no thoughts of fame was content to live and die unknown, confident that his verse would live. But his altogether charming and generous good nature drags him again and again into the slough of sentimentality. He becomes quite too much of the good friend to his characters, forgetting his duty to himself as a dramatist: that stern, unavoidable task of carrying his thought to a beautiful fruition, to lead us beyond the individual fable or allegory to a realization of our own inner nature. The illuminating truth in this particular case, that somehow or other seems to slip through his fingers, might tentatively be formulated as that universal human habit of weaving into the web of life truth and error in more or less equal proportions. Falsehood functions no less than truth, perhaps, in softening the harsh crude outlines of the brutal truth. How difficult, how undesirable even, Mr. Milne almost suggests, to tear down a charming fragrant falsehood in which so many people believe, particularly when it is a belief in the greatness of a poet. To be durable even the truth requires

a certain alloy of amiable error. And finally perhaps—and here Milne has not failed us—it is the glory of the poetry that lives even when the poet has been forgotten.

These thoughts, so rich in possibilities for the creator of ironic comedy, our dramatist hints at but fails to develop, or to illuminate in any truly dramatic fashion. Carelessly he wastes them, throws them away to indulge in the doubtful advantage of sentimental scenes written according to the Barrie formula, about dear little children who had never been brought into the world. At the very moment he should have been lifting his theme out of the particular and the personal, Mr. Milne seemed to fag out, to become terrorized at the cleansing of bitter truth which suddenly faced him, and to seek solace and comfort in the threadbare platitudes of a "happy ending." Like too many of our professional humorists, he apparently feels it his duty to be whimsical and "delightful." In so doing, he has failed to write the truly significant comedy we have every reason to expect of him. Our disappointment is the greater in that "The Truth About Blayds," in depth and penetration, in daring and conception, marks a distinct advance upon his part into the realm of true comedy.

Perhaps Mr. Milne has appreciated a bit too keenly the whimsicalities of Max Beerbohm and has studied too little the so-called "literary" stories of Henry James. From such stories as "The Figure in the Carpet" he might have learned from James the possibility of using the particular literary history or biography for a penetrating and universal revelation concerning human nature. Mr. Milne may be said to have been mastered by the characters he has created instead of making them subserve a higher and more legitimately dramatic purpose.

One need not qualify one's admiration, however, for the fine and telling economy with which he amplifies and enriches his immediate theme. Perhaps he shows a tendency to evade such a "big" scene as the confession of Blayds might have been. But excellent is his method in letting us know that that old fraud has died. Smoking had been forbidden in the drawing room during Blayd's reign. But when the curtain goes up on the second act, the "poet's" grandson is smoking a cigarette—and his granddaughter is lighting one.

The cast chosen by Mr. Winthrop Ames was more than ordinarily satisfactory. As Blayds, Mr. O. P. Heggie was perhaps a trifle more virile than we expect of the ordinary man on his ninetieth birthday. Miss Alexandra Carlisle as Isobel, the daughter sacrificed on the altar of the great reputation, was appealingly convincing. But the most amusing and intelligently portrayed figure was Ferdinand Gottschalk, as Blayds-Conway, managing director of that enterprise we might term "Blayds Ltd."

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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. Coronal. Trees.

1. Name the characteristics that make each poem beautiful. Does the beauty of each poem lie more in thought, or in expression, or in the combination of beautiful thought and beautiful expression?
2. Point out the different pictures that are suggested vividly.
3. Name and explain the various figures of speech.
4. Write a short composition on the topic: "When the wind tempts me with its wayward call."
5. What may a person gain from the presence of trees?

II. New Books and Old.

1. Name several important contemporary American novelists.
2. What do books about the world war show concerning the outspokenness of writers in the past and writers in the present?

III. Drama: Mr. Milne Misses Something.

1. What is it that the critic finds Milne misses in "The Truth About Blayds"?
2. Why does he call the play "ironic comedy"?
3. Explain the allusion to William Blayds-Conway as "the Boswellian son-in-law."
4. What does the critic mean by saying that Milne has "been mastered by the characters he has created"?

IV. On Taking In One Another's Washing.

1. Underline several sentences that present striking or unusual thought. Explain the meaning of every sentence you select. Give a grammatical analysis of every such sentence.
2. Read aloud the fourth paragraph. Explain the meaning of the paragraph. Tell in what ways the United States differs from present-day Russia.
3. Read aloud the last paragraph. Explain in what respects it is an unusually effective closing paragraph. What principles of debating does the paragraph illustrate?

V. New Wonders of Science.

1. Prove that the first sentence acts as a topic sentence for the entire article.
2. Point out and explain at least five figures of speech that occur in the article. What purpose do they serve?
3. Point out several original and humorous comparisons. What is the value of such comparisons in an article of scientific nature?
4. Define the following terms: natural law, theory or hypothesis.
5. What does the article lead you to infer concerning the object of scientific investigation?
6. What do the various sub-titles do for the article? Should you employ sub-titles in your own compositions?
7. Give a clear exposition of the subject that most interests you.
8. What principles of exposition does the article illustrate?

VI. Judge Hooper on Luxury.

1. What subject does the article satirize?
2. Summarize what the article says about American resourcefulness and spirit.
3. What constructive suggestions does the article make?

VII. Spring Thoughts on Home-Building.

1. What is indicated concerning the origin of "Home, Sweet Home"?
2. Read aloud the selection from Leonidas. Explain its meaning.
3. Why is it good for a country to encourage ownership of one's own home?
4. What is the influence of living in rented homes?

VIII. Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor.

1. Explain the reference to "wolf" and "lambs" in the first paragraph. Find from an encyclopedia the experiences the following authors had with publishers: Samuel Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, Sir Walter Scott, Mark Twain.
2. What were Mrs. Humphry Ward's habits of literary work?
3. Find in an encyclopedia further information concerning Turgeniev. What was his influence as a writer?
4. Have you read a translation of any of Turgeniev's novels? If not, consult the library and read one, and give your impression of the author.

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

I. The Genoa Conference, Editorial Paragraphs on Russia, On Taking In One Another's Washing, The Prime Obstacle to Recovery.

1. Comparing the demands of the Powers upon Russia in the formal notes and the Russian answers, show the points upon which there is disagreement. State carefully the differences of opinion upon the return of nationalized property.
2. Underline the key words which state "What the Russians are after."
3. Give all the instances you can where distrust of the Soviet Government appears in the Conference.
4. Discuss "The Treaty of Rapallo is the outstanding fact of the Conference to date." Show different ways in which it is affecting the Conference.
5. State the editor's view of the real purpose of the Conference in relation to exploitation of the resources of Russia. Why would "a deal of this sort" be "destructive of the fundamentals of international commercial morality"?
6. Reviewing the various statements of Secretary Hughes on American policy with Russia (See *The Independent* of April 9, 1921, and since) put into a statement the fundamentals of that policy.
7. From the "Washing" article and the paragraph on Bertrand Russell outline a careful summary of the editor's argument sustaining the statement: "The political and economic system of the Bolsheviks has dried up the very springs of economic energy." Show how he attacks opposing views.
8. Assemble the facts bearing upon the possibility of countries or groups of countries sustaining themselves without outside trade.
 - (a) Give all the examples you can of what the United States "would lose" "without any foreign trade whatsoever."
 - (b) Look up and compare the dependence of England, the United States, and France upon foreign trade.
9. After covering the other articles show how the editor in "The Prime Obstacle to Recovery" emphasizes "the battle of sweeping ideas."

II. Mr. Gompers Against the World.

1. Show how the editor urges a modification of the policy of the American Federation of Labor as voiced by Mr. Gompers and shown in past action.
2. See if you can explain any connection of Mr. Gompers's views with the early struggles of the trade union movement, its belief in the strike as their main weapon, and "political exigencies."

III. Presidential Appointments and Removals.

1. Show the criticism of President Harding in his appointments of Reilly and Goldstein.
2. Show how "the application of the merit system not only to all the positions to which it now applies, but to 'the higher administrative positions now unclassified' is under discussion."
3. Review the President's power of appointment and removal and the practices that have developed in the actual operation of the power.

IV. The Chinese War, Editorial Paragraphs.

1. Show the main features of the war so far as known.
2. Why would it be considered fortunate for China if Wu-Pei-fu's victory is as decisive as reported?

V. New Wonders of Science.

1. Although the article is more mature than many students can grasp in detail probably all will be able to gain a sense of immense progress and immense problems and be able to state (a) the big fields of science in which startling progress is being made, (b) the place of America in this progress, (c) the difference between the use of the word "law" in politics and in science.

VI. Economic—Domestic Affairs.

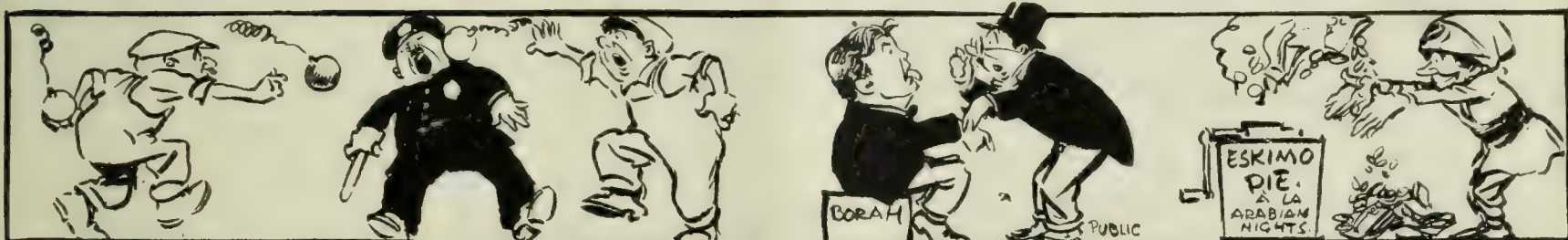
1. Show why the Institute of Economics is a "heartening" development.
2. Summarize the facts of the number in regard to industrial conditions.

VII. Population.

1. Summarize the facts in this number which bear upon the numbers and character of our population.

The Independent

A Fortnightly Journal of Information and Discussion
May 27, 1922



EXTREME limits of partisanship are displayed in the interpretations by rival party organs of the primary elections in Indiana and Pennsylvania. Most of these interpretations reflect snap judgments not justified by the data available. Republicans see in the results of the primaries no disintegrating factionalism but rather a healthy and stimulating party interest; Democrats profess to observe a revival of Progressivism, a revolt against the machine, and a slap at the Administration. The actual situation is much less simple. In Indiana, ex-Senator Beveridge is not only a popular figure, better thought of than Senator New, but he has grown greatly in the estimation of more serious people since his "boy orator" days. So true is this that it may be fairly said that his Bull Moose associations played a very slight part in his victory. Nor did his choice register dissatisfaction with the Administration, for while the close personal relations between President Harding and Senator New were well known, the successful candidate was likewise known as a loyal supporter of the President. It would be a mistake, however, not to recognize in the result a quickening of political interest in the community at large, an interest directed primarily against domination by what is called the "machine." This seems to indicate an awakened and lively interest in practical politics by the general public rather than out-and-out insurgency.

THE same tendency is still more pronounced in Pennsylvania. Here the triumph of Pinchot for the Governorship nomination was more di-

rectly the result of a struggle between the old regular organization and its opponents. In this there is reason for much gratification. To be sure the Republican machine of Pennsylvania was sadly out of repair. The passing of Penrose, the master mechanic, had left it limping badly. But it was the symbol and reminder of a tradition of which Pennsylvanians are not proud, of a political domination linked with city jobbery in Philadelphia, legislative corruption in Harrisburg, and rotten politics elsewhere. A process of improvement, already in progress, is accelerated.

OF wider significance perhaps was the victory of Senator Pepper for the Senatorial nomination. Against Pepper it was urged that he had strongly favored the seating of Senator Newberry and that he was opposed to the soldiers' bonus. The Republican voters of Pennsylvania replied with a handsome majority. This should serve as a sharp reminder to Congressmen in other states who are counting on the bonus as a popular issue. In general the results of the two significant primaries already held, as well as of the primary struggles developing elsewhere, indicate that the President and his Cabinet are popular, that there is much dissatisfaction with Congress, that the bonus is not popular, and that increased interest and participation in party politics on the part of liberal and progressive elements is likely to bring many changes in the regular organization. The outlook is disappointing to many politicians, but may be regarded as rather encouraging to the party as a whole.

HANS BREITMANN, the delightful, innocent, beer-drinking, idealist German with whose doings Charles Godfrey Leland amused our forebears of Civil War times, got hold of a straggling Johnny Reb and took him prisoner. He planted his knee on the Confederate soldier's chest, but gave him a chance for escape. "Do you believe in moral ideas?" demanded Breitmann; "if so, I set you free." That was, in its time, a pleasant little joke; at Genoa it has been translated into solemn earnest, or at least a very passable imitation of solemn earnest. The difference between the futilities of Genoese parleying with the Bolsheviks and the kind of thing that accomplishes results is pre-



"Do you believe in moral ideas?"

cisely the difference between a Hans Breitmann's view and a Lincoln's view of what had to be done in order to restore the Union. It is not promises, but facts, that Mr. Hughes and Mr. Hoover and President Harding want as a basis of practical policy in relation to Russia; not professions of a change of heart, but actions demonstrating that the change of heart has been embodied in solid and lasting realities.

DO you understand Borah? The Senator from Idaho would be only too delighted to believe that this is the question of the hour. He has managed in his own way to get himself talked about, but the talk has not the significance which he no doubt fancies it has. In the minds of those who are really thinking about him Senator Borah has become an interesting symptom, and little else. It is not in the least a new symptom but has gained in interest because of its now periodic recurrence. The country is apparently in for the appearance once in about so often—soon we shall be able to plot the curve—of a figure who for a moment misleads it into believing that he is the coming man. The vogue of LaFollette was succeeded by that of Johnson, and now there is Borah. At bottom these men are entirely alike; their psychology and methods agree. Each emerged to public notice by a display of resoluteness which seemed to have big lines. It is only right to suppose that at a certain stage they possessed sincerity and high-mindedness. To many persons Senator Borah's attitude on the Treaty, on the recall of American troops from Siberia and from the Rhine, on disarmament appeared, rightly or wrongly, consistent and courageous; it seemed to be a part of a definite policy looking to a different and better order of world conditions. In that period Senator Borah got the

reputation even among discriminating persons of being sincere, even if streaky. LaFollette's early programme of progressive principles and Johnson's programme in California struck observers in the same way. It took time for the public to penetrate their personal ambitions and to prick the bubbles that at first looked like substantial careers in the making.

THE public need not suspend its judgment further as to the significance of Senator Borah. In his clash with Mr. Bakhmetieff he has furnished the spectacle of an irresponsible sensationalist bringing criminal charges against a gentleman of principle and honor. In our issue of April 29 we set forth in detail the inwardness of that dispute in its first stages. Senator Borah's subsequent words on the matter have made the case against him complete. It is now clear that he could not bear it to be out of the limelight for any length of time and so began to wield the first big club he could lay hands on. He stands revealed in his true colors, a simple blatherskite.

AMONG the various aspects of the labor war in Chicago against the observance of the Landis award, the most important for the public to understand is this: the trouble is the logical expression of corrupt and violent labor-union leaders. We do not believe that more than a disreputable minority of union men in Chicago really approve the war now under way. But the distressing fact is that in Chicago, as in New York and many other places, the actual directors of labor-union policy are too often "tyrants" in the classical sense of the word—men who use both unlawfully and unjustly the powers of their position. In some trades, and notably in the building trades, men of the Sam Parks and Brindell type succeed in controlling unions through corrupt and violent



*"Pilots of the purple twilight
Dropping down with costly bales."*

methods. That is the root of the trouble in Chicago. It will recur until American trade unions, or public authority for them, find the way to actual and genuine trade-union democracy.

THE Congress of the United States," which our forefathers expected to legislate for the whole nation, has largely resolved itself into a "Congress of Local Candidates for Re-election." That seems to be the root of the trouble at Washington.

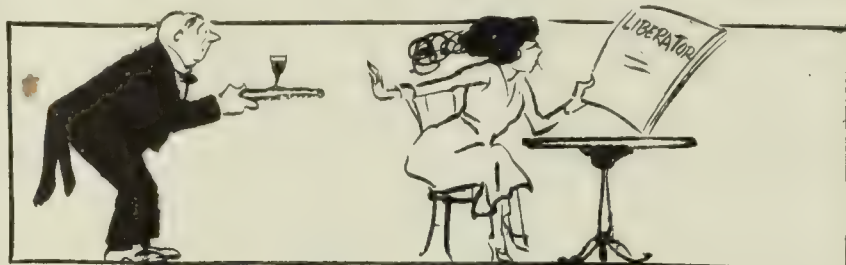
MADISON GRANT'S "The Passing of the Great Race" has become a popular book. It is now a favorite amusement at social gatherings to separate the company into Nordics and non-Nordics by evidence of color of eye and hair, of stature, complexion, and shape of head. Do the Nordics distend with pride, and are the Alpines and Mediterraneans abashed, in consequence? And, if so, with good reason?

Not with good reason, it seems to us. For Mr. Grant does not convince us that the Nordics are preëminently "the great race." What he does prove is something quite different; that the most successful races of Europe within the historical period have been blends in which the Nordic was one element.

The pure Nordic has been chiefly remarkable for his mania for homicide and alcohol, and his mental sluggishness. But get just the right blend of Nordic and Mediterranean, and you have the youths of the Parthenon frieze, the magnificent

Norman-English type, the typical athlete of Yale or Harvard.

"The great race," forsooth! Was Lincoln Nordic? What was Goldsmith? Obviously a Neanderthal. Socrates was a Palaeolith. Lloyd George? Clemenceau? Who knows but that a drop of "Little Folk" blood may have been responsible for



A substitute for cocktails

Ariel and the Midsummer Night's revels? No, no, Mr. Grant! The science of Anthropology is young. Say "a great race;" the best gin for a human cocktail. If it must pass, there are others. At any rate, a greater race, the Cro-Magnon, has passed before.

The Responsibility of the Republican Party

THE times are out of joint when an independent paper feels called upon to urge its readers to give vigorous support, not to an individual nor to a particular measure, but to a political party.

Yet the present time calls for just this. It is easy to find serious faults in the Republican Party. Congress, especially, has fallen far short of expectations. But in spite of its faults, the Republican Party is, at the present time, the one strong bulwark against certain disastrous tendencies the world over. There are weak and irresponsible men, and there are strong and stable men, in both Parties; but the Democratic Party, as at present led, contains the seeds of rash experiment and emotional unrest. The same cannot be said of the leadership of the Republican Party. Take the Administration's stand on the most important question of the hour—the reconstruction of Europe. To hold out for a principle, when to compromise might in the long run undermine the fabric of democracy everywhere, we regard as wholly admirable; it conforms to the highest standards of American statesmanship and deserves the most effective support that a journal can give.

Popular government is on trial among all nations, and America is the recognized leader in democratic institutions. If our system of individualism—of wholesome competition within the law—is permitted to break down; if the present epidemic of pecking at our social traditions—no doubt a reflex of the Russian experiment—is not checked, democracy will receive a tremendous setback. Now, the Republican Party is the present guardian

of democracy both because it is in the saddle and because it is opposed—much more than is the Democratic Party as now constituted—to any trifling with the fundamentals of the existing social order. If the Republican Party should now be discredited, the drift towards Government ownership and other socialistic experiments would be greatly accelerated, and there would be but slight chance of getting back to the sort of economic stability to which this country owes its traditional prosperity and character.

The election of a Democratic majority in the next Congress would have another consequence, perhaps even more serious. It would paralyze the Administration in its dealing with the world questions which are to-day of overshadowing importance. The paralysis caused by want of harmony between Congress and the Executive is an acknowledged weakness of our Constitutional system. In ordinary times this is endurable. It is part of the price we pay for the benefits of our scheme of checks and balances. But at such a time as this, when the influence of our country is a vital element in weathering a world-wide crisis, the paralyzing of our Government would be a calamity.

We are not advising our readers to support unfit candidates, but we do urge them to spur the leaders of the Republican Party on to their best efforts in putting up for election next autumn the strongest candidates that can be found. To learn a bitter lesson at the polls would be disastrous not only to the Party, but, as we believe, to the world at large.

Fortunately, many Republican leaders are fully conscious of the heavy responsibility which rests with them. But they need generous, public-spirited help. Their hands are bound unless high-minded, capable citizens will consent to run for office if the chance is offered them. Congress is made the subject of mere stand-off criticism by the very persons who should themselves aspire to membership in that body.

During the war every one realized the seriousness of the personal obligation to do his share in seeing the country through. Now that peace—of a sort—is on earth the tendency is to let politics take care of itself. Yet the situation to-day, in this country as in the rest of the world, is in the highest degree critical. Through the Republican Party, more than through any other agency, the nation must work for recovery.

To purify and to strengthen the Party's influence is the most effective way at this moment to give the right direction to America's influence upon the democracy and progress of the world.

A Fresh Start After Genoa

OUR predictions concerning the Genoa Conference have now been fulfilled, and for the reasons we set forth. This is said, not in the "I-told-you-so" spirit of the successful guesser, but because we feel it worth while to direct sharp attention to the dangers of loose thinking and vague sentimentalism in discussing our foreign relations. Clear thought, accurate observation, and adherence to sound moral principles are requisite.

Genoa was predestined to failure. The Conference, summoned ostensibly to tranquillize Europe and to take counsel on the steps necessary for the restoration of prosperity, was prevented by the agenda agreed upon at Cannes from dealing with the questions of German reparations and limitation of land armament. To attempt to restore peace and confidence in Europe without first solving these problems was to rear a house upon the shifting sands. A second cause of failure lay in the organization of the Conference itself. Representatives of thirty-odd nations, great and small, personifying political fears and jealousies, racial and religious animosities, and conflicting cupidities, met in what was an undirected mass-meeting rather than an effective committee.

But the chief cause of failure, transcending all others, was the lack of a moral basis, the absence of moral leadership. Two conflicting and mutually exclusive systems, capitalism and communism, civilization as we know it and a programme to destroy and replace our civilization, were brought face to face, and the attempt was made to effect a compromise between them. And why the attempt to compromise? To assure peace? No. To relieve suffering? No. To bring general pros-

perity? No. The purpose was a sordid one—to arrange a formula for the recognition of the Soviet Government which would legalize its acts of confiscation and enable it to dispose of the resources of Russia to interested parties. Communism, insolent and unashamed, presented a united front and scored a tactical advantage. Capitalism, painfully conscious that its case had been placed on a low moral plane, showed a divided front and the unseemly spectacle of rivals quarreling over the division of prospective plunder.

Then Belgium cleared the air. Her people had invested vast amounts of money in the development of Russian industry and transportation and she would not consent to an arrangement that legalized the confiscation of their property or substituted some form of lease at the discretion of the Soviets for the restoration of their proper title and ownership. She did not propose to sacrifice these real and tangible interests for a share in the expected loot. France, strongly tempted for a time by alluring promises of recognition of the Russian debts, followed suit. Both were in no small measure influenced to take this stand by Secretary Hughes's clear announcement of American policy.

It was evident that the Conference was finished. Chicherin, in his arrogant and intransigent reply of May 11 to the Committee's proposals, had exposed the futility of the attempted compromise. For Mr. Lloyd George the crisis had come. Unwilling to acknowledge complete defeat, he sought to find in the Russian reply some opening that would permit a continuance of his efforts. He rightly assumed that Chicherin had no intention of closing the door entirely, for Soviet necessities were too exigent. Accordingly he arranged that two committees of experts, one mixed and one Russian, should meet at The Hague on June 26 to discuss the Russian problem and that the participating Powers should agree to an eight-months non-aggression pact. He was confident that the Hague meeting was so formulated that America would take part in it, and an invitation accordingly was extended.

The instant declination of the invitation by Secretary Hughes was an eye-opener. If Mr. Lloyd George or any of his associates had any lingering doubts as to the firmness with which the Administration stood for its announced policy towards Russia, these doubts must have been effectually dispelled.

As to the wisdom of Mr. Hughes's stand there can be no question. The moral leadership rests with America, and up to the present time this has been most effectively exercised by standing aloof from Genoa. It is absurd to assume that by participation in the Conference we could have changed its course or forced it to follow our ideals. To take part now in a hang-over meeting designed

to salvage Mr. Lloyd George's political fortunes would be ridiculous.

But the lesson of Genoa ought not to be lost nor should the effort to save the Russian people from their debacle and restore them to happiness and prosperity be given over because of that spectacular failure. America has achieved much by her uncompromising stand; she has given abundant evidence of her sympathy and disinterestedness by her great work of relief. The time has now come for a positive step. Let there be called together a committee of economic experts from England, France, Italy, Belgium, Japan, and America to inquire into the causes of Russia's breakdown and to discuss effective remedies. Let the programme be as definite as was that of the Washington Conference. The facts are known; it only remains for the experts to meet and compare their information and their views. There can be little doubt that their findings would be unanimous and it is altogether probable that, uncompromised by political considerations or selfish financial interest, the findings would harmonize with the stand taken by America and so ably expressed by Mr. Hughes and Mr. Hoover. The moral leadership lacking at Genoa would be found, and Europe could look forward with hope and trust to a real solution of the problem which at present is a cancer in her vitals. Such a solution would be no immoral and illusory compromise between communism and capitalism. It would rest upon no mere Bolshevik promises. A denial of human freedom and the sanctity of property would not be concealed beneath sophisticated circumlocutions. In the face of Europe and America standing together on such a programme and faithful to the moral principles underlying it, the communist system and the crowd of adventurers who profit by it would melt away, unshackling the Russian people, opening the door to productivity, and ushering in the dawn of a better day.

Lloyd George

WHATEVER has been happening to Mr. Lloyd George, or may be about to happen to him, is not so important as what will happen to the realignment of economic and political forces in consequence of the final play which he elected to make at Genoa. Yet the impending fate of the man, and its inevitable causes in his own character, are worthy of study, as real drama, in contrast to movie-melodrama, always is.

Mr. Lloyd George is a statesman of commanding power and importance. Enemies and critics who question this judgment and insist on thinking of him as only an adroit politician betray their own limitations. In many generations no responsible political leader has grappled with so many big and difficult problems and continued to hold office by

the consent of a people. Bismarck had one man to please. With the passing of that man the career of the Iron Prince came swiftly to end. Gladstone, who over and over came back, dealt with matters that were child's play by comparison with those that Lloyd George has handled. To mention only the outstanding ones, Great Britain's effort in the war, the Irish situation, the negotiations at Paris, the case of Egypt, the Moslem menace, and the knot into which the threads of European diplomacy have snarled: these have made up an unprecedented combination, and any one of them might have thrown down a Premier of ordinary parts.

And it is not true that Lloyd George has held his place only by the alertness of a "broncho-buster" who could not be thrown by the most vicious beast. That he has a good eye and quick reactions is quite true, and they have saved his neck more than once. But his supreme gift is his almost dæmonic energy, and the protean modes in which it can work. It was a remorseless drive that he put into the war, which the intellectual Mr. Asquith went about without interrupting afternoon tea. The successive proposals that Mr. Lloyd George has put up, now to Ireland and now to England, whether or not they were disingenuous, have given an extraordinary exhibition of resourcefulness. At Paris and at Genoa he has been a trader. Let it go at that if you like, but even Lord Northcliffe has grown dizzy more than once at the rapidity of the Premier's manoeuvres.

One more thing also may be granted. This Welshman, this one time radical, has shown no pettiness. He has served England and her Empire. He has worked boldly, and with vision, for great human interests, for civilization.

These things constitute greatness of a kind; but not the biggest greatness, and emphatically not the sort of greatness that Britain stands desperately in need of now. Adroitness, drive, resourcefulness, trading "gumption" are still needed, and will be needed for a long while to come; but what Britain needs supremely just now is a naively honest attitude toward the facts of the world as they happen to stand A. D. 1922.

Britain has nothing to gain, and no country in the world has anything to gain, by trying to put over something on the other fellow. Trading is a legitimate occupation, and it is only jealous folk that shy bricks at Great Britain because she has been a good trader. But at the present moment Britain stands to lose unless she is prepared to swear to her hurt and abide by it, on the big issues of right and wrong.

For it is precisely on this point that France and Britain will part company, and Britain and America will part company, if, unhappily, they part. America has taken her stand that she will not give full recognition to Russia until Russia does certain things. France refuses to throw certain things

into the trading ring or the gambling pot. If Lloyd George has anything in his political outfit that he stands for unconditionally, any treasures that he would on no account pawn, any Norman keep of British principles that he would never surrender, the world would be glad to be shown.

A Coal Crisis Taking Shape

THOSE whose knowledge of the coal situation is really broad realized weeks ago that if the coal strike continued through July, a crisis would begin to develop in that month solely through the limitations of transportation. In July the Western grain crops begin to move to market, and the demand for cars for that purpose increases until the end of October. In that month, also, the Northwestern States, which depend for their winter coal supply on stocks shipped by water from southern Lake Erie ports, begin to take somewhat anxious thought for those supplies. New England, which uses anthracite exclusively for heating houses, will also want to know soon how it is going to get its supplies in before cold weather. In other words, late July will see the beginning of the annual car-shortage. All experienced railroad men and coal men are familiar with this phenomenon. Under strike conditions no new anthracite is being produced; and the soft coal being mined is chiefly in non-union mines so far south that use of it will impose the maximum burden on the car-short railroads. The Miners' Union, of course, counts on this approaching crisis to force from the operators—or from the Government—sufficient concessions to give the Union at least the pretense of victory.

Meanwhile, Secretary Hoover's conference with the non-union bituminous operators is serving to shape another coal crisis of a wholly different sort. The Hoover plan is mainly directed, in the first instance, at the prevention of excessively high prices on what coal is being mined. To prevent profiteering there is to be a pool of coal producers, coöperating with the Government in spreading coal orders over all the producing mines, so that no coal producer will have to sell to a speculator to secure a market. The obvious first result will be to stabilize prices and prevent an excessive rise. The gain of the public in this result is evident.

But another and perhaps more important result, which has been practically overlooked in the news dispatches on the matter, is that the proposed pool will greatly stimulate the opening of new production and new mines in the non-union regions. Present stocks of coal in the hands of railroad and industrial consumers are unusually large, and there is no likelihood of any serious shortage in these for another two months. But if the price of non-union coal from the Southern fields can be stabilized at a reasonable figure, the coming transpor-

tation shortage will make northern consumers willing to buy from these fields; and the longer the union fields are kept out of competition by the strike, the greater will be the demand on the non-union fields, and the greater the development of production in them.

The actual effect of the Government-protected coal pool will be to develop non-union production, and *pari passu* to weaken the threat of shortage which is the real reliance of the strikers. Incidentally, larger production in non-union fields is already attracting union mine workers from idle union fields, and its continuance will make this shifting of labor even larger.

In its relation to union and non-union mines, the Government has been placed in a somewhat peculiar position by the failure of Attorney-General Daugherty to carry through to a trial and verdict the indictments against the Central Field operators on the ground that their interstate wage agreement of two years ago violated the Anti-Trust Act. Mr. Daugherty, even after the coal strike began, tried to persuade the Central Field operators that they would incur no legal peril by conferring as heretofore with the Union leaders. But after his visit to Indianapolis, when apparently he tried and failed to persuade Judge Anderson to dismiss those indictments, he felt obliged to warn all and sundry that his office would tolerate no repetition of the offence charged in the Indianapolis indictments.

Therefore in dealing with the strike situation the Government seems to be estopped from urging the interstate conference which the miners' leaders have insisted upon as the condition of any negotiations whatever. Legally, the Government is free only to stimulate production from non-union mines, concerning which there is no chance of anti-Sherman agreements. It has apparently chosen this course as the only one practically open to it. Union partisans may presently discover that this is "scabbing" by the Government, as they will want to call it. The Union has no use for the Sherman Act, and its existence seems to them no excuse for Government aid and comfort to non-union mines. But it will be pretty obvious to the rest of the country that the Government cannot sanction methods which are under indictment in its own courts as an offence against its own laws.

There is, therefore, a second coal crisis in process of development, quite different from the crisis that depends on transportation shortage. Compelled by its own laws and by its duty to the public safety, the Government is strengthening by practical measures the only real defence the public has against union monopoly—and that is competing production, uncontrolled by the personal politics of labor leaders. We have pointed out hitherto that the supreme issue of the coal strike was whether the industry should be controlled by a national labor monopoly. That is still the main issue.

Keep on Worrying!

By Agnes Repplier

"Worry is a fundamental intellectual asset."

THE man who flung that vital truth at a flabby and comfort-loving world must have had the dangerous habit of thinking things out for himself instead of clinging to safe and popular platitudes. Just when whole books were being written to teach us the ease of unconcern, just when "Why Worry?" clubs were being started in the interests of a soulless serenity, an anonymous writer in *The Outlook*, commenting on the feverish anxiety of Cellini over the casting of his bronzes, remarked with disconcerting acidity: "The artist who does not worry had better instantly spur himself to worry over that fact, for worry is a fundamental intellectual asset."

It is more. It is the condition upon which rests primarily the betterment of an imperfect world. Suppose Lincoln had refused to worry over slavery in the United States. Suppose he had clung to the bright, sunshiny, sentimental point of view which found expression in negro melodies, and prints of "My Old Kentucky Home," with care-free darkies dancing under spreading elms. There was warrant in plenty for these amiable representations. They came nearer the truth than did Mrs. Stowe's lurid romance. But when great moral issues are at stake, no one has a right to spare himself a searching analysis, with all the discomfort it involves. Had Lincoln been a conscientiously complacent member of a "Why Worry?" club, the history of the past sixty years might have had a different telling.

When the great war came to disturb our priceless equanimity, the why-worryers had the chance of their lives, and they took it. Mental neutrality, which meant mental vacuity, was their slogan. And lest human pity and an entirely human hatred of injustice should sting us into perturbation, doubt was systematically cast upon all disquieting reports. German ferocity was probably exaggerated, the Cathedral of Rheims was possibly intact, the deported girls were presumably returned. "Learn my son," said the satirist, "to bear tranquilly the misfortunes of others"; and the smoothest road to such tranquillity is an altogether comfortable unbelief.

Some weeks ago an American periodical published a brief account of Sir George Younger, Chairman of the Unionist Party Organization, and leader of the Conservative forces in the House of Commons. There was a pleasing portrait of a well-preserved old gentleman, and underneath it this explanatory line: "Sir George ascribes his splendid health to the fact that he never worries about the British Empire."

A capital thing for Sir George; but about how helpful to the Empire! No one can say that the leader of the Liberal forces, the redoubtable and indestructible Mr. Lloyd George, is temperamentally over-anxious. The mere fact that he has survived the past eight years is a guarantee of sanity with a strong optimistic bias. He has always a smile for the photographer, and his rotundity shows no sign of dwindling. But he is a son of Martha, and carries the burdens assigned to that toiler's capable progeny. The same day on which Sir George Younger's philosophy was set forth to the American world, the foreign news column of the New

York Times bore these headlines: "Lloyd George Worried Over Possible Failure of Genoa Programme"; which, being interpreted, meant: "Lloyd George worried over the British Empire." Somebody has got to do the worrying. If one George won't, another George must. The one who won't will sleep the sounder; but since when is repose better than endeavor? The one who won't will live the longer; but since when is existence valued by longevity? The "crowded hour of glorious life" may not be an enjoyable hour, and it may end in disaster; but it is better than an ignoble rest.

A distinguished man of letters recently remarked, when the conversation turned on the Dublin riots, "I never read anything about Ireland. It is too disquieting, and it is not my job." This sounded reasonable, it sounded almost wise; and yet—and yet it can hardly be a matter of indifference to Americans that civilized men, closely allied to us and speaking our tongue, should be engaged in a species of civil war which is equally barbarous and base. We cannot, if we are human, escape all concern, and we cannot, if we read the newspapers, escape all knowledge, inasmuch as the headlines leap out at us as soon as we open the sheet: "Irish Rebels Turn Nights to Terror." "Irish Gunmen Kill Sick Men in Hospital Beds." When we have seen this much, we may as well see more. We are no longer in a state of bland and beatific impercipient.

Worry has been scientifically defined as "the restless consciousness of all encumbrances which we accept under protest." It seems a fairly good definition because it embraces the profoundly stimulating discontent of Henry Adams, and the fretfulness of Thomas Carlyle. Carlyle has always been held up as an awful example of discomposure. He is the card which the "Why Worry?" doctrinaires lay oftenest on the table. The lack of intellectual discipline, which is evidenced in all he wrote, corresponds with the lack of temperamental discipline which is evidenced in all he did. Instead of storing up nervous energy in his brain cells, which is what scientists tell us to do, he liberated his nervous energy to the extent that—like Macaulay's information—it swamped everybody within reach.

A harsh and disquieting personality; but we could thole another Carlyle if the fates would send us anything so big. His incessant worrying—like Grant's whisky—was a bad thing; but it was one of the conditions under which he did his work. When his books were in press he fumed and fretted as madly as did Cellini when his bronzes were in the mold; but, once free of the printer's hands, he bothered about them no more. The public might take or leave. His part in the programme was over.

That august body, the Public Health Service of the United States, has taken count of worry, and offered valuable suggestions for its relief—change of air, change of scene, change of occupation, interesting books and agreeable recreations. There is no fault to be found with these remedies, and the chances are that the men and women to whom they are accessible are not worrying any more than is good for them. Most

of us have to face the disagreeable facts of the present, and the disagreeable possibilities of the future, in our native air, amid familiar scenes, and with such books as authors write for us. We do fairly well until the smiling ones come along, and tell us it is our business to do better. "The worries of today," they say smugly, "are the jokes of tomorrow." We know better than that anyhow. We have lived through the worries of yesterday.

Our ancestors did some tough worrying over the salvation of their souls. It wasn't a soothing process, but it strengthened their moral fibre, and disposed them to balance their accounts. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle now says our souls are safe, and perhaps Sir Arthur knows, though he is a bit vague as to how he found it out. A good deal of worry, like a good deal of endeavor, is necessarily wasted. This is what the Vizier points out so eloquently to the "Sick King in Bokhara," and the Sick King, with less eloquence and more reason, keeps on saying that he is aware of trouble when he sees it. Permanent freedom from worry involves not seeing. It also involves not thinking and not feeling. We lose a moral mainspring as well as a fundamental intellectual asset, but we can be well content without either.

Vacant heart, and hand, and eye,
Easy live and quiet die.

The Business Outlook

By Charles M. Schwab

In response to a request from The Independent, Mr. Charles M. Schwab has written the following expression of his views on the business outlook in America. No one has a better claim to authority in the world of industry, and his reassuring words bring welcome encouragement.

BUSINESS is once again on the up grade and I am confident we are definitely headed toward a sound economic condition. The sign-posts of industry and finance point each day more clearly to this fact.

Let us look forward, but in looking forward have the past in view, and if history repeats itself, and if industry in the United States is what the American people are capable of making it, the realization of the future will make you smile at the accomplishments of the past.

We are going through troublous times, and we shall have troublous times to go through. But it is not the dip down here and there that marks true progress. It is the general rise of lines of average over a period of years that marks the real progress of industry in the United States. If the past be any criterion, and the hopes and ambitions of the American people be the measuring stick, then the future holds brighter dreams of industrial supremacy and industrial development than anything we have ever seen in the past.

God has endowed this country with natural resources and with people that will make this possible. It is only a question of how quickly it will come about. And though I am sixty years of age, I hope to live and be active enough in business, and interested enough in other developments, to see the future show such prosperity and such sound development as we have never seen in the years gone by.

New York Journalism

As Gideon Welles Saw It

The following picture of the Administration press of New York in the last year of the Civil War is quoted from the "Diary of Gideon Welles" (Vol. II, p. 103, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston). It is a harsh indictment and reflects the bitterness of war-time politics, but some will see in it an application to other and more recent times.

"THERE is not an honest, fair-dealing Administration journal in New York City. A majority of them profess to be Administration, and yet it is without sincerity. The New York *Herald*, with a deservedly bad name, gives tone and direction to the New York press, particularly those of Whig antecedents and which profess to support the Administration. It is not, of course, acknowledged by them, nor are they conscious of the leadership, but it is nevertheless obvious and clear. When the *Herald* has in view to defame or put a mark on a man, it commences and persists in its course against him. He may be the friend of the *Tribune* and *Times*. Of course, they do not at first assent to what is said by the *Herald*. Sometimes they will make a defense—perhaps an earnest and strong one—but the *Herald* does not regard it and goes on attacking, ridiculing, abusing, and defaming. Gradually one of the journals gives way, echoes lightly the slanders of the *Herald*, and, having once commenced, it follows up the work. The other journals, when things have proceeded to that length, also acquiesce. This is a truthful statement of the standing and course and conduct of the papers I have named.

"The *Times* is a stipendiary sheet; its principal editor, Raymond, mercenary, possessing talent, but a subservient follower of Weed and Seward. At present, the paper being in the hands of Thurlow Weed will not for the campaign openly attack the President, who is the candidate. But it will, under the lead of the *Herald*, attack any and every member of the Cabinet but Seward, unless Seward through Weed restrains it.

"The *Tribune* is owned by a company which really desires to give a fair support to the Administration, but Greeley, the editor, is erratic, unreliable, without stability, an enemy of the Administration because he hates Seward, a creature of sentiment or impulse, not of reason nor professed principle. Having gone to extremes in the measures that fermented and brought on this war, he would now go to extremes to quell it. I am prepared to see him acquiesce in a division of the Union, or the continuance of slavery, to accomplish his personal party schemes. There are no men or measures to which he will adhere faithfully. He is ambitious, talented, but not considerate, persistent, or profound.

"The *Evening Post* is a journal of a different description and still retains some of its former character for ability and sense. Bryant, I am inclined to think, means well, and of himself would do well. But he is getting on in years, and his son-in-law, Godwin, attempts to wield the political bludgeon. In him the mercenary and unscrupulous partisan is apparent. . . . These are the Administration journals in the city of New York."

Concerning "Adults Who Are Only Children"

By Fabian Franklin

THIRTEEN years and two months has been found to be the average "mental age" of the prisoners at Sing Sing. These prisoners are adults. What more natural, then, than to discuss the far-reaching consequences of such a revelation, its bearing on the question of what our attitude ought to be towards these "Adults Who Are Only Children"? Under this very head, and under similar heads, one finds articles most gravely considering the probability—and the necessity—of an entire recasting of our judgments and policies in regard to crime, and indeed in regard to human relations generally.

It depends chiefly upon a man's temperament whether he will or will not feel an instinctive misgiving as to the finality of a conclusion based upon a supposed verdict of science when it runs counter to what seem to be the dictates of common experience. The criminals one knows anything about do not, as a rule, appear to be "children" in any reasonable interpretation of the term; and one may, while not denying either the theoretical correctness of the psychological tests, or their utility, or the precision with which they were applied to the cases in question, yet hold open the possibility that their result does not in substantial fact justify the conclusion summed up in the phrase "Adults Who Are Only Children." One may feel it to be possible that what the tests really determine is something special, something partial, something that by no means covers the ground of what a man *is*; that when the subject has been more thoroughly studied it may turn out that to be of a "mental age" of thirteen years does not apply any such tremendous and essential human imperfection as is conveyed, at least to the lay mind, by the phrase "Adults Who Are Only Children."

While pondering this question, one may happen to come across a statement that relates to quite a different group of men than that of the convicts in Sing Sing penitentiary.

The results of the examination of two million men drafted for the Great War are tabulated and discussed in the official report of the Surgeon General on "Psychological Examining in the United States Army." This is an enormous book, which has been published as Volume XV of the "Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences." Its editor is Professor Robert M. Yerkes, one of the foremost of American psychologists. From this report it appears that the average mental age of the white drafted men is 13.08 years; and it is held that their intelligence is "approximately representative" of (though "presumably a little lower than") that of the whole white population of the country; a conclusion which seems fully justified by the consideration that the exceptionally high-grade men not included in the draft because of being either officers or engaged in important service outside the army were offset by the exceptionally low-grade men who had been rejected as unfit. Accordingly we are confronted with the singular fact that the average white American is of approximately the same mentality as the average Sing Sing convict—that if the general run of Sing Sing convicts are "Adults Who Are Only Children," the same is true of the general run of the American people.

Now all this "gives to think"; and in more directions than one. In the first place, it demolishes at a stroke the presumption that the thirteen-year average mental age of the Sing Sing convicts is the explanation, or any considerable part of the explanation, of their criminality. Whatever the thirteen-year mental age may mean, it doesn't mean *that*. For it is not true that the average American becomes a convict; what differentiates the criminal from his fellows is something else than his "mental age"; in point of fact he has any number of companions not only of the same "mental age" but surrounded by the same economic and social circumstances, the same trials and temptations, who abstain from crime, and keep out of prison, all their lives. It is doubtless true that persons who are downright feeble-minded—persons in the lowest grades of intelligence—are more likely to commit crimes and misdemeanors than their better-endowed and more fortunate fellows; but it needed no spirit come from the psychological laboratory to tell us that. What the figures show as to crime, if they show anything, is that in point of native intelligence the average criminal presents no marked inferiority to the average decent and law-abiding person. For the present, then, we shall do well to hold on to the old idea of personal responsibility—to reject the notion that when a man steals or forges or kills, it is because he didn't have enough sense to keep from going astray, and cling to the doctrine that he was responsible for his acts even though he may happen to be less clever than some other people in performing certain particular kinds of mental operations.

So much for the criminal. But how about the broader question of the general average intelligence? If the average white adult of the United States has a mental age of thirteen years, what does a mental age of thirteen years mean? Before discussing this question, it will be well to note a remarkable statement made in the great Army report itself as to the basis on which the whole assignment of "mental age" rests. When a given person is declared to be of the "mental age" of thirteen, the meaning, of course, is that his mental age is thirteen in comparison with some standard; and the standard to which reference was actually made was that of a certain particular group which had been accepted as representing the average American. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers were measured by this intellectual yardstick; the results were examined and analyzed with every refinement of scientific rigor; but what was the yardstick itself? This is what the report says of it:

It is customary to say that the mental age of the average adult is about sixteen years. The figure is based, however, upon examinations of only sixty-two persons, thirty-two of them high school pupils from sixteen to twenty years of age, and thirty of them "business men of moderate success and of very limited educational advantages." *This group is too small to give very reliable results and is furthermore probably not typical.* [The italics are mine.] High school pupils and business men of moderate success presumably do not represent the average American adult with respect to intelligence. (See Chapter 10, table 330, in which 85 per cent. of the men who had been to high school show mental ages above average.)

In other words, the drafted men were measured with enormous care, but with a mental yardstick which was

"not very reliable" and which in fact was "presumably" much longer than a yard.

But this, though highly interesting and instructive, is, after all, a side matter. Let us waive the question of just what the group is with which you make the comparison. Let us take the group of high school youths and moderately successful business men as a desirable standard for comparison, whether they be above the average or not. What new light is thrown upon the actual mental stature of the average American by the discovery that his mental age is thirteen, as against a mental age of sixteen in the standard group? We always knew that some men had decidedly more mental capacity than others; what more do we know now? If two persons, A and B, keep growing in mental power until they are sixteen years of age, and if the final mental power of A is much greater than the final mental power of B, is it not self-evident that A must have reached B's limit long before he himself reached the age of sixteen? If the test tells us anything unexpected, it is something that relates to the difference of intelligence between A at thirteen and A at sixteen, and not to the difference of intelligence between A and B at sixteen. In the loose language of common life, we talk of one person being twice as intelligent as another without any feeling of shock whatsoever; to translate such a discrepancy, which we all take for granted with perfect equanimity, into a comparison of "mental ages" is to clothe a familiar fact in a garb which is terrifying solely because of its novelty. Like the Shah of Persia who declined to attend the Epsom races because he knew already that one horse could run faster than another and that was all he could learn if he went, we knew already that one man was cleverer than another, and the translation of this fact into "mental ages" merely tells us the same thing in another form.

In all this, I am far from intending to imply that the measurement of mental ability by means of the tests, is futile or unworthy of trust. On the contrary, the tests have been amply shown to furnish remarkably correct indications of relative ability, and remarkably correct forecasts of relative performance. They have been the object of most painstaking study by highly competent scientific men. What I am concerned with is the danger of false interpretation of the results, of premature acceptance of their finality, of failure to see the limits within which they are in their nature confined, and of rash and mischievous applications of them to the great problems of education and of life. That these dangers are apprehended in high quarters is evidenced by such things as the eloquent and powerful protest of Professor Bagley, editor of the *Journal of the National Educational Association*, against proposals which would create intellectual castes on the basis of the tests; and the limits of the significance of the tests themselves are pointed out in such expositions as the admirable though brief discussion by Professor Woodworth of Columbia in his recently published text-book on *Psychology*. But the case is very different with fluent and impetuous lay writers; nor is there any lack of psychologists whose zeal outruns their discretion. It is therefore well worth while to direct attention to some of the chief points in which there is danger of going astray.

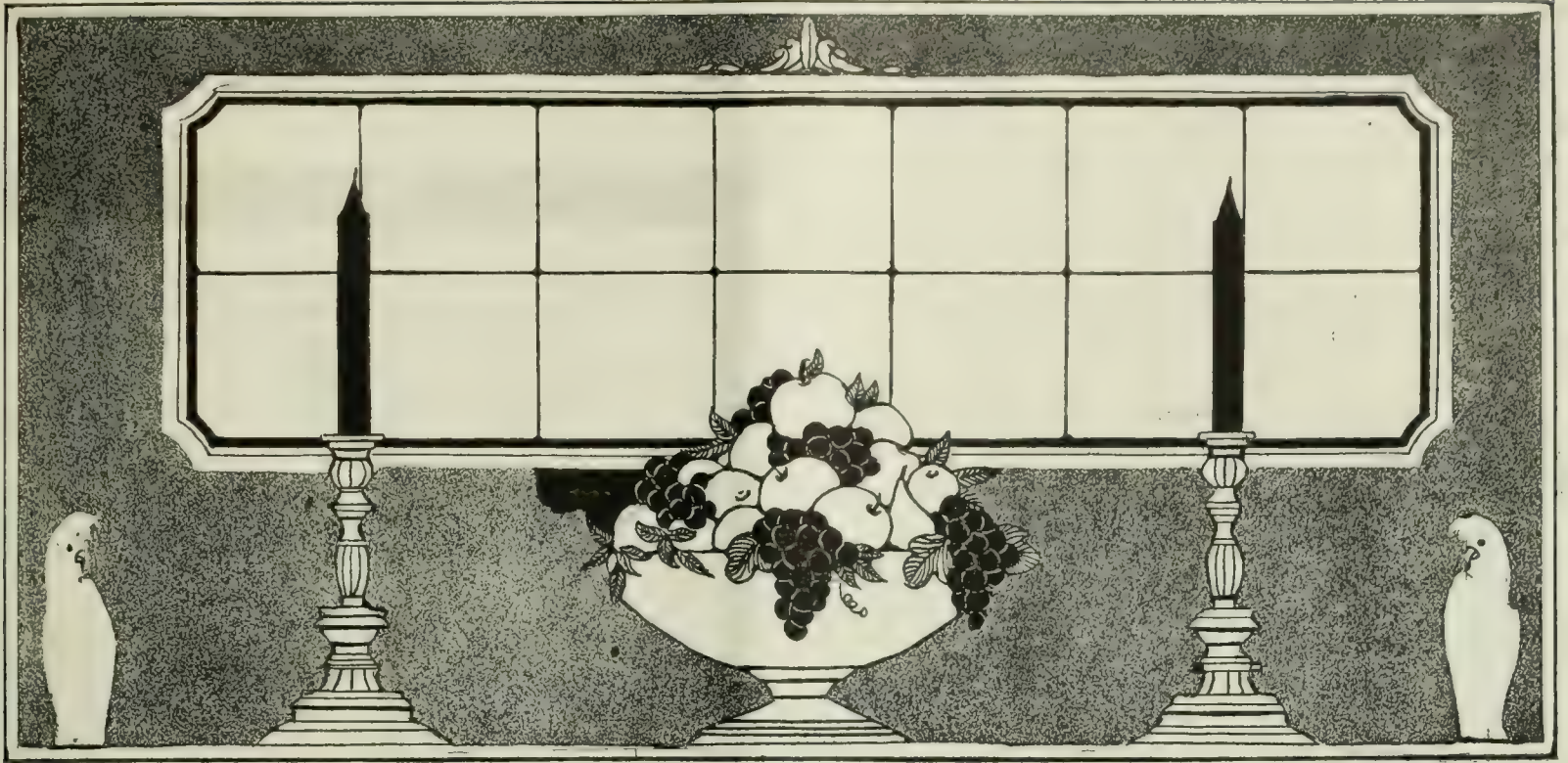
Among these points, in addition to those discussed above, a most important one relates to the finality of the tests as a measure of inherent or inborn capacity.

Professor Bagley goes beyond mere doubt on this essential point, for he says:

What the army tests actually and directly measured was not native mentality but acquired mentality. Half of the soldiers had had sixth-grade education or less, and half of the population have been similarly limited in their schooling. This is the obvious reason for their apparently low "mental ages."

I confess that this strikes me as going much too far; for of course the tests are *designed* to eliminate the differences of intelligence which are directly due to schooling. But there is something else than the influence of schooling, either direct or indirect, that enters into the case; and I have seen no evidence that this has been at all adequately taken into account. The ability of a person, especially an adult, to rise to the requirements of an examination-test depends very largely on the whole character of his habits and experience, of which schooling is but one element. To a miner, or longshoreman, or ordinary day-laborer, the demand that he execute a number of tasks calling for intelligent understanding of artificial questions, *however simple*, presents a wholly different aspect from what it does to a person who has been brought up in an atmosphere of interesting conversation and alert social intercourse. He may be frightened and demoralized by a demand for the exertion of his mind which, had he been brought up in higher surroundings, he would have found pleasantly stimulating. Can we assert with any confidence that an Italian stevedore who makes a poor fist at the simple tasks set him in the "beta" tests (those designed for illiterates) would have been equally awkward if he had been adopted into a well-to-do and cultivated American family at the age of two? On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that he would have done incomparably better; and yet his "native mentality" would have been the same. Until this aspect of the question of the tests has been thoroughly inquired into—a thing which will probably require *experimental* investigation, over and above the mere piling up of statistics—all those generalizations about the relative *inherent* mentality of the various racial and national elements of our population which have given rise to such sweeping and alarmist conclusions must be held to be in the highest degree doubtful. That such differences exist there is every reason to believe; but we have as yet no trustworthy basis for their determination.

Even when all doubt as to the correctness of the results of the tests has been disposed of, there will remain questions of the most fundamental importance as to their practical bearing. Of these questions, the most obvious one concerns the relation of the mental abilities which manifest themselves in the tests to the whole of a man's psychical equipment. There are qualities of insight, tact, resourcefulness, responsiveness to human impressions, intuitive judgment of men—to say nothing of qualities of what we call "character" as distinguished from "mind"—which may be quite as important for the chief purposes of life and of citizenship as are the particular group of mental qualities which the tests are designed to measure. Before we adopt any sweeping conclusions which draw lines of fatal division between great classes of human beings, we must seriously weigh in the balance these and many other considerations, besides subjecting the question of the true significance of the tests themselves to such searching examination as has been faintly indicated above.



On Making the House Attractive

By Gardner Teall

AN attractive home invariably bears the mark of having been thought out, and is not merely the receptacle of things brought together unintelligently or by accident. No aspect of pronounced utilitarianism without the added grace of some aesthetic import will make the house attractive. A true artist once remarked that art consisted, to a great extent, in knowing what to leave out. This is equally true of the art of furnishing and decorating the home. Comfort made beautiful is the goal one should seek, neither without the other, and fortunately for our greater delight both may walk hand in hand throughout any house.

How often someone insists that the attachment felt for this object of furniture or that one makes thought of supplanting it with something more appropriate quite out of the question. We must, I suppose, concede that, but if only such "attachments" could be dedicated to the lares and penates, and offered up upon the household altar of perpetual retirement where their luster might not be dimmed by profane eyes! But since custom and sentiment will not permit such salutary wrenchings, let the glad tidings be spread of the fact that miracles can be accomplished in the way of "harmonizing" if one will take the trouble to wipe the mist from the glass, and look upon the interior prospect through the clear lens of possibilities.

Arrangement, color, form, and suitability are phases of the subject of house furnishing and decoration that ought to be given the same amount of attention by every home-maker that other considerations receive. With exceptions that explain themselves, the appearance of a house interior is an index to the owner's taste. The surprising thing revealed by house interiors is, perhaps, the numerous instances of smug complacency on the part of those who have abominable taste in furnishings, who are satisfied and at the same time unaware of their aesthetic shortcomings. I will grant you that this may have nothing to do with the state of happiness of the owner at the time, but I do insist

that the cultivation of taste brings with it added blessings that far outbalance any added sorrows. Progress demands that every human being ask himself and herself wherein personal improvement may be possible. Now it seems to me that a consideration of the appearance of the home should not be left to ignorance of such an important subject. Fortunately in these matters, one no longer needs to take the word of someone else alone, for every subject of decoration and furnishing is nowadays presented in so understandable a manner in our books and magazines devoted to home betterment, and the whys and wherefores so clearly set forth, that individual tastes and judgments may easily be developed. The unattractiveness of many homes is, I should say, something that could easily be remedied without prohibitive expense, but one cannot accomplish these things without having an interest in them.

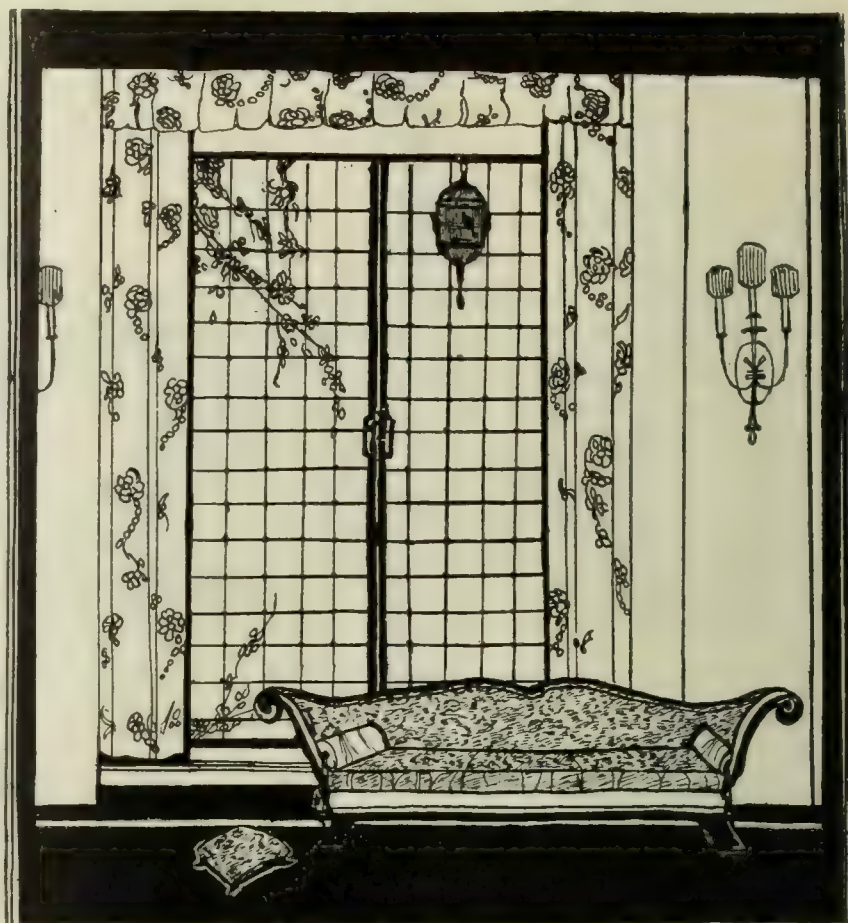
While fashions do change, there is a standard of taste in all things that lends to them permanency. It is only the things of yesterday that did not measure up to such a standard that we are still forced to reject in the scheme of things artistic of



today. In the same manner, the things of today which do not reach that standard cannot hope to find their place with the things of tomorrow's excellence. I would not, being merciful, suggest that anyone ought to court misery in a house he or she does not appreciate, or does not recognize as beautiful, no matter how perfectly that house may be furnished and decorated by someone else. There are some things to be learned before enjoyment of them can be had, and, with some, tasteful furnishing is one of these. But there can be no question that the attempt to acquire such a taste is well worth the time and the effort.

Just here it may be said that the best professional decorators of today have been doing an enormous amount of missionary work in this field of cultivating a sense of what is appropriate and harmonious in interior decoration, and if one goes to the professional interior decorator with home-furnishing problems it no longer means that one's own individuality has to be sacrificed to the decorator's scheme of things. The modern decorator has come to learn that it is a prime duty to produce a scheme of furnishing that will make the home seem lovelier and brighter to the owner, and in talking these things over with his client, the latter comes into a goodly amount of knowledge otherwise acquired perhaps with much greater difficulty. Finally, merchants the country over are keenly aware of the awakened interest in beautiful and appropriate home

furnishings and as a consequence the furniture, textile, wall-paper, and paint catalogues of today have come to be text-books-in-little, convenient primers of useful information that one may have for the asking.



Walls as Decorations and as Backgrounds

By Harold Donaldson Eberlein

WITH the ever-widening concern in the art of home adornment it is becoming clearer to the general public that walls are something more than merely the vertical sides of a room. They are, in fact, to be reckoned as one or the other of two things. They constitute in themselves a decoration—a very important and comprehensive decoration—or else they are distinctly a background and foil for the pictures and other ornaments hung upon them or the articles of furniture placed against them. They cannot be both. They *must* be either one thing or the other. In this case any attempt at a middle course is unsafe and foredoomed to failure. Having decided which they shall be, the householder ought to respect the character it is decided they shall bear.

If they are to be decorations, then one must forego the hanging of pictures or any other object that may detract from the complete fulfillment of their decorative intent. A papered wall may possess a thoroughly decorative character quite as well as a wall that is frescoed or adorned with intricately wrought stucco or plaster embellishments. The diversity of paper possibilities in this respect is very great and, what is more, the expense involved is not prohibitive for persons of moderate means.

There are many admirable reproductions of the landscape papers used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some of which are in full color while others are in several shades of gray. These are adapted either for covering the entire wall surface or for enclosing in

panels. For panel use there are also the reprints of the David papers, cartoons of classic subjects done in several shades of gray. Modern reproductions and adaptations of Chinese *motifs*; Japanese painted rice-paper; adaptations from the old English printed linens and chintzes—all these and other similar resources are among the inducements for making the decorative wall. Furthermore, pieces of printed linen or chintz, with bold bird and flower designs, are often empanelled, instead of using decorative paper for that purpose, and then shellacked to give a smooth surface that will not collect dust.

Besides keeping pictures and other ornaments off decorative walls, except, perhaps, a single large picture or mirror over the fireplace or in some similar position of architectural emphasis, try to have the wall furniture low, reserving tall pieces of wall furniture, so far as possible, for rooms where the walls are purely backgrounds. If plain panels alternate with decorative panels, however, there is more opportunity to use some tall pieces of wall furniture against the undecorated spaces.

Walls intended for backgrounds are commonly papered, painted, panelled, or surfaced with sand-finished plaster. Besides the great variety of styles that may be employed in panelling, there is also great variety in costs, ranging all the way from very considerable expense to a trifling outlay. Panelled walls may be carried out in wood, in composition, in plaster, or with decorator's canvas as a covering, the panels being

formed by applied mouldings, the whole later on being painted the desired color.

The two simplest kinds of background wall to prepare, that is from the physical point of view, are plain papered or painted walls. One should not imagine, however, that their preparation does not require careful thought beforehand. Their color demands close consideration and their relation to the floor, the ceiling, and all the movable equipment of the room must be taken into account.

As regards color, for example, one must understand that the so-called "warm" or "advancing" colors—that is colors in whose composition red or yellow predominates—have the effect of bringing the walls toward you. This causes a room to seem smaller than it really is. These colors also tend to envelope and minimize the effect of anything placed against them. Contrariwise, the so-called "cool" or "receding" colors—that is to say, colors in whose composition blue is the predominating element—have the effect of making the walls seem to stand back. Therefore, they tend to make a room appear larger than it actually is. Objects placed against such a background stand forth with clear definition. By way of illustration, a yellowish or reddish brown background will exhibit the advancing qualities just mentioned, while a bluish-gray or bluish-green background will manifest the receding qualities. The properties of receding or advancing colors vary in degree according to the extent to which the re-

gold in large quantities was quiet and unobtrusive; that gold in small quantities lent elegance and emphasis; but that gold splashed about here and there in moderate amounts and without reasoned distribution made only for vulgarity and confusion. By the use of gold, silver, or lead-foil papers it is possible to secure the quality of glow without any of the undesirable qualities of advancing colors.

A room with a northern exposure, and consequently with a cold light, can stand walls of a warmer color than can a room with a southern exposure and a warm light. The importance of considering this factor with reference to the choice of background can readily be seen.



There are certain papers with inconspicuous self-toned stripes, or with small powder patterns, that possess a neutral quality and therefore make good backgrounds. Their use may be especially recommended in informal rooms, such as bed-chambers and small sitting-rooms. Pictures and other ornaments will show to advantage against them. The stripes and powder figures convey the value of *texture* rather than of pattern.

Another important thing to bear in mind is the relation of walls to hangings and also to furniture upholstery, carpets, and rugs. In other



ceding or advancing elements enter into their composition.

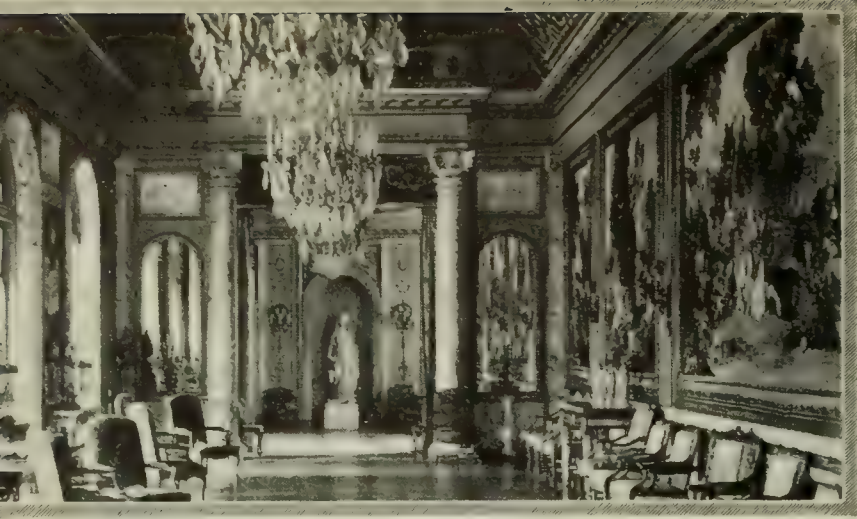
The grays are largely neutral in their value and, along with the receding colors, share the qualities of making good

words, the elements of pattern and contrast must also enter into our calculations. On the one hand, one must endeavor to avoid a tiresome monotony; on the other, confusion must be guarded against. If the floor coverings display a conspicuous pattern, the walls should be plain. If the walls are plain, then the hangings may well have pattern, although not necessarily so, as sufficient interest can be achieved by means of color contrast. Likewise, if the furniture upholstery exhibits pronounced pattern, the walls had better be plain. In short, it is obviously necessary to avoid conflicts and excess of pattern. If walls, hangings, furniture, and floor coverings all display pattern, or if any two of them have patterns plainly juxtaposed, the result is confusing to the eye and we create a kind of decorative jazz which is thoroughly uncomfortable to live with. The just balance of pattern and color must be observed if a room is to have repose, coherence, and interest.

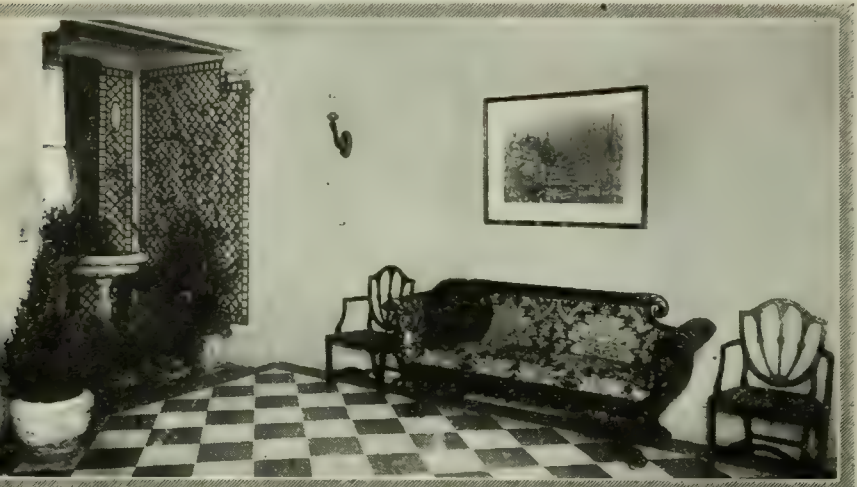


backgrounds and tending to increase the apparent size of rooms. It is well to remember, too, that, as a rule, light hues incline to accentuate size. While speaking of neutral backgrounds attention should be called to the fact that gold and silver are to be reckoned in this class. This makes it possible to use gold paper, silver paper, or lead-foil paper as wall coverings with admirable results. The mediaeval painters and illuminators well understood the value of gold as a neutral and foiling agent. They understood also that

Hints for Home Furnishing—Some Beautiful Interiors



J. Northend
A classic ball-room—painted panels and arched ceiling



J. Beals
There is a quaint charm in the elegant simplicity of this hall



J. T. Beals
This fireplace in the foyer gives a feeling of hospitality



J. T. Beals
A simple but friendly dining-room whose plate-rack gives it an old-time distinction



M. H. Northend
Brick walls and bright curtains give a sun-room effect to this comfortable sitting-room



J. T. Beals
The staircase may be made a really decorative feature



Paul Thompson
Dining-room in "Fruitland," Louisa M. Alcott's home, where Emerson, Thoreau, and other friends discussed philosophy and food. Note the beautiful old pewter and the maple chair-table which screens the kitchen door.



M. H. Northend
An ideal breakfast-room and sun-parlor combined



Underwood & Underwood
A tea-room translated from the land of tea



M. H. Northend
A somewhat severe Colonial room gains warmth and vivacity from shades of old-fashioned chintz beneath red draperies



J. T. Beals
A dining-room suggestive of dainty palates and excellent cuisine



J. T. Beals
A dining-room glorified by unique wall decorations



J. T. Beals
Excellent lighting arrangements contribute an atmosphere of comfort to this dignified living-room



J. T. Beals
The piano is a factor in imparting an atmosphere of culture to the living-room

Why Mexico Starves

By Chester T. Crowell

IF I have read history correctly, socialistic and communistic programmes generally make more or less progress in the cities and always fail miserably as soon as they reach the farm. That seems to be the record in Russia today, and most assuredly it is the record in Mexico.

Redistribution of land was part of the programme of the revolution launched by Dr. Francisco I. Madero against President Porfirio Diaz in 1911. Dr. Madero was a queer sort of person who spoke always in nebulous generalities. He continued to preach redistribution of land up to the day of his death, but he never did anything to bring it about. It was crystallized into a programme of agrarian laws by the Constitution of 1917, which was promulgated on May 1 of that year by President Venustiano Carranza. But President Carranza was kept so busy bribing or fighting bandits, splitting the Government's revenues among his numerous generals, writing notes to President Wilson, and trying to confiscate the foreign-owned oil wells in Mexico that he had no time for confiscating lands. That part of the radical programme of the 1917 Constitution did not assume great importance until Adolfo de la Huerta became Provisional President, following the assassination of President Carranza.

The State of Sonora, from which De la Huerta came and of which he had been Governor, had a very radical, retroactive, and confiscatory agrarian law. He encouraged other States to have the same—and they did. The encouragement continued under the Obregon administration and now nearly every Mexican State has an agrarian law. Since Sonora led the way, it will be informative to follow the record of that State first.

General Plutarco Elias Calles, who preceded Adolfo de la Huerta as Governor of Sonora, issued a decree, dated December 23, 1915, providing that lands should be taxed according to extent rather than value—that is to say, the rate of taxation rose rapidly as the size of the landholding increased. A number of landowners went into the courts to defend themselves against this deliberate attempt to confiscate their property. Then on May 3, 1916, General Calles issued the following decree: "The Supreme Court of the State shall cease to function until such time as the Executive of the State shall issue a new order to the contrary." After General Calles had ceased to be Governor, the Supreme Court of the State in 1919 declared this decree unconstitutional. In spite of that fact, however, the State of Durango passed a taxation law of exactly the same sort, and the State of Sonora continued to attempt to collect back taxes under the Calles taxation decree, even after it had been declared unconstitutional. The State of Sonora now has an agrarian law conforming to Article 27 of the Constitution, and under it many thousands of acres have been confiscated without any compensation whatever.

The arable land in Mexico on which crops can be raised without irrigation is not very extensive. My guess is that it comprises probably less than 10 per cent. of the area of the country. There is a great deal of fertile land which is arid but which can be irrigated, pro-

vided very extensive dams, canals, and pumping plants are installed. Under the Diaz régime, development work of this sort had been encouraged. Most of it was undertaken by American companies. They would buy the lands from private owners, obtaining perfect titles. They would then obtain concessions from the Mexican Government, usually for the free use of the water for a term of years, and, frequently, exemption from taxation for a short period. Very few of these enterprises had been completed at the close of the Diaz régime; on nearly all of them work was in progress.

On July 7, 1917, President Carranza issued a decree cancelling all such contracts between the Government and private companies or individuals. Most of these enterprises were within one hundred kilometers (62½ miles) of the border, and under the Constitution of 1917 foreigners are not permitted to acquire lands within that proscribed strip. Conditions in Mexico were so disturbed at that time, poverty so extreme, and currency of such doubtful value that the companies had no hope of selling their lands to Mexican citizens. The combination of circumstances was too strong and all such enterprises ceased activity. Since then a great many of these lands have been occupied by squatters who not only obtain legal rights to the lands they occupy, but what are known as "ejidos"—that is to say, village communal lands. Whenever fifty heads of families have squatted on privately owned lands, they constitute themselves a village under the law and may petition the Government for their communal lands, which are fifty hectares for each head of a family. This amounts to 2,500 hectares, or 6,250 acres. No compensation is provided for such lands. Agrarian bonds are provided for in Article 27 of the Constitution, for some classes of seizure, but they have never been issued and the Mexican Government defends this strange procedure by saying that the Constitution does not require that they should be issued at once. In other words, the policy of the Government is that the bonds may be issued whenever the Government sees fit. Thus far it has not seen fit. But the seizure of lands goes on and the Government maintains that this is not confiscation because some day bonds will be issued.

While there is no limit on the time for the issuance of the bonds, a limit of one year is set upon the time within which an owner may make a claim. In some parts of Mexico there has been so much disorder that owners of large tracts of land have ceased to struggle to maintain resident managers. In some instances these tracts have been settled upon to such an extent that they are virtually gone and the owner's year of grace is also gone. Hence, if the Constitution of 1917 is recognized by the United States Government, no claim can ever be made in those cases.

On July 23, 1920, Provisional President de la Huerta promulgated a decree which has the force of law, providing that lands left idle by their lawful owners might be seized by the local authorities and rented to any Mexican citizens who petitioned for them. This would be bad enough in itself, but as a matter of fact idle lands

are very seldom taken. Nearly always the cultivated lands are taken by the municipal councils and distributed to their followers. These followers then await the harvest, gather the crop, and frequently move on.

While the agrarian laws of the various States differ widely, the principle behind them, as outlined in Article 27 of the Constitution, is the same. They fix the amount of land that any private owner is allowed to hold. All land above that limit must be sold. If it is not sold within a year, the Agrarian Commission will take the entire property and sell off the excess. The owner will be compensated in agrarian bonds, *when they are issued*.

The value of the land for compensation purposes is fixed by law at its tax appraisal value. The tax appraisal value is, of course, a merely conventional or proportional value and is usually far below the real value. The honest enforcement of this law would certainly be bad enough, but the enforcement seldom conforms to either the spirit or letter of the law. In many instances properties which are not large enough to come within the terms of the law are seized.

There is no uniformity about the actions of the Agrarian Commission in any district. Spaniards are unpopular in Mexico, consequently their properties are very likely to be the first seized. American properties are usually very well managed and productive, so that they are most coveted. A Mexican landowner who has the misfortune to be unpopular with the members of the local Agrarian Commission is likely to suffer the loss of his property. In other words, the agrarian laws are merely a weapon for extortion, plunder, or revenge, and in no part of the country is their enforcement uniform or for the benefit of the landless population. Frequently when lands are given to the former tenants, the politicians or generals who superintend the operation and prepare the petitions for the illiterate tenants advance seeds and money at such usurious rates of interest that the former tenant finds himself worse off as a landowner than he was as an employee.

During the revolutionary period a great many rural properties were seriously damaged. Especially was this true of the ranches, most of which have been swept nearly bare of cattle. If the land titles were secure, the owners of these properties would undertake the work of reconstruction by mortgaging their lands to obtain money with which to buy cattle and rebuild destroyed improvements. But they cannot borrow money under present conditions.

An editorial in the newspaper *El Universal*, published in the city of Mexico, expressed this matter quite bluntly last October as follows:

The right to property has disappeared in Mexico, and no landowner considers his title valid. Land is now of no value in Mexico and there is no agricultural credit.

The banks were so frequently looted under the Carranza régime that very little in the way of banking facilities remains. But even such capital as there is available in Mexico today avoids loans on rural properties. More and more landowners cease to attempt to plant their crops or build up their herds. The general results of all this are directly reflected in the statistics of food importation. During the first ten months of 1920 Mexico imported about a million and a half bushels of corn. This was far above the normal importation, but the full effect of the agrarian laws had not yet been felt. During the first ten months of 1921 Mexico

imported more than *eleven million* bushels of corn. It is very likely that the importations this year will be as large or larger. Such an enormous importation, amounting to nearly one bushel for each inhabitant, must be financed by the Government. The Government financed the importations during 1921.

During the greater part of last year beef for the City of Mexico was shipped from El Paso and San Antonio, Texas. The trains on which it was transported crossed millions of acres of the best grazing lands on this continent. It was a tragic demonstration of the uselessness of grass and water when a cloud has been placed on land titles.

There is a very mistaken notion that Mexico is a poor man's paradise. It is precisely the opposite. The greater part of Mexico presents a very unprepossessing picture. It has no rolling prairies, inviting the homesteader, as the great prairies of our Middle West lured the pioneer half a century ago. Mexico needs vast irrigation works upon which millions must be expended by expert engineers. Mexico has enormous tracts of fine timber lands, but to reach them railroads must be built, and in some instances even ports must be opened or rivers dredged. Mexico has very rich tropical lands, but fortunes must be expended in clearing them of their tangled jungle overgrowth. Mexico has rich mines, but the bonanza period of their development ended in Spanish colonial days.

There is a certain type of sentimentalist in this country who takes it for granted that the American in Mexico exploits the unfortunate native and grows rich off his ignorance, leaving the native poorer than ever. As a matter of fact, the American in Mexico exploits nature and the native exploits the American. The illiterate aborigine, scratching a bare living from his semi-arid hillside and sharing his hut with a dozen chickens, two goats, and a pig, is not an inviting victim for even the most conscienceless exploiter. The American in Mexico goes after the wealth which the Mexican cannot see although it is under his very feet. In the prosperity which results, the Mexican shares. Where there is American enterprise in Mexico you will find the native well housed, well clothed, and well fed. There you will find at least the beginnings of sanitation. There you will find the Mexican learning how wealth is produced and used. Where no foreign enterprise exists, you find the natives scourged by epidemics, suffering recurrent famine, ignorant of the most rudimentary rules of sanitation. He presents a picture that cannot be imagined but has to be seen to be understood.

The total American investment in Mexican lands probably does not exceed fifty million dollars and less than half of those lands were actually developed. Probably 90 per cent. of Mexico's land is Mexican owned. The natural conditions, by which is meant climate, rainfall, water supply, and agricultural methods, make a large estate a normal development in Mexico's economic life. Irrigation, agricultural colleges, more railroads, more ports, and expert marketing agencies would have been the economic method to develop the small farm.

As I remarked in the first paragraph, socialistic and communistic programmes can sometimes make more or less progress in the cities, but when they lay their blighting hand upon the title to farm lands, weeds and famine result.

Judge Hooper on the Club of Nations

By Ellis Parker Butler

OUR truly admirable jurist, Justice of the Peace Lemuel Hooper, looked up from his newspaper and addressed Philemon Dodworthy, the affable president of the Riverbank Commercial Club.

"Phil," he said, "I see here that twenty-one member Governments failed to pay their League of Nations dues last year. That sounds sort of natural, Phil. How many members of this club do you suppose are posted right now?"

"Plenty, Lem; plenty," said Mr. Dodworthy, shaking his head.

"I guess so," said Judge Hooper. "Seems like the first thing a club has to buy when it starts going is a bulletin board to post delinquent members on. You might almost say a club ain't a real club until it has a bunch of delinquents posted for non-payment of one thing or another, and looking at it that way, Phil, you might almost think the League of Nations was a real club."

"Think so?" asked Mr. Dodworthy.

"Well, if it hasn't anything else," said Judge Hooper, "it has a list of delinquents, and that's something. I don't say that is much, but it shows that some of the nations think it is enough of a club to stop paying dues to."

"To my notion," the Judge continued, "one trouble with the League of Nations is that it set up to be a first-class club before there were enough first-class gentlemen nations to make a club. It looks to me as if Mr. Wilson has a good idea but mighty poor material to draw from. When it comes right down to facts, Phil, a man has to admit that a lot of those nations haven't got what you and I would call a real clubby spirit."

"I like a club where a man can drop in and sit in at a friendly poker game now and then without having to remember that six out of every ten members joined the club to get a chance to get back at him. When the members of a club get ready to spend a pleasant evening by putting six aces up one sleeve and a razor up the other I don't call those members thoroughly fitted for club companionship. When you have to build up a club with men—or nations, Phil—who will draw a gun quicker than they will shake a hand, you start wrong. When you try to mold a cozy little club and have nothing but men who are waiting for a chance to use a bowie-knife on the Chairman of the House Committee because his great-grandfather stole somebody's chickens back in 1647, you don't have a club; you have a gang, and you are liable to have the police pinch the place any minute as a rough-house."

"It looks a little as if the world was not quite ready for a Club of Nations, Phil. When a club has to have a sergeant-at-arms in the grill-room, and a cop and a fireman on each floor, to keep the members from murdering each other I don't know that I would call it a successful club."

"Sometimes, Phil, we forget that the rest of the world is not as civilized as the United States is. The States are so gentlemanly over here that we think all the foreign

States must be the same. Since that little brotherly quarrel back in the sixties, when we got rid of our bile, we've behaved with the real clubby courtesy to one another. 'I'm sorry to trouble you, old top,' Iowa may say to Nebraska, 'but that last shift of the Missouri River put Island No. 231 on my side and, if you don't mind, I'll call it mine and collect taxes on it.' 'By all means, old chap,' says Nebraska, 'do so.' 'But not unless you insist, old boy,' says Iowa. 'Oh, forget it!' says Nebraska; 'what's an island between friends? Waiter, a couple more bottles of that 1922 grape-juice, and see that it is cold.'

"But that is not the way over in Europe and Asia, Phil. The wars they have over there are not mere brotherly misunderstandings. When a nation goes to war over there it is because it has taken a fancy to its neighbor's shirt and don't care how it gets it, or it goes to war in the peevish spirit of the man who has had his shirt stolen and won't be happy until he gets it back. If there is a nation over there that hasn't stolen some of its neighbors' raiment, or had some stolen, I forget the name of it."

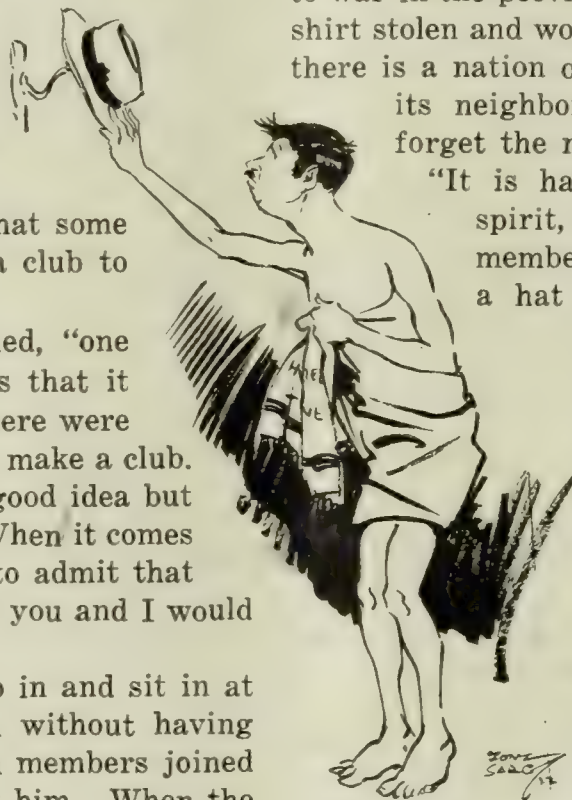
"It is hard to maintain a satisfactory club spirit, Phil, when the sole thought of every member is that now is the chance to annex a hat and coat. When all are thinking that same thought, Phil, the atmosphere of the club is far from what it should be. There is an air of suspicion prevalent that is not met in the best clubs. When a member nation drops into the club meaning to pick up a good overcoat and finds that some member has lifted his watch and his scarf-pin he is apt to be sore. Especially if he don't get the coat."

"Probably one reason a lot of nations neglected to pay their club dues last year, Phil, was because they saw no chance to slip a few islands and provinces into their pockets while the other members were playing Kelly pool in the basement."

"My idea of a mighty poor sort of club, Phil, is one where a member feels safe only when he leaves all his clothes at home and goes to the club clad only in the bath-towel that got into his suitcase that time he stayed overnight at the hotel. Somehow the air of genial confidence is missing from a club like that. When the club members are afraid to smile lest the other members steal the gold fillings out of their teeth there is apt to be an atmosphere of restraint that detracts from the bonhomie. You can see the members paying real money into the treasury of the club out of sheer camaraderie, can't you? There are times, Phil, when I think Uncle Sam may have been right in this Club of Nations business."

"In what way, Lem?" asked Mr. Dodworthy.

"In organizing the Club of Nations and then resigning before the clerk had time to make out the bill for his dues," said Judge Hooper.



What the World Is Doing

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

Domestic Affairs

We Decline the Invitation to The Hague

THE following is Secretary Hughes' reply to the note of the Powers inviting representation of our Government on the mixed commission which is to meet at The Hague in June. There is something uncanny about the sureness with which Mr. Hughes hits the Russian nail on the head. Note, too, that the Hughes attitude towards Russia is hardly to be distinguished from that of the French and Belgians. But Mr. Garvin and Mr. Sidebotham do not say the nasty things about Mr. Hughes which they permit themselves to say about Poincaré, nor do they hint that the Anglo-Saxon understanding is in peril:

This Government has carefully considered the invitation extended to it by the President of the Genoa conference, under the conditions set forth in the agreement of the inviting Powers, to join the proposed commission to meet at The Hague on June 15. This Government is most desirous to aid in every practicable way the consideration of the economic exigencies in Russia and wishes again to express the deep friendship felt by the people of the United States for the people of Russia and their keen interest in all proceedings looking to the recovery of their economic life and the return of the prosperity to which their capacities and resources entitle them.

The American people have given the most tangible evidence of their unselfish interest in the economic recuperation of Russia, and this Government would be most reluctant to abstain from any opportunity of helpfulness.

This Government, however, is unable to conclude that it can helpfully participate in the meeting at The Hague, as this would appear to be a continuance under a different nomenclature of the Genoa conference and destined to encounter the same difficulties if the attitude disclosed in the Russian memorandum of May 11 remains unchanged.

The inescapable and ultimate question would appear to be the restoration of productivity in Russia, the essential conditions of which are still to be secured and must in the nature of things be provided within Russia herself.

While this Government has believed that these conditions are reasonably clear, it has always been ready to join with the Governments extending the present invitation in arranging for an inquiry by experts into the economic situation in Russia and the necessary remedies. Such an inquiry would appropriately deal with the economic pre-requisites of that restoration of production in Russia, without which there would appear to be lacking any sound basis for credits.

It should be added that this Government is most willing to give serious attention to any proposals issuing from the Genoa conference or any later conference, but it regards the present suggestions, in apparent response to the Russian memorandum of May 11, as lacking, in view of the terms of that memorandum, in the definiteness which would make possible the concurrence of this Government in the proposed plan.

Senator Borah on Our Russian Policy

On the 15th Senator Borah offered the following resolution in the Senate:

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States favors recognition of the present Soviet Government of Russia.

There followed an interesting debate between Senator Borah and Senator Hitchcock. Senator Borah would have our Government adopt a definite Russian policy quite independently of the European Powers, and advocate that policy before the world. He declared that the Genoa Conference failed because France would not permit consideration of the German reparations problem or *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Government, and that it would not be profitable for our Government to join in the Hague negotiations unless there should be a definite pre-understanding that the subjects barred by France from the Genoa Conference should be fully discussed at The Hague. We could bring our "moral influence" to bear upon France more effectively, he thought, from outside than from within a European conference.

Senator Hitchcock held an opposite view, believing that we should join the European conferences and sway them by our "moral influence." He lamented our isolation.

It might be said to Senator Borah that our Government has a very definite Russian policy, which it is advocating before the world: a policy which bears a striking resemblance to the Russian policy of France. It is a policy diametrically opposed to the policy proposed by the Idaho Senator, except in one respect: that it is quite independent of the policies of the European Powers. Senator Borah has charged against the Russian policy of our State Department lack of just those qualities which notably distinguish it: definiteness and independence. That policy, however, is not diametrically opposed to Senator Hitchcock's views. Merely the time is not yet ripe for our Government to participate in the European conferences.

The Chicago Triumvirate

Of the eight persons indicted for the murder of two policemen in Chicago in connection with bombing outrages on the night of May 9-10, three are labor "bosses." It is not charged that these men actually committed the murders, but that they conceived the plan of bombing operations and issued general orders for its execution; whence the murder of policemen who had the temerity to offer obstruction. Investigation tends to show that these men formed a triumvirate, whose object was to terrorize the building trades' operators of Chicago, and no less to terrorize all opposition in the building trades unions to their methods: in other words, a conspiracy



Kadel & Herbert

Lord Byng unveils a statue in the Canadian Pacific Railway station at Montreal in commemoration of the 1,115 employees of the railroad who were killed in the Great War

for crime without a single generous motive; for it would seem that not only did these gentlemen levy large contributions from the workers (by threats and even violence, when any demurred) but they also "touched" the employers for handsome sums, in secret negotiations engaging, for value received, to settle or prevent strikes.

On the night of the 16th, following anonymous threatening letters to the authorities, an apartment house was destroyed by a fire started by a bomb. The occupants were warned by a man who, having given the warning, fled shouting: "To hell with the Landis award!" So the murder and arson crew are not intimidated.

An American Construction Council

It is proposed to organize the construction industry under the direction of an American Construction Council with Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, formerly Assistant Secretary of the Navy, as chairman. The plan is to be perfected and set on foot at a meeting in Washington in June, over which Mr. Hoover will preside.

It is proposed to coördinate the 250 national associations in this industry, and to establish for the industry a code of ethics. It is the second largest industry in the United States.

Something to Be Said for the Cheka

While a mighty forest fire in southern New Jersey, which had already destroyed 75,000 acres of precious trees, was being fought by hired crews and volunteers, the hired men suddenly struck, demanding an increase of pay of about 50 per cent. The strikers are mostly Russians. It is possible to become decidedly tired of these people and to feel a certain gentleness toward the Cheka.

Hospitals for Ex-Soldiers

President Harding has approved the plan drawn up by the Veterans' Bureau for construction of hospitals for ex-soldiers, as follows: one each in Northampton, Mass.; Livermore, Cal.; Camp Lewis, Wash.; vicinity of New York City; the Adirondacks; Gulfport, Miss.; the area comprising Montana, the Dakotas, and Minnesota. Altogether, twelve hospitals, to accommodate 5,000 patients suffering from tuberculosis or mental diseases, will be built from the \$17,000,000 appropriation provided by the Langley Act.

A Plan for New York and Its Environs

The labors of the Special Committee of the Sage

Foundation on a Plan of New York City and Its Environs, will be followed with great and probably increasing interest. The "metropolitan area" for which the plan is being made includes the territory in the States of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, within

fifty miles of Manhattan; an area of which the present population is about 9,000,000, and of which it is estimated the population will be at least 37,000,000 in the year 2000.

The Kentucky Derby

On Saturday, the 13th, Morvich won handily the Kentucky Derby for three-year-olds, from a fast field, at the Churchill Downs, Louisville, track; doing the mile and a quarter in 2:04 3-5. A good many thought that Morvich, though last year he won all the events in which he was entered, at distances ranging from four furlongs to a mile, would not be up to the longer distance; they will find it necessary to economize for some time, in consequence.

Buster Rech, Champion Marble Shooter of the World

On Saturday, the 13th, Charles (better known as "Buster") Rech, aged fourteen, of Jersey City, won the marble shooting championship of the world by defeating Michael Troiano of Washington, D. C., of the same age, in the presence of 3,000 spectators. The winning shot has seldom been surpassed in a championship contest in the annals of the great game. Full fifteen feet from the rest of Buster's knee was the enemy's taw. Three thousand youthful hearts stood still as, swift as the levin-bolt, sped whizzing the fatal sphere. "Click," and Troiano's hopes were sped. Such a victory in ancient Greece would have had its Pindar.

A Children's Theatre

Late this summer one of the most charming buildings in the world will be completed. The site is on Fifth Avenue, Manhattan, between 104th and 105th Streets. It is the gift of August Hecksher and will be devoted to the amusement and recreation of children. Its most attractive feature will be a Children's Theatre with 679 seats, in the management of which Mr. Belasco and other theatrical bigwigs will assist and advise; but it is proposed that so far as possible the plays shall be written by children and acted by children for audiences of children. There will be no admission charge, and it will be first come, first served, absolutely no distinction between silver and wooden spoon, the offspring of the Colonel's lady and of Judith O'Grady, white, black, and yellow. The mural decorations will veraciously set forth the persons and adventures of Cinderella, Little Red Riding Hood, Beanstalk Jack, and other worthies. Who wouldn't like to be a child in Manhattan?

Brief Items

The Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional the Federal Child Labor Law, as an usurpation of a power not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, and hence reserved to the States. It is an important decision.

* * *

The great coal strike and the textile strikes in New England continue, with no notable incidents.

* * *

Dr. Otto L. Wiedfeldt, the new German Ambassador to the United States, arrived in New York on the 13th.

* * *

This year's New York City budget contemplates an expenditure of \$350,000,000.

* * *

The Columbia University budget for the coming fiscal



George Matthew Adams Service

What Congress would like to do



Paul Thompson

The Majestic, greatest of liners, on her maiden voyage

year beginning July 1, calls for an expenditure of \$7,420,000.

The Genoa Conference

IN the last regular issue of *The Independent* the story of the Conference was brought down to include May 3. On the previous day the second set of formal proposals (without French or Belgian signature) had been sent to the Russians. The Russian formal reply was delivered to the Powers on the 11th. Meantime, the Russians talked incessantly: infinite variation on the one word "loan." A portion of the British press, of which Mr. Garvin and Mr. Sidebotham are the most striking ornaments, furiously insulted Poincaré as the arch obstructionist, and the French press accused the British of maneuvering, under color of generous non-interference with Soviet theories of property, to steal oil properties formerly owned by French nationals. Lloyd George's plan of a ten years' non-aggression compact was being discussed with a growing appreciation of the obstacles to its realization. A rather futile seven days, May 4-10.

The Russian note of the 11th is for the most part merely a piece of impudent, mendacious propaganda. But, though it withdraws all Muscovite acceptances of conditions proposed by the Allies, though under the principle of "reciprocity" it repudiates all Russian engagements, and under the principle of "nationalization" it justifies absolute confiscation, it is to be read between the lines that for a sufficient loan and for *de jure* recognition the Russians would renew their acceptances and indeed promise almost anything short of formal renunciation of their "principles." The note ends with a proposal (made at the instance of Foreign Minister Schanzer, of Italy) of a mixed committee of experts, to be named by the Conference, "to consider a solution of the difficulties outstanding between Russia and the Powers"; a solution to which is necessary "an appreciation more just" than has hitherto been in evidence "of the credits available for Russia."

It has been suggested that Signor Schanzer, an altru-

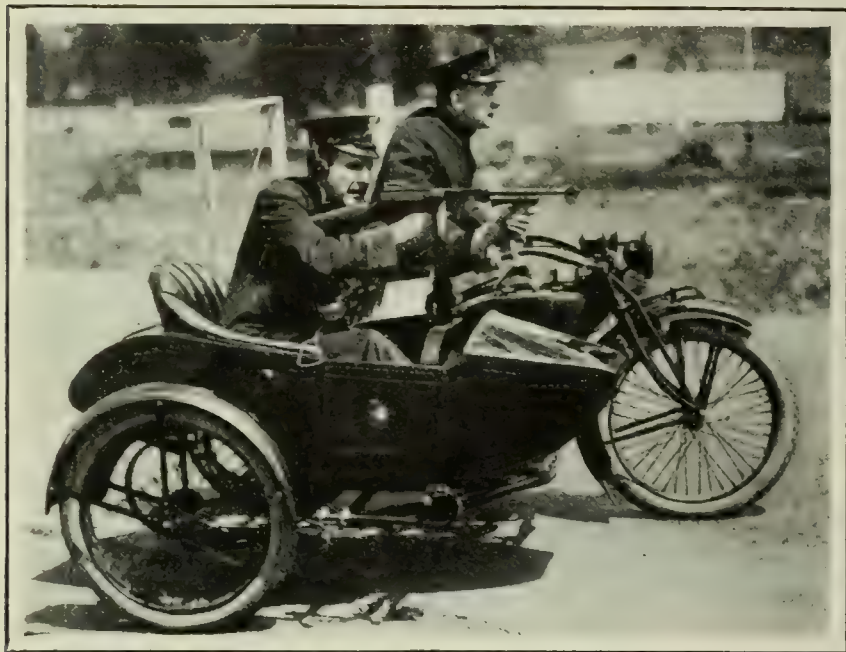
istic man, in inspiring the Russians to propose a mixed committee of experts, had chiefly in view: to give the Russians a propaganda "lead," and to save Lloyd George's face, which much needed saving. Lloyd George, at any rate, eagerly embraced the idea, which, indeed, no one could very well gainsay. Barthou, however, evidently instructed by Poincaré, objected to Russian membership on a mixed commission and thought the members should not be appointed by the Genoa Conference. A Georgian compromise was "indicated"; whence the following plan, which was adopted by the Powers (except Russia and Germany, the latter still paying the penalty of exclusion for signing the Rapallo Treaty) and communicated to the United States Government with an invitation to participate.

The Hague Plan

Representatives of the Powers, excepting Russia and Germany, but including the United States, should the latter consent to participate, to meet at The Hague on June 15 and, after a preliminary exchange of views, to choose a mixed commission of experts to meet a Russian commission of experts at The Hague on June 26. Decision of any Government or Governments, after such preliminary exchange of views, not to participate in the mixed commission, shall not prevent creation of a commission to represent the other Powers.

The mixed commission and the Russian commission, meeting together, to attempt (what was in vain attempted at Genoa) an agreement as to Russian debts, credits to Russia, and Russian property formerly owned by foreign nationals but now nationalized. The time limit for this negotiation to be September 26. Joint recommendations resulting from the negotiation to be submitted to the participating Governments. Should the negotiation fail to produce joint recommendations or should the participating Governments fail to accept joint recommendations within a month from submission of the latter, the Powers shall be free to make individual arrangements with Russia. The Powers participating in the mixed commission, on the one part, and Russia, on the other part, shall agree to observe

the boundary *status quo* and to refrain from unfriendly propaganda during the life of the commissions, and, should the latter jointly recommend, for one month thereafter. Apparently the Powers are not to pledge themselves not to make separate agreements with Russia before the issue of the new negotiation; such a pledge would imply a suspicion that German bad faith might find an imitator. But the Powers shall agree "not to recognize or support private agreements of their nationals with the Russian Government affecting property previously belonging to foreigners before conclusion of



P. & A. Photos

A new machine gun for use of motorcycle policemen. Note that the policeman in the side car has a radiophone

the work of the expert commissions or during the month following the joint recommendations, if any."

An attempt is made above to give a lucid interpretation of the summary of The Hague plan cabled to the Washington Government; a very foggy document. Nothing is said in that summary of a conference on the Genoa model to follow a successful negotiation at The Hague.

* * *

The Russians, after some demur to the substitution of two commissions for one, have (May 17) accepted the Hague plan. They have, however, persuaded the Powers to accept an important stipulation: to wit, that negotiations begun after the opening of the Genoa Conference, looking to trade agreements like that between Britain and Russia, may be continued and concluded independently of The Hague negotiation and without prejudice therefrom. Before April 10, Italy, Sweden, Japan, and Czechoslovakia were in negotiation with Russia for trade agreements.

* * *

The Genoa Conference will end with a plenary session on Friday, the 19th. The Hague plan, as summarized above, has been modified so as to make the period of the truce eight months.

Buncombe?

Mr. Lloyd George gave the following to a Yorkshire newspaper the other day:

We have reached a new phase in Western civilization. There have been wars of religion, and dynastic wars; there have been wars to secure richer supplies of raw materials with which to nourish trade and commerce. The new phase is the economic interdependence of Europe and the whole

world. No modern nation can exist by itself; it is dependent upon other nations, whether neighboring or remote.

A compact of non-aggression is fundamental to economic reconstruction. Every nation in Europe must recognize the sanctity of its neighbors' boundaries. Frontiers will then become open doors of commerce, not national barriers. Peace is the first essential.

This seems to be putting the cart before the horse. Is it or isn't it what we of these United States call "buncombe"?

The British Empire

Unhappy Ireland

THE situation in Belfast, if not throughout the Ulster area, is getting worse again.

The situation in the South is at a very acute crisis. Comment thereon had best be deferred to the next issue.

* * *

By Saturday, the 20th, all British troops will have been withdrawn from southern Ireland except some in Dublin and coast defense detachments.

* * *

Michael Collins, writing for the London *Sunday Express*, after remarking that disorders are inevitable to a period of marked transition in any country, as witness Poland and Germany, says:

We may be depended on to deal with the disorder in our midst as effectively and thoroughly as those Governments dealt with it. Our methods may be different, but the results will ultimately be equally satisfactory. Nothing has happened to prove to us that our policy is wrong and that our hopes will not be fulfilled.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Collins's philosophy will be justified in the event.

The Budget

On May 1 Sir Robert Horne, Chancellor of the Exchequer, presented to the Commons the budget for the fiscal year 1922-23. It estimates £910,775,000 of revenue, and £910,069,000 of expenditure, including £25,000,000 for contingencies. A slight income tax reduction is proposed, and important reductions in the duties on tea, coffee, and cocoa. The external debt is shown to be about £11,000,000,000. Sir Robert made the following interesting revelation. The debt to the United States, said he, was two years ago £1,301,875,000, when exchange was at \$3.30; now it is £946,820,000, with exchange at \$4.40; when exchange is back at par (which should be soon), it will be £856,030,000.

Estimated expenditures include £335,000,000 for service of the national debt, £62,300,000 for the army, and £64,884,000 for the navy.

Income taxes collected during the last fiscal year amounted to £398,000,000.

Industrial Ills

The great strike of 300,000 British shipyard workers ended several weeks ago, but about the same time a new trouble developed in the engineering industries (just after a settlement, following many weeks of negotiation, had been announced). As many as 750,000 workers were locked out. The press has been strangely silent about this latter development.

The Rand Casualties

According to an official statement on the fighting dur-

ing the recent Rand strike, the casualties were as follows:

Of the Government forces, fifty killed and 237 wounded; of the strikers' forces, 138 killed, 287 wounded; of Indians and natives, ninety-eight killed or wounded.

These figures, of course, are far below the unofficial estimates.

A Great Airship Project

A syndicate is proposing to take over from the British Government the airships which that Government is unable, under its policy of reduction, to operate, and therewith to institute a mail and passenger service between England, India, and Australia. Each ship has a capacity of 100 passengers and ten tons of mail, and a cruising speed of sixty miles an hour. The time from England to Bombay would be five and one-half days, to Rangoon seven and one-half days, to Hongkong eight and one-half days, to Australia eleven and one-half days.

Lord Grey's Views

WERE Lord Grey well, there would be fewer, far fewer, to urge that Lloyd George's services as Premier are indispensable, that another statesman competent to deal with the tremendous problems of the hour is not in sight.

The following is Lord Grey's latest political utterance:

I continue to believe that a close understanding with France and the goodwill of the United States are the only sound beginning and foundation of economic and financial reconstruction and of peace which all nations may share. Both these essential conditions have been rendered more difficult or less likely by the Genoa conference. The termination of that conference, the retracing of steps where we have been carried in the wrong direction and the pursuit of the objects which we all desire by some better and happier method, seem to be the only course that offers any prospect of relief.

As regards Ireland, the Government first demanded support for an extreme policy of repression and then for one of conciliation. Their failure with the first policy greatly impaired the prospect of success with the second. Ireland is most tragic, but it is not the only instance of violent oscillations of policy on the part of this Government. Surely the moral of it all is that the Coalition Government, rightly formed for prosecution of the war but formed and united for that purpose only, becomes a source of instability and danger when long continued in time of peace.

Hoist With Their Own Petard

IT may be said that the Germans in the matter of the Rapallo Treaty are "hoist with their own petard." The conclusion and publication of that treaty made impossible that elegant little plan of Hugo Stinnes: to wit, that the Allies should give the Germans an economic mandate for exploitation of Russia. There was really, it seemed, a chance that France, in her desperate financial necessity, might be "hornswoggled" into acceptance of this scheme, which promised payment of German reparations out of profits from exploitation of Russia. Instead of the proposed mandate, the Germans have their precious Rapallo Treaty, which amounts to little more than an open profession, stupidly made in pique, of Germany's ambition of economic supremacy over Russia.

The above is one way, a plausible way, of interpreting a singular affair.

The Latest from China

AN Associated Press report of May 13 states that Chang Tso-lin has declared the independence of Manchuria and Mongolia (with, apparently, the northern part of Chi-li Province). On that date he was in the vicinity of Kai-ping, awaiting an expected attack by a detachment of Wu Pei-fu's forces. American troops guard the railroad in the Kai-ping district, where the British have important mining interests.

* * *

A *Chicago Tribune* dispatch of the 14th states that, yielding to British arguments and an ultimatum from Wu Pei-fu, Chang Tso-lin has decided to retire from Chi-li Province. An *Associated Press* report states that Chang has 45,000 troops. If this be true, either his disaster in the battle south of Peking was not as great as reports gave out, or he has been heavily reinforced from Manchuria. A report from London states that Sun Yat-sen is marching north with an army little better than a rabble. The dispatches rather confuse than inform us as to both military and political developments.

Sundry Matters

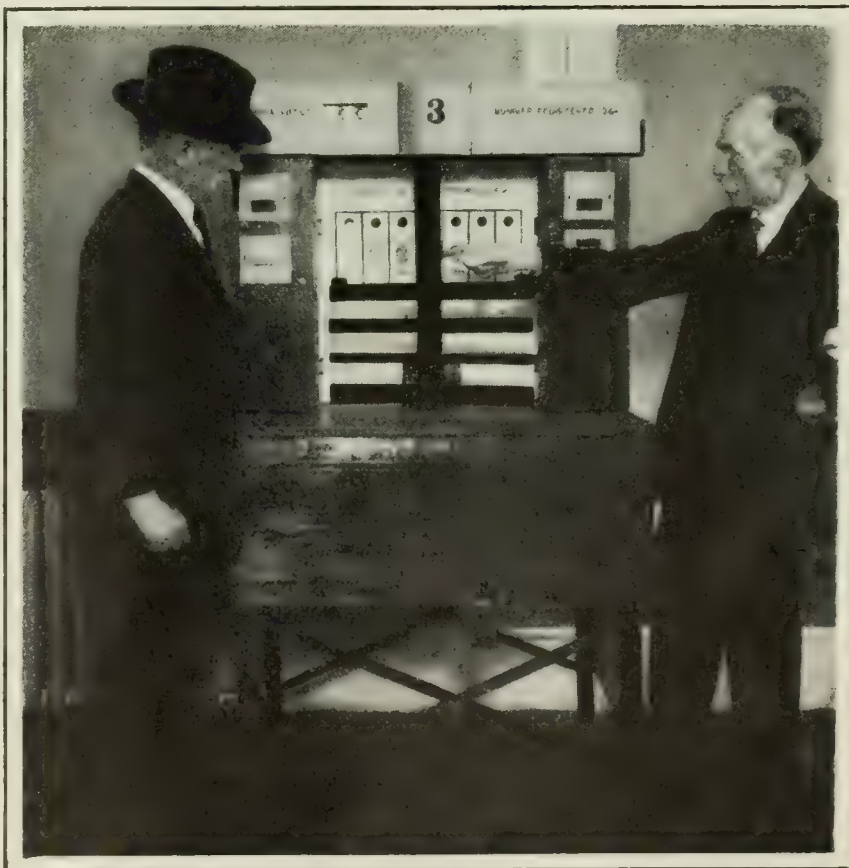
PLENIPOTENTIARIES of Chile and Peru met in conference with a view to settlement of the long-standing Tacna-Arica dispute, at Washington, on the 15th. The conference was formally opened by Secretary Hughes with an address of welcome.

* * *

It is reported that the Kaiser has fallen into a religious mania—devoting almost his entire time to reading the Bible, commentaries thereon, sermons, and other religious works. Politics no longer interest him. Too late, your Majesty, too late!

* * *

The total number of unemployed in Italy on March 1 is reported as 576,284—a remarkable improvement within recent months.



P. & A. Photos

The much talked of new voting machine

New Books and Old

Books of the Week

THE SECRET PLACES OF THE HEART,
by H. G. Wells. Macmillan.
A novel.

THE FIRST PERSON SINGULAR, by
William Rose Benét. Doran.

A novel about New York and a
town not far away.

MR. PUNCH'S HISTORY OF MODERN
ENGLAND, by Charles L. Graves.
Stokes.

The last two volumes of the four-
volume set. These cover the years
1874-1892 and 1892-1914.

THE GREAT ADVENTURE AT WASH-
INGTON, by Mark Sullivan.
Doubleday.

The story of the conference on
limitation of armaments, told by
one of the most intelligent of our
journalists.

WILD FOLK, by Samuel Scoville,
Jr. Atlantic Monthly Press.

Chapters on raccoons, bears,
chipmunks, and other interesting
people. Illustrations by Charles
Livingston Bull and Carton Moore-
park.

IN Mr. Samuel Scoville's book on
"Wild Folk" (Atlantic Monthly
Press) there is an amusing chapter
upon the skunk, in which one of the
incidents concerns a contest between
two skunks for a partridge killed by
one of them. The fight, says Mr. Sco-
ville (and it sounds reasonable) is con-
ducted, in such a case, solely by tooth
and claw. The gas attack, the charac-
teristic weapon, is absolutely forbidden
between skunks. The author suggests
that they must have had a Geneva Con-
vention and agreed to discontinue its
use among friends.

The author often writes with tender
feeling—perhaps with some sentiment
—about his animals, but he does not
hesitate to show Nature, ruthless and
cruel. The chapter about the chip-
munks is an example; only the excep-
tionally brave and astute escape the
death which threatens from so many
sides. The raccoon chapter is especially
good, but the most amusing of all is
the story of the ducks.

At last we have "A Manual of the
Short Story Art" (Macmillan). The
author is Glenn Clark. At the end he
names the "Thirty-six original plot sit-
uations." This recalls Kipling's say-
ing that there are only thirty-two (?)
good stories in the world, and that
twenty-nine of these cannot be told to
ladies.

An attractive small book, with some
excellent verse, is "Poems from Punch,
1909-1920" (Macmillan), with intro-
duction by W. Drayton Henderson.

In some of his best writing—his re-
ports of events of international impor-
tance—the late Richard Harding Davis
maintained a sort of boyish viewpoint,

a frame of mind which included Ameri-
can humor and another American
quality, sometimes called irreverence.
Often as not, it is really something
quite different from irreverence—a
refusal to kow-tow to musty cus-
toms and formulae, simply because
they are old and stuffy. The same
excellent style is to be found in Mark
Sullivan's "The Great Adventure at
Washington" (Doubleday) Mr. Sulli-
van has as genuine an admiration, as
keen an enthusiasm as anybody for all
that is useful in diplomatic procedure.
His praise is never faint for the really
great achievement of the conference.
But he can write about it without be-
coming either tearful or heavy. His
book is so readable that although I had
seen some sections of it before, and
had other work waiting me, I found
that merely "looking it over" was im-
possible, and I had to read it through
to the end.

I tried to read "Introducing Irony"
(Boni & Liveright), by Maxwell Boden-
heim, but finally gave it up and turned
to the founder of this school of poetry,
who wrote as long ago as 1895, and
whose works I read ever and again with
delight, when his disciples tire me. Why
listen to the tributary rills, when you
can go right to the source? Here are
two of his best:

DISENCHANTMENT

My love has sicklied unto Loath,
And foul seems all that fair I fancied—
The lily's sheen's a leprous growth,
The very buttercups are rancid.

STANZA WRITTEN IN DEPRESSION NEAR DULWICH

The lark soars up in the air;
The toad sits tight in his hole;
And I would I were certain which of the
pair
Were the truer type of my soul!

Neat little books about London, with
pleasant illustrations, are always tak-
ing and desirable. Such is E. Monti-
zambert's "Unnoticed London" (Dut-
ton) a sort of readable guide to less
known parts of the city.

One of that stream of mildly inter-
esting books of literary comment which
American publishers are bringing over
from England is A. R. Orage's "Read-
ers and Writers (1917-1921)" (Knopf).
Mr. Orage wrote in the *New Age*.
Here, indeed, is some brilliant common-
sense from a page or two about "The
Fashion of Anti-Puritanism"—"The
anti-Puritanism of the professed anti-
Puritans is very little, if any, better
than the Puritanism they oppose. The
two parties divide the honors of our
dislike fairly evenly between them.
Puritanism is a fanatical devotion to
a single aspect of virtue—namely, to
morality. . . . Anti-Puritanism, on the
other hand, denies all the affirmations
of Puritanism, but without affirming
anything on its own account."

Another, a far more ambitious and
extensive book of literary criticism, is
"Friday Nights" (Knopf), by Edward

Garnett. Mr. Garnett, who is already
known in this country for his papers
in the *Atlantic Monthly* and elsewhere,
writes upon W. H. Hudson, upon Jo-
seph Conrad, upon D. H. Lawrence, and
upon other writers, Russian and Eng-
lish. His comments upon American
writers, Sarah Orne Jewett, Stephen
Crane, Robert Frost, for examples, and
his sympathetic treatment of younger
writers with modern tendencies, are
especially notable features of the book.
About half the volume is devoted to
American authors.

Allow me to suggest, if you are in-
terested in your health, that you look
at a book called "Invisible Exercise"
(Dutton), by Gerald Stanley Lee. (If
you have first read a book called, I
think, "Outwitting Your Nerves" by
two doctors, whose names I do not re-
call. They wrote an extremely sensible
book.) But Mr. Lee's new book is origi-
nal, amusing, and well, try it, and
see if there are some good suggestions
in it.

And I saw a new heaven, said St.
John, for the first heaven had passed
away. The director of the Mount Wil-
son Observatory, George Ellery Hale,
has seen "The New Heavens" (Scrib-
ners) and describes them in a well
illustrated little book of that title. He
writes of the recent discoveries of as-
tronomy, with especial reference to the
measurement of the giant stars.

Mr. Henry C. Fuller is decidedly con-
vinced of the value of drugs. He has a
good word for nearly all of them, in
his book "The Story of Drugs" (Cen-
tury) and under certain restrictions he
would like to see everybody taking
plenty of them—or I misinterpret his
meaning. He is even kindly about
paint, powder, and rouge, and our daily
life, as Mr. Fuller would have it, would
begin in the morning with some in-
genious and medicated tooth-paste, and
end at night with some health-giving
pellet or other. Perhaps his accounts
of the origin and manufacture of drugs
are the most interesting part of a book
which is remarkable for its informa-
tion.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

A new edition has appeared of David
Bispham's autobiography "A Quaker
Singer's Recollections" (Macmillan,
\$2.50).

The life of one of the greatest of
American engineers is told in Henry
G. Prout's "A Life of George West-
inghouse" (Scribner).

Two teachers of psychology in the
University of Washington have collab-
orated in "General Psychology in
Terms of Behavior" (Appleton) by
Stevenson Smith and Edwin R.
Guthrie.

A study of community recreation,
and of the school and city playground,
is given in "The Play Movement in
the United States" (University of Chi-
cago Press) by Clarence E. Rainwater.

Book Reviews Some British Seekers

AARON'S ROD. By D. H. Lawrence. New York: Thomas Seltzer.

THE COMBINED MAZE. By May Sinclair. New York: The Macmillan Company.

SEARCH. By Margaret Rivers Larminie. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

THE DARK HOUSE. By I. A. R. Wylie. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company.

HEPPLESTALL'S. By Harold Brighthouse. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company.

"I'm rather sick of seekers" [says Lilly, that shrilly choral figure in "Aaron's Rod"]. "I hate a seeker."

"What," said Aaron rather sarcastically—"those who are looking for a new religion?"

"Religion—and love—and all that. It's a disease now."

"Oh, I don't know," said Aaron. "Perhaps the lack of love and religion is the disease."

"Ah, bah! The grinding the old millstones of love and God is what ails us, when there's no more grist between the stones. We've ground love very small. Time to forget it. Forget the very words religion, and God, and love—then have a shot at a new mode. But the very words rivet us down and don't let us move. Rivets, and we can't get them out."

"And where should we be if we could?" said Aaron.

"We might begin to be ourselves, anyhow."

"And what does that mean?" said Aaron. "Being yourself—what does it mean?"

"To me, everything."

"And to most folks, nothing. They've got to have a goal."

"There is no goal. I loathe goals more than any other impertinence. Goals they are . . . Bah!—jails and jailers, gaols and gaolers—"

WE may take this as a fair though uncommonly articulate sample of what Miss Lowell has called the "terrible and pathetic questioning of D. H. Lawrence." Pathetic certainly, but always short of the tragic terror. O for the faith of a publisher! Mr. Lawrence's American sponsor boldly names him "the greatest writer living," and cites without quoting the greatest living authorities, namely, Arnold Bennett, May Sinclair, W. L. George, Sherwood Anderson, Amy Lowell, John Macy, "and many others." It is pleasant to realize that there are so many "foremost English and American authors and critics." But we wish they might unite in awarding the supreme crown to one who is perceptibly, for the reader of ordinary intelligence, among the creative writers of our time. As I said some time since (in connection with an earlier story of D. H. Lawrence's, "The Lost Girl"), to be distressing and pathetic is not a sufficient proof of creative genius. Nor has the cult of psychoanalysis, in which Mr. Lawrence is an acknowledged adept, as yet shown itself a living matrix of imaginative art. I have to confess that for me "Aaron's Rod," like "The Lost Girl," sums itself up as a piece of elaborate piffle. It matters little whether one calls Aaron's progress a

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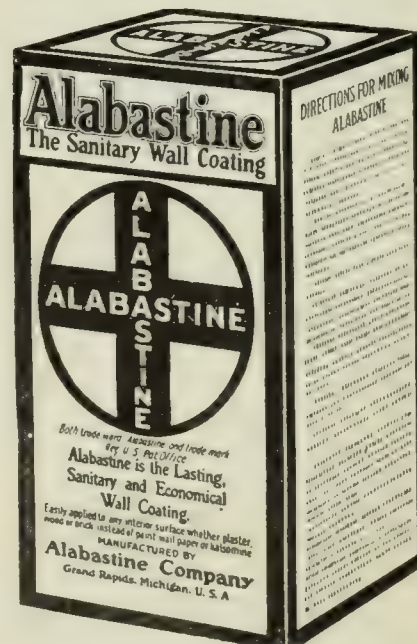
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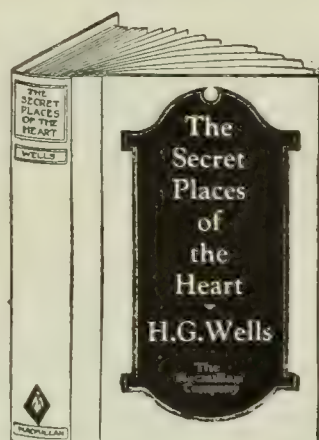
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questioning or a quest, whether Aaron thinks in terms of ideals and goals or of "love-urges" and "life-modes." His is and remains the pathetic figure of the nosing puppy—fit symbol, if you like, of an aimless and ownerless generation. At the end, to be sure, the everlasting Lilly adjures Aaron that the way to conquer is by a sort of knuckling under. The "love-urge" is played out, but there remains "obedience" to the incalculable power-urge. This "life-submission," so far as we can make it out, amounts to something surprisingly like Carlyle's doctrine of hero-worship. We leave Aaron (still puppy-like) trying to swallow this, and not making a good job of it. It hasn't a free taste, somehow! . . . So we come to the familiar question, What is it all about, this long narrative, beyond the random utterance of the writer's "modernism"—his eager disclaimers of past wisdom, and his attempts, at once feeble and sprightly, to knock up a nice new world for us on the spur of the moment?

It is remarkable that among the other British novels on the present list there is no other example of the consciously modern kind of thing. "The Combined Maze," to be sure, is a re-issue of a book first published in remote 1913; but "The Dark House" and "Intrusion" and "Search," novels of the hour, are in much the same tone and key. They are stories of personal quest, of adventure towards happiness or success or self-expression or (save the mark!) righteousness. And, as here handled, all these matters are more or less identified with love at its highest. As much as ever, it would seem, fiction is preoccupied with the dream of the perfect mating. Mr. Lawrence's Aaron fails to discover his true mate. Therefore his rod is broken, the Gleam of his pursuit vanishes, and his sole new hope lies in the new quest for an object of his "life-submission." A sad Nietzschean will-o'-wisp it seems—but better than nothing, no doubt.

Miss Sinclair is always romantic. Her occasional bursts of realism, or even of naturalism, are simply tense protests against life's failure to measure up to her dream of it. In "The Combined Maze," she uses that school-bred manner of the Wellsians which gives so odd a uniformity to the work of the "younger" if not "youngest" British novel. She is brisk, detached, confidential, talkative, vivid, in the proper proportions. And her story is of those cockney lower middle classes who have been so minutely set forth in the fiction of our time. The Ransomes of "The Combined Maze" are near kin to the Ponderevos of "Tono-Bungay." Fullemore Ransome is even, like Ponderevo, a chemist; and just as Ponderevo is known by his family as "the old Porpoise," and so on, so Ransome senior is known by his as "the old Porcupine" and so on. Compare a page of "The Combined Maze" with a page of "Tono-Bungay" for style alone, and you can't tell one from t'other. But while Wells is largely interested in his Ponderevo circle as chips on the lively

if murky stream of human progress, Miss Sinclair studies her Ransomes for their own sake. More specifically, this is a study of young Ransome, "Ranny," and his loves: of how he chooses the wrong girl and, with everything proved against her, turns his back on the prospect of a real and possible union with the right girl for a purely sentimental consideration. Un-Wellsian enough, this!

Indeed, the ancient motive of sacrifice, violently as it has been attacked of late, is by no means dead, either in the play or in the novel. "Search," a thoughtful and skilfully written story of romance in modern life, is deliberately based upon it. Its three Parts are headed, respectively, "Adventure—'What I spent, I had. . .'; "Marriage: 'What I saved, I lost. . .'; and "Possession: 'What I gave, I have.'" These people of the tale are of the upper middle class, linked to the lower by Jim Stonehouse's mother. The Stonehouses have her and their success in "trade" to contend with in the matter of their relations to the best people of exclusive little Cranstoun. Jim Stonehouse has his Oxford, but as a prelude to absorption in "the Firm." Later on, he is well enough reconciled to the blasting of his hopes of a polite profession like the Bar. The Firm is not so bad. For one thing, it early places him in a solid position for marriage. The maidens of Cranstoun are pretty much at his disposition; except one, and to this maiden, because she is not thrown at him, he presently aspires. So comes about his unhappy marriage. She is one of your fair, cold, and unsympathetic female egoists, like the she in "If Winter Comes." The tale is of their uncomfortable relations, and of the real mating for poor Jim that might have been and cannot be. It is in his eventual acceptance of fate's irony that he learns the meaning of "possession." His unloved wife has just died suddenly, at the very moment when marriage places the loved maiden beyond the attainment of his physical reach—for aught he knows, forever. But with the realization that in the now lost maiden he has found at least his potential mate, he finds peace. "I believe this," he breathes, "that greatly to desire anything, to find that it exists, is better than all the possessing . . . All my life I've wanted what in your heart you've given me. So my desire lives. . . I have you safe and can't ever lose you. Dear love, that is possession."

A sentimental conclusion here which, if improbable for a Wells, is unimaginable for a Lawrence, or a Cannan or a Mackenzie. "The Dark House," also, is a novel of romantic faith and achievement. The prison from which the central figure struggles unconsciously to win out is the "dark house" of his own pride and selfish ambition. And in the face of his long failure, he perceives at last the mockery of his material success. So, humbled and made worthy, he comes to the mate who might have been his long since, but for his hard heart. "I think I've lived



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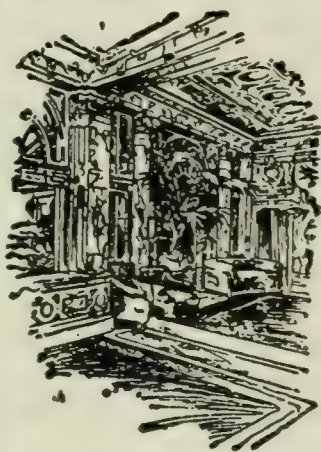
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in that dark house all my life," he said, "and I've gone about in it, blustering and swaggering and being hard and strong because I was so desperately afraid—of life, of caring too much, of failing. And now—I've come out." Well, as we used to say, there's a good moral to this, the timeless moral of the "Ancient Mariner" and how many fables before that? And why, we may still wonder, is it any sillier to believe in goodness than to believe in the general cussedness of nature and human nature?

The three novels at which we have just glanced are primarily stories about men, written by women from, one may say, the maternal point of view. "Hepplestall's," the work of a man, is a book of not dissimilar mood, or effect. It differs in scope and method, since the narrative covers the passage of several generations, and the action concerns the Hepplestalls not only as persons, but as a dynasty founded upon a wrong which is to be romantically set right, in the end, by a kindly form of poetic justice. Hepplestall's is a great cotton-manufacturing concern in the north of England, founded in the eighteenth century, and handed down from generation to generation as a stern trust. Mingled with its ruthless treatment of labor is a real sense of responsibility, of service. The eighteenth century Reuben Hepplestall, a gentleman of "county" standing, has chosen to move with, instead of opposing, the trend of the North from land to cotton. One by one his descendants, not without groaning, have shouldered the burden. Hepplestall's becomes not only a business, but a sort of cult. Meanwhile the offspring of the Bradshaw who has been the first victim of Hepplestall morals and methods, have become the wastrels and malcontents of "Staithley." So we come to our own time, and a young Rupert whose rebellion against the tyranny of Hepplestall's is ripe when the war breaks, and a young Mary Ellen Bradshaw who is to be his salvation as a man and a Hepplestall.

The last four novels in this group are all well-thought out and thoughtfully written tales of their kind. There is nothing "great" about any of them, any more than there is about "Aaron's Rod"; and if one is destined to be acceptably mediocre I don't know why the rôle of sentimentalist is not as good as the rôle of sub-Wellsian, or near-Nietzschean, or from-Freudian. I am not sure that the author of "Aaron's Rod" is anything better than a sentimental pervert.

H. W. BOYNTON

An attack on abuses by the power of money is contained in Ex-Senator R. F. Pettigrew's "Triumphant Plutocracy" (Academy Press), which is "the story of American public life from 1870 to 1920."

A sequel to his celebrated work "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," by John Maynard Keynes, appears in "A Revision of the Treaty" (Harcourt).

Herr Rathenau's Own Utopia

THE NEW SOCIETY. By Walter Rathenau. Authorized translation by Arthur Windham. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

THE part that Rathenau has been playing in Berlin and at Genoa gives a factitious importance to his plans and specifications for a new world order. This is fortunate in a way, because his book has a certain intrinsic importance. It is a devastating criticism of all the socialisms, orthodox and heterodox, except Rathenau's, and it naively shows us that Rathenau's is as utopian as the others.

Of course Germany only, as Rathenau sees things, can try out the Rathenau ideas, because Germany is the only country, still politically intact, that has been left by the great war so poor that its civilization will have to be built up again from the foundations. It is possible, our statesman-author thinks, that the clash of labor groups in Germany may bring about state socialism there before the will to create *die neue Gesellschaft* is strong enough to accomplish its great purpose, and Rathenau is ready to try out even so dire a thing as the socialistic programme which he pictures to us, if that should prove to be the only way to the alternative which he offers.

The greater part of the book is a forecast not only of what state socialism in Germany, but also that which the author calls full socialism, would be like. It is an exposition of the promised land of the socialist agitator so complete that one finds it hard to imagine how that deliverer of meaningless phrases can go on recruiting followers. "There is almost nothing in the talk of these exhorters from which to construct the utopias that their hearers are urged to bring about, except the vague idea of a land in which there will be no rich people, therefore a land in which no one will be poor," for Rathenau contends that "in the land where there are no more rich there will be *only* poor, only very poor people," and he proceeds to show us what this impoverishment on the grand scale would mean.

We are introduced to a Germany in which all things of common use are standardized into typical forms, mainly imitations of foreign models turned out as cheaply as possible. No outlay for culture, for beauty, for invigoration will be possible, but there will be frivolities and substitutes and "swindles," for luxury in its better aspects will have gone to ruin more quickly than the bad in a proletarianized community. Any one man's opinion and decision will be counted as good as another's. Everyone will vote, whether it be for an office, a memorial, a law, or a drama. Everything will be referred to one's own conscience, one's own intelligence, one's own taste, and no one will admit any innate or acquired superiority in others. "Only by popularity hunting can anything come to

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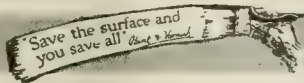
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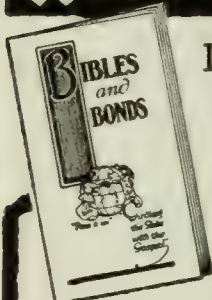


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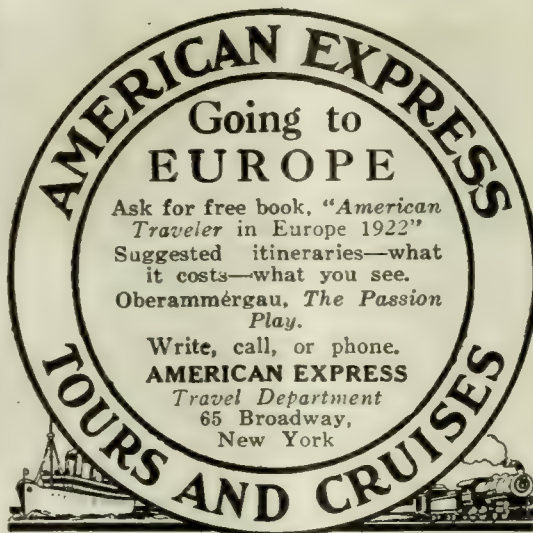


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life." A work of art "must compete for votes." As in the latter days of Greece, rhetoric and dialectic will be the most powerful of the arts.

This complete socialization will have been the result of a continuous revolution. For behind every revolution stands another, representing one more negation than its predecessor. The fiercest hatred will prevail among those who are most closely associated—for instance, between handworkers and brainworkers, between leaders and followers, and this hate will be all the more inappeasable when it is open to everyone to rise in the world, and none can cherish the excuse that he is the victim of a social system of overwhelming power.

To avert all this, something of unprecedented greatness can and must take place. This something (for which the German spirit alone is adequate) is nothing less than the "interchange of labor." The notion that mechanical work will be made acceptable and reconciled with intellectual work, if only it is short enough and properly paid, has never been thought out, he tells us. "Mechanical work is an evil in itself, and it is one which we never can get rid of by any conceivable economic or social tradition."

By the principle of the "interchange of labor," which is advocated, it is required that every employee engaged in mechanical work can claim to do a portion of his day's work in intellectual employment, and that every brainworker shall be obliged to devote a portion of his day to physical labor. The essence of the interchange of labor will, therefore, consist in this, that, while the distinction between physical and intellectual work will still exist, there will be no distinction between a physical and an intellectual calling. Until advanced age may forbid, it will be open to every man not merely to acquire some ornamental branches of knowledge, but seriously to take his footing in the opposite calling to his own. In this way the manual worker will no longer regard the territory of culture as a sort of inaccessible island, but rather as a district which he can visit every day and in which he will then be quite at home. He will continually have intercourse with men of culture. . . . the habits of thought, the methods, and the range of intellectual work which are now the privilege of the few will be his own, and the two-fold language of the country, the language of conceptions and the language of things, will be for him one.

Rathenau's plea to his countrymen to put an end to all thought of a democracy that can be in league with capitalism, and to stand for a solidarity based on no hereditary monopolies, either of capitalism or of cultivation, is characteristically German. He believes that "the Faust soul," "the wanderer," "the brooder," "the seeker," will make something out of it all that German idealism alone is capable of doing. The ideal thus to be sought is not one of knowledge or education, though both enter into it; it is to be an

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ideal of will. We are assured that the new society to be willed into existence would not ignore the fact that "human inequality can never be abolished," that "human accomplishment and work will always vary," and that "the human passion for success will always assert itself," yet "the old grades of human being" must be done away with. Nevertheless, we know that here the author is inveighing only against hereditary rank and German class distinctions in general. The part played by heredity in the attainment of any culture worthy of the name is never actually taken into account. There is no reference to any scientific attempt to understand the operations involved in ability for "service and responsibility." Nowhere does Rathenau bring into his discussion the results of the investigation of human behavior as conditioned by mechanism and heredity.

In brief, Rathenau pictures a social-democracy from which we shrink in dismay. He stirs us with the earnestness of his appeal for a nobler ideal. As we read his book we realize that we are not the same people that we were when, in the beginning of our national life, we willed that these United States of America should stand for a great ideal of human endeavor. On the other hand, we discover that the appeal to sentiment is no longer our chief reliance. If crowd-mindedness is still our greatest menace, there are happily too many grades of intelligence among us for any one panacea to be taken too seriously. The all-or-nothing people are, fortunately, much divided over the ills we should not allow to exist. And to the thoughtful among us, the principle that the office or responsibility will make the man is about the most thoroughly discredited of human expectations. The notion of a system of near-brainworkers and of self-imposed mechanical occupations, as a substitute for the egalitarian principle either of the democratic or of the socialistic program, is a *reductio ad absurdum*.

M. V. GADEN

George H. Green's "Psychoanalysis in the Classroom" (Putnam) is introduced by Professor McDougall of Harvard.

A biography of Mme. Roland's early life has been written by Evangeline Wilbour Blashfield in "Manon Philipon Roland" (Scribner, \$3.50).

Melville Best Anderson's version of "The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri" (World Book Co., \$20) is a "line-for-line translation in the rime form of the original."

An important work on Greenland, handsomely illustrated, is Knud Rasmussen's "Greenland by the Polar Sea" (Stokes, \$12.00). The translation from the Danish has been made by Asta and Rowland Kenney, while Sir Lewis Beaumont contributes a preface. The work relates the story of the Thule Expedition from Melville Bay to Cape Morris Jessup, and is illustrated in black and white, and with color plates.



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The Bankers Say—

A VARIETY of salient aspects of the present outlook engage the attention of the bankers in their early Springtime discussions of the course of business events. Strikes are the subject of frequent comment. The importance of foreign affairs in domestic business is emphasized. The building movement is analyzed. The thriftiness of the American public and its general attitude of holding off for better prices is noted and commended, although it is recognized that this produces a certain restraint in trade activities. The resulting lack of a large volume of forward orders tends to induce pessimism in some quarters but the bankers deprecate this as not being warranted by notably improving basic conditions.

In an analysis of home building costs, the *Chemical National Bank of New York* shows that houses costing about \$5,500 to build in 1914, rose to a cost of approximately \$12,800 in the peak year 1920, and are now down to \$9,500. Of the building movement the bank says: "Present tendencies indicate that the demand for new residential and public buildings will continue and will be augmented by a slowly mounting demand for new business and industrial buildings. The need for the latter is not urgent, but slowly reviving business will call for an increase in existing equipment. It is not impossible that building costs may decline further, but highly improbable that pronounced declines are in front of us. Given the existing conditions, one may look for steady activity in the building trades, at price levels not materially different from those existing today."

As to strikes, the *New York Trust Company* presents the following informative analysis of the New England strike situation: "The strike in Rhode Island was called when the manufacturers announced an intention to put into effect a 20 per cent. wage decrease. This decrease would have left wages 70 per cent. above the prewar level, and, what is more important still, 20 per cent. above the wages paid in Southern mills with which the New England mills compete. Coupled with the demand for retention of the present wage scale is a demand for a 48-hour working week. The cotton mills of New England are already operated on an average of 11 hours less per week than mills in Southern States, and in this industry it must be considered that the number of hours during which automatic machinery is operated is the sole factor determining the quantity of production. The handicaps under which the New England cotton mill industry exists are plainly evident from these facts. The natural disadvantages of New England as a location for cotton mills have been evidenced by the fact that in the past twenty years the number of spindles in the South has increased from 5,500,000 to 16,000,000 or 90 per cent. while in the same period the number of spindles in the North has increased from 14,700,000 to 20,775,000, or only 41 per cent."

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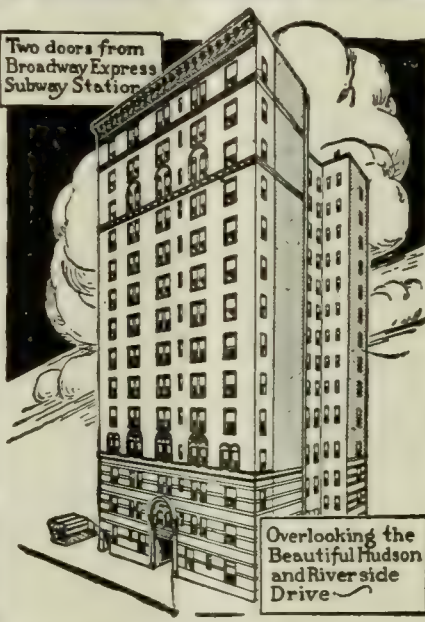
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THE Independent and the Weekly Review invites inquiries from its readers pertaining to travel for pleasure, health or business; the best hotels, large and small; the best routes to reach them, and the cost; trips by land and sea, European tours, etc. This department is under the supervision of an expert who has personally made many of the trips she recommends, and is able to speak from intimate knowledge of transportation lines, hotels, resorts, etc. Reservations will be made for you and tickets purchased if you desire.

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DIVIDENDS

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The regular quarterly dividend of Two Dollars and twenty-five cents per share will be paid on Saturday, July 15th, 1922, to stockholders of record at the close of business on Tuesday, June 20, 1922.

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DIVIDEND 106

A regular quarterly dividend of 2 1/2 per cent on the capital stock of the Mergenthaler Linotype Company will be paid on June 30, 1922, to the stockholders of record as they appear at the close of business on June 3, 1922. The Transfer Books will not be closed.

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A general theory regarding industrial wars is thus expounded by the *American Exchange National Bank of New York*: "The problems raised are not alone of the most expedient methods for solution, but also of the extent to which society is justified in going in the abridgment of political and civil rights of the individual for the purpose of protecting itself against disorganization and undue interference with orderly pursuits. This phase of the subject brings the two opposing principles of the rights of the individual and the rights of society as a whole directly into conflict. In its finality, there is no question, so far as this country is concerned, about the superiority of the right of society to impose its will upon the individual in matters which cannot be reconciled and which involve the fundamentals of its welfare. The extreme of individual rights means anarchy, and the extreme of State rights means Socialism or Prussianism. The political organization under which we live is a rough, if not well defined, compromise between the opposing principles of anarchy and Socialism, with a leaning toward the fullest freedom for the individual."

The virtues of thrift are thus set forth by *S. W. Straus and Company*, investment bankers: "Thrift, on the one hand, means thoughtful saving. On the other, it means prudent spending. If we are merely to save money and cut our expenditures for necessary articles to the point where the wheels of business are stopped, where does our profit lie? Thrift means thriving, and the miser does not thrive. We must progress and move forward. To move forward, we must coöperate with each other. We must make necessary and legitimate purchases of goods from one another. We cannot progress and move forward unless there is intelligent spending as well as intelligent saving. The dollar hoarded is just as much an economic evil as the man that is idle. The dollar that is wasted extravagantly is an equally guilty dollar."

J. S. Bache and Company, investment bankers, New York, say in regard to foreign affairs: "In a country like the United States with a diversified population interested largely in local conditions, it is difficult to get a widespread appreciation of important international conditions and relations. To say and believe that our own future is inextricably linked with that of Europe is not only to speak the truth, but to express the well-grounded opinion of the very great majority of thinking people. But this body of people is only a small part of the millions who give hardly superficial attention to such subjects. And yet these millions must be more or less educated up to the facts before we can get at least legislative approval and action, because these millions control the votes. The opinion, however, of the majority of thinking people controls the final course, even of legislative events. It is matter of education which, however, it may be said to the credit of the American people, often comes quickly."

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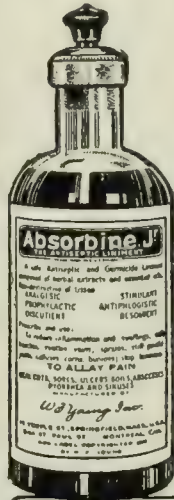


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How to Apply Hygiene

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IF you are like most students, you are trying to get good marks in school. And you know that things are apt to go more smoothly when you feel tip-top—physically fit. It's when you feel tired and dull that your school marks go down.

You may think that a small thing like a cavity in a tooth will not affect your spirits. But it's true that it does. And even if you are not conscious of an aching tooth, the presence of disease germs in an uncleansed mouth will slow you down physically and mentally, even though it doesn't actually make you ill.*

Dr. Mayo, the well-known American surgeon, is quoted as saying to the medical profession that the mouth must become, to them, the objective point in the battle for health.

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* Dr. Otto E. Inglis, professor of dental pathology in the Philadelphia Dental College, told in a recent Good Teeth-Good Health campaign how a class of young people had been observed scientifically before and after attention had been given their teeth. The results showed that the student with good teeth has superior memory and quickness of perception—that bad teeth retard the student physically and mentally.

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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. Keep on Worrying!

1. Prepare in full an exposition of the quotation that heads the article.
2. Throughout the article underline the sentences that carry the most important thoughts. Read these sentences aloud. Explain every sentence.
3. For every one of the sentences that you have underlined answer the following questions: (a) Is it simple, compound or complex? (b) Is it loose, balanced, antithetic, or periodic?
4. Consult an encyclopedia for further information concerning Cellini. Prepare a report that will show exactly why Miss Repplier mentions Cellini in the article. In your report give particular emphasis to the attitude toward life represented by Cellini.
5. Explain why Miss Repplier attacks the position of "mental neutrality."
6. Explain in full the reference to Macaulay's information. Read the life of Macaulay in any history of English Literature, noticing what is said about Macaulay's reading and about his power of memory.
7. Why is it most appropriate to mention Carlyle in the article? What were Carlyle's personal peculiarities? How did these peculiarities affect his literary style?
8. Who was the author of "The Sick King in Bokhara"? Read the poem—which you may obtain in any library—and explain it to your class. What poem commonly studied in schools was written by the author of "The Sick King in Bokhara"?
9. Explain the quotation that closes the article.
10. What would Miss Repplier have us do in order to carry into practice the principles that she sets forward here?

II. New York Journalism.

1. Why does *The Independent* print what was written in 1864? In what way is it applicable to the present?
2. What were Bryant's relations with *The Evening Post*?
3. What were Gideon Welles's ideals in journalism? Tell why you sympathize, or do not sympathize, with these ideals.
4. Notice that the *New York Herald*, the *Tribune*, the *Times*, and the *Evening Post* were all in existence in 1864. Prepare a report on the history of every one of those papers. Ask your librarian where you can find the information.

III. Concerning "Adults Who Are Only Children."

1. In "The Sir Roger de Coverley Papers" Addison says that "Only men of fine parts deserve to be hanged." Does the author of the article agree or disagree with Addison? What are his reasons?
2. Give a clear explanation of what the writer says about the intelligence of high school students, and about the value of examinations.
3. Write in a single sentence a clear statement of the question that Mr. Franklin puts forward.

IV. Judge Hooper on the Club of Nations.

1. What "club of nations" does the article concern?
2. What characteristic of the European nations does the article satirize?
3. Is the article in any sense constructive? Explain your answer.
4. The article emphasizes a single important thought. Would that thought have been presented more emphatically if the writer had written an ordinary editorial article? Explain how the form of an editorial article, or the form of a dialogue-essay, increases emphasis.

V. Hints for Home Furnishing — Some Beautiful Interiors.

1. Select the interior that pleases you most. Imagine that it is the setting for a story that you are writing. Write a description as though you were writing it for a part of a story. Make your words present a vivid and interesting picture.

VI. Why Mexico Starves.

1. Select from the article at least three sentences that convey statements applicable to all lands. Explain the sentences. Present details that will tend to support, or to attack, the truth of the statements.

VII. Editorial Articles.

1. Read the first sentence of each editorial article. Which sentence is most effective? Why?

History, Civics, and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

(Hereafter references to Editorial Paragraphs will be indicated by *Ed. Par.*)

I. A Fresh Start After Genoa, The Genoa Conference, Buncombe

1. What were the reasons for the failure of the Genoa Conference?
2. Describe The Hague plan and show how it developed out of the Genoa Conference.
3. Summarize the reply of Secretary Hughes to the invitation to the United States to attend The Hague Conference.
4. What is "the attitude disclosed in the Russian memorandum of May 11" to which Mr. Hughes objects?
5. What fundamental foreign policy of the United States is illustrated by our refusal? What differences in view on foreign policy are illustrated by the debate of Senator Borah and Senator Hitchcock?
6. Describe "the positive step" for which "the time has now come."
7. In considering "a compact of non-aggression" and economic reconstruction, which do you consider the cart and which the horse?

II. America—A—Ed. Par.

1. Describe the earlier figures who have misled the country into believing they were the coming men.
2. Reproduce the editor's interpretation of the results of the primary elections in Indiana and Pennsylvania, and show how it differs from the partisan interpretations.
3. B—The Chicago Triumvirate.
1. Describe the bad features of the situation in the Chicago building trades. What was "the Landis award"?
2. Review the situation in the New York building trades and compare it with the Chicago situation.
3. Describe the relation of these situations to the "Construction Council."
4. If the building industry is "the second largest industry in the United States," what is the first?

C—A Coal Crisis Taking Shape.

1. Explain what produces "the annual car-shortage." What industries besides those mentioned here help produce it? Show how it may involve a coal crisis.
2. Describe Mr. Hoover's efforts to prevent excessively high prices of coal. Explain the other effects pointed out by the editor.
3. Review the situation involved in the indictments of the Central Field operators and show its connection with the "second coal crisis in process of development."

III. The British Empire, Lloyd George—Ed. Par.

1. Look up the careers of Gladstone and Lloyd George and see if you can justify the comparison in the statement: "Gladstone . . . dealt with matters that were child's play by comparison with those that Lloyd George has handled."
2. Summarize the qualities and work of Lloyd George that have made him "a statesman of commanding power and importance."
3. Explain Lord Grey's criticism of the present Government.
4. What, in the opinion of the editor, is it that "Britain needs supremely now"?
5. Explain what events in the history of France might be used to defend the statement: "It isn't fifty years, nor twenty, since it was France that was supposed to be the Socialist and England the individualist country."
6. What measures in Britain's recent history might be termed socialistic. How far back do they extend? What was the connection of Lloyd George with them?
7. Summarize the chief features of the different events in the Empire described here.

IV. Why Mexico Starves.

1. Give the constitutional proof of your answer to these questions: (a) Could a Governor of one of our States, while in office, sit in the President's Cabinet? (b) issue a decree taxing land? (c) suspend the functioning of a State Supreme Court?
2. Describe the action of the State or Federal Governments of Mexico in relation to land. What have been the results of such action?
3. Show how Mr. Crowell considers American development of Mexico to be a benefit to the Mexican and not an exploitation of him.

V. Sundry Matters.

1. To be able to follow the conference of Chile and Peru at Washington review "the long-standing Tacna-Arica dispute." What interest has Bolivia in it?

The Independent

A Fortnightly Journal of Information and Discussion

June 10, 1922



WHO is to blame at Washington? Is it Congress, or is it the President? If you are a Democrat, like the *New York World*, you place the blame for the lack of action squarely on the President. The great majority of Republicans are disgruntled with Congress and are wondering what the President is going to do about it. Congress has certainly made a poor record, yet there is no reason to suppose that the level of this Congress is lower than that of any other recent Congress. This fact is what makes the Democrat's reasoning sound so plausible. If Congress is much as usual, then surely it is the President who is at fault. Persons who argue thus leave out of account one enormous factor—the changed spirit which has come over the world since the war. It is no longer possible to consider even domestic questions within the limited scope which was once thought adequate, and Congress is perhaps blinder to this fact than is the average citizen; the reason being that Congress is the slave of its own machinery: force of habit dictates the use of the old comfortable ways in dealing with new, far-reaching problems. We all know what these “comfortable ways” are—sitting cozily in committees; sticking to the proud old issues which have made glorious history; and looking after home fences by means of political skirmishing along the advance line of popular clamor. The times call for political philosophers in our legislative body, which means, not long-haired professors, but men with some background of world affairs. And, as usual, there are very few political philosophers—except the fly-by-night variety—in Congress today.

HOWEVER great this handicap, the President would be the last to think that he is relieved of responsibility for the inaction at Washington. It is up to him to mark out broad lines and then to push his policies with the utmost vigor. Now it happens that he has a tremendous asset in the large number of men of light and leading throughout the country who wish him well. They have a profound admiration for his manly qualities and they are convinced that the solution of the great problems of the next few years must come through the agency of the Republican party; that a serious overturn in the fall elections would be a calamity, viewed even from a non-partisan standpoint. Disinterested counsel is the President's for the asking. There are several big questions—including the tariff—upon which he can ill afford to neglect the best possible advice. The President is a party man, as many of the ablest men in the country are likewise, but surely he has observed that Republicans are assuming a somewhat critical, yet not unfriendly, attitude towards their party. In spirit this attitude is constructive, and Mr. Harding, by rallying it to his support and by taking on a like independence himself, can soonest assert the leadership for which his followers are eagerly waiting. Friendly criticism is a thing much to be prized.

“I THINK I am a gentleman,” says Senator Thomas E. Watson of Georgia: and such is the capacity of the human mind for self-deception that we have no doubt Watson really does think he is a gentleman. The word is notoriously difficult to define; but it has never been thought

very difficult to state some things that a gentleman is *not*. Among the things a gentleman is usually supposed incapable of doing is one thing that the Georgia Senator not only does, but does habitually and does in a degree so extreme as to be exceptional even among cads and ruffians. His scurrilous attack upon Secretary Hoover last week was but the latest instance of a habit which, if the Senate were really, as it is sometimes thought to be, a club of gentlemen, would exclude him from the privilege of membership.

GROSS and contemptible as that instance was, it was not the worst of his performances during his brief Senatorial experience. When he



Axes to grind

brought out his monstrous and fabulous charges against the officers of the American army in France, he was, as we stated at the time, "counting on the short memory and good nature of the American people for escape from the just consequences of exposure" of their falsity. That was more than six months ago; and we are sorry, though not surprised, to find that the affair has been allowed to go to sleep in committee. Watson charged that our officers "had gallows upon which men were hanged day after day without court-martial or any other form of trial." Of that charge we said at the time:

If this is true, Mr. Watson was justified in taking any method, however spectacular, to bring it before the country; but if it is false, he is a scoundrel unfit to sit in the Senate of the United States, and that body owes it to its own honor, and to the honor of the country, to expel him. Make Watson prove his charge, or brand him as a person with whom decent men cannot be asked to associate. It does not matter whether he knew the thing to be a lie or not. Unless a man be an idiot, and Watson is not that, he cannot accept and sponsor a tale so wildly improbable—a tale which could not, upon any reasonable supposition, have been kept from the public all this time—except upon evidence of the most extraordinarily convincing character. To thrust it upon the country and the world and vouch for its truth, without such evidence, is an act for which the term infamous is far too mild a designation.

Is the Senate content to let the whole matter be forgotten?

THE obsequies of the Genoa Conference were duly celebrated by Mr. Lloyd George, on his return to London, in a characteristic speech in Parliament. He dissembled well his grief over the untimely demise of his child of bright promise and sought comfort in portraying hopeful prospects of inheritance. His fellow mourners were evidently much impressed, as an overwhelming

vote testified, but it is difficult to understand the grounds of their satisfaction. In effect he said: "The Russian people have been brought to a terrible state of destitution by the Soviet Government. They will sink into still deeper chaos unless we help them. The only way to help them is through the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government menaces Europe with its Red Army. Ergo, bolster up the Soviet Government, which is both corrupt and crazy."

MR. Lloyd George at Genoa conjured up from the vasty deep the appalling menace of Bolshev'y's army, a million and a half strong and ready to descend upon the devoted nations of Western Europe. He then proceeded to exorcise the portentous demon he had raised, and at the conclusion of the Genoa Conference pointed with triumphant satisfaction to the wonderful achievement. This reminds us of an old story. In a remote and unsophisticated part of the world, where the people believed in the miracle-working powers of their priesthood, two men, from two different villages, were boasting of the marvelous feats of their respective priests. "That is all very well," said one of them at last, "but I can tell you of something that our priest did which beats anything you can possibly claim for yours. When the congregation was all assembled, he told us that he was tired of our wickedness, that all his reproofs and exhortations had been in vain, and that now we were going to be punished for our sins. He lifted up his voice in a curse which was to cause the roof of the church to fall upon our heads. We fell upon our knees and implored him to undo the curse, and solemnly swore repentance. His heart was touched, and once more he lifted up his voice. 'Roof,' he cried, 'stay where you are.' And, be-



The Gobble-uns'll git you!

lieve it or not as you please, the roof *did* stay where it was!"

THE American Bar Association's Committee on Law Enforcement has been so stirred up by the great crime wave (real or supposed) which has been flooding the country with robberies and murders, that it is proposing extraordinary and radical measures to stop it. If this had happened three years after the *repeal* of a Prohibition amendment, instead of three years after its *adoption*, what would the Anti-Saloon League be saying about it?

ONE of the most striking undertakings launched by an American labor organization is the plan of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for a \$1,000,000 corporation to operate nine clothing factories in Russia in coöperation with the Soviet Government. The recent convention of the Amalgamated authorized the investment of \$50,000 of the union's funds in the project. Shares are to be offered at \$10, with the hope that working people, especially in the Amalgamated, will furnish the capital. The factories are already in operation, and it is proposed under a contract signed by Lenin that the American corporation shall contribute this new capital and also expert technical management.

THE plan is more than an attempt to help in the reconstruction of Russia. Perhaps, primarily, it is a far-sighted scheme of Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated, to get his people actively and widely interested in coöperative production. To launch such a plan in this country would re-

quire a much larger capital—probably more than could be obtained from the workers likely to be interested in it, since it might be necessary to buy or build factories instead of expropriating them. If Mr. Hillman is justified in his trust in the stability and good faith of the Soviet Govern-



Less wages for us—no vacation for you!

ment—he may be much too sanguine in view of the experience of the workers who answered the call of William D. Haywood—the management of nine factories, with nearly 7,000 workers, is a large opportunity for a capital outlay of one million. At all events the experiment will be watched with interest.

Daugherty and His Critics

NOT for many a year has an Attorney General of the United States faced a task of greater magnitude or one requiring a higher degree of energy, fearlessness, and legal ability than the one presented by the prosecution of those guilty of war-frauds. It is a task in which powerful interests will employ every artifice and every kind of pressure to hamper investigation and avoid the consequences of illegal acts. It is a task demanding high-mindedness and a fine sense of public duty lest its opportunities be made use of for partisan ends or merely to satisfy public clamor against "profiteers."

Whether Mr. Daugherty measures up to the task remains to be seen. We are not prepared to support or condemn him on the strength of any evidence yet presented. We are not convinced that he is the best man that could have been chosen for the job, but we feel most emphatically that he is entitled to a fair deal. He holds high office by appointment of the President, who has known him long and well and whose full confidence he enjoys. Something more than gossip and innuendo are demanded to show that he is unworthy of that confidence.

We have no desire to whitewash Mr. Daugherty, but we feel bound to point out the responsibility that rests upon those who have attacked him. The attack is not merely personal—it is one calculated to arouse public suspicion as to the good faith of the whole war-frauds prosecution. Such charges may not be brought lightly or irresponsibly and

their source and nature do not tend to reassure us as to their sincerity and seriousness.

It was inevitable, in view of the issues at stake and the interests involved, that any Attorney General charged with the conduct of these cases would have a hostile searchlight turned upon his past career with a view to finding something discreditable that would disqualify him. In the case of Mr. Daugherty it is rather striking that the investigation apparently yielded but one plausible argument upon which to base an attack, his connection with the Morse pardon some ten years ago. Despite the color given to this affair by Senator Caraway and by hundreds of columns of press comment calculated to affect public opinion adversely, the facts of the case thus far made public give no basis for accusing Mr. Daugherty of unprofessional or dishonorable conduct. Charles W. Morse was serving a fifteen-year term in a Federal penitentiary. His appeal for pardon had been denied. A friend and representative of Morse asked Thomas B. Felder to undertake Morse's case, and Felder asked Harry M. Daugherty to become his associate. Their employment as counsel was perfectly legitimate. They succeeded in having the case reopened. A pardon was granted, not because of the plea of Felder and Daugherty, but upon the reports of medical examinations made by the Government's doctors which stated that Morse was afflicted with Bright's disease and his continued incarceration would probably prove fatal within a short time. Afterward it appeared

that in all probability fraud had been practised on the doctors, presumably by a nurse in the penitentiary. The responsibility for the pardon rested solely upon Attorney General Wickersham and President Taft and both have by letter absolved Mr. Daugherty from any improper connection with it.

Mr. Daugherty's appointment to his present position in the Cabinet we regarded as far from ideal. He was, to be sure, a lawyer of distinction who had conducted important cases, but he had made too much a business of politics. There can be little doubt that his employment in the Morse pardon case was due more to his political influence than to superior legal capacity. But it should be remembered that he did not seek his present office, and probably would not have accepted it had it not been for what he felt to be unjustifiable attacks made upon him when his name was mentioned in connection with the post, attacks which led him to seek vindication through his record in the office. Thus far that record has been a good one, and now that at last Congress has made the appropriation necessary for the prosecution of the war-fraud cases, he is apparently pushing forward the work of investigation and preparation with energy and zeal.

It is up to Senator Caraway to make good on his charges—which he has not yet done—or stand convicted of an unfair partisan attack, if not worse. Of this sort of attack, shielded by senatorial immunity, there is altogether too much, as witness the vicious and irresponsible outpourings of Watson of Georgia. On the other hand, the failure of Daugherty to respond promptly and frankly was most unfortunate. Were it merely a matter of his personal reputation, he could afford to bide his time for vindication, but success in his present task is so dependent upon public confidence that he cannot suffer any suspicion to rest upon him. Granted, however, that he meets the charges with full and frank explanation regardless of the responsibility which rests upon those who brought them, justice demands that he be given a fair chance to perform the task to which he has been called. To yield to popular clamor and replace him now, unless for some better cause than has yet appeared, could only result in interrupting and postponing the war-frauds prosecutions and other important cases, and would not be just to Mr. Daugherty or in the public interest.

Governor Miller of New York

THE very general demand in New York State for the renomination of its Governor, Nathan L. Miller, is of national significance, and for two reasons.

In the first place, Governor Miller is a consistent Republican, a supporter of the present national

Administration. In the second place, Governor Miller believes, and has boldly acted on his belief, that popular support may be won for good government, and that good government is obtainable through American constitutional forms.

The strong Miller sentiment in New York offers no comfort to those who are straining their vision to discover a rift in the Republican Party. The Governor has a clean party record. The demand for his renomination is nowhere stronger than in Republican organization circles and of women as well as of men. By no stretch of the imagination can he be termed a party insurgent. Nor is it possible from anything that he has said or done to construe his renomination, if it should take place, as a criticism of or reaction against the national Administration.

While the above is true and highly significant, it is also true that the Governor, if renominated, will go before the electorate distinctly on his own record. That, as we have intimated, is a record of courageous stand for good government, in the face, sometimes, of momentary unpopularity, and of equally courageous insistence on obedience to law and the strict observance of constitutional limitations. He has been a governor who gets things done without being a "big-stick" governor, and without demagoguery.

These outstanding characteristics were especially to be noted in his handling of the New York city transit situation. The Governor's demand that the financial distress and inadequate service of the city's rapid-transit system should be treated purely as a business problem, and his invoking of the authority of the State to bring this about by means of a Transit Commission, at first seemed to his jubilant political opponents to have created a perennial political issue on which they could go to the people of New York City with the demagogic cries of "home rule" and "a five-cent fare." Their hopes were abundantly realized in the last municipal election in that city. Tammany Hall rolled up a majority of four hundred thousand. In the meanwhile, however, the Governor's Transit Commission has been at work. Soundness and sanity has had a chance to show something of its hand. The result of the entire incident is, not the creation of the glorious issue that the demagogues had foreseen, but nothing less than the prospective removal from politics of the whole troublesome question.

Similarly, the Governor has achieved substantial economies in the administration of the State's business by consolidations not at all pleasant to the henchmen of his own party, but now, in their results of improved service at less cost, one of the most popular assets.

A like insistence on the actuality of good government has characterized Governor Miller's attitude toward social legislation. He has refused to be

frightened by any bugaboo of "unprogressivism" into the support of crude social experiments. At the same time he has led the way in an impressive body of social legislation that is actually progressive.

We have not the space, nor is this the time, for a detailed review of the Miller administration in New York. It has been our purpose only to indicate the reasons for the present demand for his renomination and the political significance to the country at large of such a demand in the most populous State of the Union with reference to a candidate who has no insurgent alignments and no demagogic tricks.

As to whether or not Governor Miller will accept a renomination, we have no gossip to pass on. We are satisfied with the expression of a New York City independent Democratic paper which said that he is the next Republican candidate for Governor of New York "by the inevitable implication" of his entire course of procedure.

The Problem of Railroad Wages

IT is unlikely that any "serious interruption of commerce," such as the Transportation Act sought to prevent, will result from the threats of a strike vote by the maintenance-of-way men, following the reduction of their wage rates; or the more belligerent, if less definite, attitude of the shop men, whose wages also will probably have been reduced by the time these words are in print. Even a widespread strike of these two groups is improbable, because it would certainly be futile. The way in which the strike ordered by the train services last October faded before the unanimous condemnation of the public is perhaps a sufficiently authoritative omen. No more now than then will the public justify a strike by railroad workers whose wages, even after the latest reductions, remain well up to the rates in other industries. The rule may seem a harsh one, but everyone outside of the railroads has had to conform to it, and these conformists will have slight sympathy for those who insist upon making themselves exceptions.

The inherent weakness of strike tactics on the part of the maintenance-of-way men and the shop men is that a strike would prove to the country that neither set of men is, individually, necessary. Neither class is a direct producer of transportation: both classes can be easily replaced during an emergency. There is even reason for thinking that on many roads a general strike of the shop men would cause little regret to the executives; for, even with a reduction of wage rates in the shops, the absence of production standards makes direct operation a doubtful advantage to the roads.

For another consideration, it may be recalled that the shop crafts decided against the strike their men authorized last fall when they found that the train men would not promise to sink or swim with them. The prospects of such an alliance are much smaller now than last October.

The decision of the Labor Board in the maintenance-of-way rates, and its action on other rates as forecast with seeming authority, is of special interest as showing that the Board, though independent, can in a pinch work in substantially close coöperation with the Interstate Commerce Commission. The wage reductions are practically simultaneous with the rate reductions lately ordered by the Commission; and it is notable that in the maintenance-of-way case all three of the public members of the Labor Board voted for the decreases.

Despite this appearance of coöperation, there seems reason to wish for changes in the Transportation Act that will make possible an economically sounder treatment of the shop crafts, which are probably the most serious obstacle to operation on a proper basis. The root of the trouble with the shop crafts is that their wage rates, unlike those in nearly all outside industries, have no relation to production. Flat rates for all grades of machinists' work, for example, without regard to various degrees of skill required, are both practically and theoretically unsound. This system prevails through all the shop crafts, and then, taken together with the absence of any production standards, makes the operation of the railroad shops relatively wasteful and inefficient. In the recent wage hearings the railroads generally asked for graded rates for different grades of work, but it appears certain that the Labor Board has decided not to act on the matter at present. It is not good public policy to impose upon our greatest public service so unsound and wasteful a system as the present one.

AS the price of soft coal at the mine has risen to \$3.50 a ton, as approved by Secretary Hoover, the weekly production from non-union mines has risen to five million tons. The weekly consumption of the country is about eight millions, and, with a net drain of some three millions a week, the reported stocks in storage should last three months longer. It is not in the public interest that the present low wage rates in the non-union fields shall prevail over the country or that employment in the coal-mining industry shall be casual and intermittent, yet if the present process continues another two months this seems a probable consequence of the strike. The time is at hand when far more fundamental measures must be taken to avert the larger crisis in the coal-mining industry.

"News"

By Paul Lambert White

PERHAPS the proudest boast of American journalism has been that it prints the news impartially and quite without reference to editorial policy. None will deny that our press has done much to justify the boast. Its large facilities for news gathering, the space it gives to news, and the high character of those who gather it are matters of common knowledge. All our great daily papers print stories emanating from hostile sources. French and German accounts of reparations, often sharply in conflict, appear side by side.

The mere inclusion of all the news is, however, but the beginning of the story. The democratic citizen grows weary before he has read half the news. What he does not read cannot aid him in making up his sovereign mind; what he does read is determined partly by chance but more by the nature of the headlines and the position of the articles in the journal. In the formation of public opinion, as in most other important human business, emphasis plays as large a part as substance. Over this our newspapers have entire control.

We are witnessing, I think, a clear example of the power thus wielded by the press. The part played by the leading European nations in the great struggle over reparations may some day be of incalculable consequence both to the foreign nations and to ourselves. It is, therefore, of capital importance for us to understand the influences that are shaping that opinion.

The following illustrations, selected to show the influence exercised by the news columns as distinguished from the editorial page, were taken from the *New York Times*, partly because of its wide circulation and high reputation, partly because of the eminent fairness displayed in its editorials on the European question. A casual inspection of many other papers will afford examples of the same character.

Headlines purport to be a ready index to the news. An index is never all-inclusive and cannot, by its nature, be perfect. It may become a dangerous means of emphasis. On April 23, the *Times* printed as a double column headline over the day's news from Genoa:

FRENCH CAUSE ANOTHER GENOA CRISIS

On the following morning, a prominent first-page headline read:

LLOYD GEORGE BUSY ON 10 YEARS' TRUCE
RUSSIA WILLING TO SIGN IF HER NEIGHBORS DO AND
GERMANY HAS NO OBJECTIONS—TWO
OBSTACLES TO IT YET
FRENCH MAKE RESERVATIONS AND JAPANESE ACTION IN
SIBERIA IS INVOLVED

On April 30 we read:

GENOA REVEALS MENACE TO PEACE
LLOYD GEORGE'S NON-AGGRESSIVE TREATY THE FINAL
TEST OF THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE
FRENCH PROVIDE SHOCKS—POINCARÉ'S BAR-LE-DUC
SPEECH AND HIS REFUSAL TO COME TO GENOA
BLOCK BRITISH EFFORT

On May 1:

LLOYD GEORGE OPENS NEW FIGHT TO GET FRONTIER SETTLED FRENCH RAISE NEW SNAG

It is not my intention to set forth the French case here. That one exists in the opinion of the *Times* itself is amply attested by the leading editorial which appeared on April 26, under the title:

FRENCH POLICY INTELLIGIBLE

and in other editorials appearing April 16, 18, and 29. It can even be glimpsed in some of the articles over which these headlines appear. If news is to be impartially presented, it must be impartially emphasized.

Discriminating readers, of course, though they may be annoyed by these headings, form their own opinions from the body of the news. Unfortunately, their number is few. Many never read beyond the headlines. These, though not particularly interested, will have it somewhere in their minds at the end of a few days that France for no good reason followed a negative and destructive policy at Genoa; that she, along with Japan, is averse to peace, even though the Germans and the Russians are not. And they will have formed these ideas without ever having read the French case at all.

On January 22, the *Times* printed an article emanating from German sources, under the title:

SAY FRENCH BLOCK RECONSTRUCTION AID

Toward the end of the column, one reads:

Johann Giesberts, Minister of Posts, in addressing the deputies on the new rates, defended his employees against charges of slacking, but the day before Herr Teucke, one of his secretaries, in telling the Postal Committee of the Reichstag about changes and improvements being made by the department, calculated to cut down expenses by about 500,000,000 marks in 1922, admitted that some 10,000 employees had been discharged in 1921 and that about the same number would probably be dispensed with in 1922, as the work could be done without them.

What a different impression would have been lodged with a vast number of persons had the article been headed:

IDLE GERMAN POSTAL CLERKS PREVENT REPARATION PAYMENT

GERMAN BUDGET REFORMS INADEQUATE!

In January, an acute situation developed in the reparations question. Germany was ordered by the Reparations Commission to reply by January 28 as to her intentions in the matter of reforming her budget. On January 23, the *Times* carried an article under a large headline:

BERLIN IS UNABLE TO HALT INFLATION— RAILROAD RATES UP

and on January 26, a first-page article:

BORAH SAYS NATIONS SEEK GERMANY'S RUIN
SEES LITTLE HOPE OF REHABILITATION UNLESS VER-
SAILLES TREATY IS MODIFIED

On January 27 comes a big article:

GERMANY TO RAISE BILLION GOLD MARKS BY A FORCED LOAN

The impression conveyed to the casual reader by such headings is certainly that Germany, despite great difficulties, was making a real effort to meet the situation. There were no contrary headlines. If one had read very carefully, he would have found on January 25 the following, without headlines, on page 28. It is quoted in full:

German Canal capital oversubscribed. Berlin, Jan. 24. The capital with which to construct the proposed Rhine-Main-Danube canal has been heavily oversubscribed.

And, on January 31, under a large heading:

REICHSBANK TO SEND GOLD TO ENGLAND
one might have read in Mr. Cyril Brown's article written from Berlin:

The joker, however, is that the compulsory loan will be levied on capital wealth as of Dec. 31, 1919, in other words, before the biggest inflation and marks' depreciation had set in, so that the lucky possessors of wealth will be able to subscribe their percentage of the compulsory loan in the present depreciated paper marks, though the assessment is based on only moderately inflated gold mark figures.

Therefore, no fargoing seizure of so-called gold value will result from this much press-agented compulsory billion gold mark loan, which was agreed to only *pro forma* as supposed compliance with urgent British recommendations and wishes. At that it is almost certain that the billion gold marks will not be raised this year, as the Government is seriously considering payment on the instalment plan over a long period of years; but even if the loan were paid in full this year there would still be a budget deficit of 70,000,000,000 to 80,000,000,000 marks, according to the latest estimate in political circles close to the Government.

On February 10 an eight-line article appeared on the back pages of the paper, reading as follows:

MOTORS DOUBLE IN GERMANY IN 1921

Washington, Feb. 9.—German official figures for 1921, recently received here, show practically a doubling of motor vehicles used in Germany for that year, as compared to 1920. The number of passenger cars rose from 32,450 to 60,966; motor trucks from 19,742 to 30,424, and motor-cycles from 9,369 to 26,792.

The news was printed, but is it not apparent that a totally one-sided idea of the situation was given by the placing of emphasis?

Not only do our newspapers mold public opinion by placing the emphasis where they please. They define what is news. The *Times* during the critical days of the Genoa Conference has carried in its news columns a very interesting series of articles by Mr. J. L. Garvin, the editor of the *London Observer*. These have appeared under such headlines as the following:

GENOA WORKING OUT TO UNFORESEEN END THWARTED BY POINCARÉ'S CONSTANT VETO, ITS PURPOSE IS DELAYED BUT NOT DEFEATED A WEEK OF "SABOTAGE"

A sample of the "news" they contain is as follows:

As for Lloyd George, the situation demands a memorable exertion of his powers. Poincaré has done his deliberate utmost from the beginning to the end to scuttle this ship and sink the cargo. His veto has made a mockery of the conference. No British statesman on the soil of Europe has ever been subjected to a similar indignity. Never again will any British statesman consent to sit in a conference of other delegates not empowered to discuss business as principals but subject at every hour to orders from a distance. On such terms the Washington conference would have been a farce.

Lloyd George cannot afford to make a tame exit from

Genoa. He may summon a plenary sitting within the next few days. In that last scene he may warn France and all whom it may concern that the British Empire, thwarted for the moment in the first historic effort to restore the unity of Europe, has resources of its own.

Another series of articles coming from "Genoa" under the signature of Mr. Herbert Sidebotham also appears as news in the *Times*. On April 12 the following paragraphs made up a part of his article:

When M. Barthou persisted in an answer yes or no to the question: "Has M. Chicherin accepted the Cannes conditions?" he drew down on himself the rebuke of Signor Facta, who ruled that Chicherin had accepted the conditions by coming to the conference.

The upshot of this very interesting passage of arms is this: First, Russia has not only accepted the Cannes conditions, but by declaring her willingness to disarm has deprived European armaments of their principal *raison d'être*; second, France has exhibited herself once more to the world as the upholder of armaments and of war mentality.

The easy mastery of Mr. Lloyd George yesterday made a great impression. The French are conscious they blundered.

It is nowhere stated in the *Times* that the former of these gentlemen is a warm personal friend of Mr. Lloyd George and that both are his political henchmen. There are no personal friends or political backers of M. Poincaré contributing "news" to the *Times*. It is also to be remarked that when articles from French publicists are included they are carefully indicated as such in large headlines which make significant by comparison the modest statement "Editor of the *London Observer*" which appears on the articles of Mr. Garvin. One reads, on January 24:

LAUSANNE ANSWERS SENATOR McCORMICK TELLS HIM FRENCH PAYMENTS TO US DEPEND ON GERMAN REPARATIONS

Or January 20:

GERMANY MUST PAY, DECLARES CASENAVE

It is difficult to believe that this flattering emphasis is given purely as a compliment. Think how much more effective the former article would have been as "news" were it headed:

IF FRANCE IS TO PAY, SHE MUST BE PAID Or the latter:

FRENCH PAY 19%, GERMANY 12%, OF THEIR INCOMES IN TAXES LEAGUE OF NATIONS FIGURES

The newspapers can and do wield through their news columns a mighty influence in the formation of public opinion. They do it without suppressing any of the news and without uttering a single opinion. Of what use is it to admonish people, as the *Times* did on April 26 on its editorial page, to be fair to France if you have built up in their minds through the news columns the idea that France is a militaristic nation bent upon plunging Europe into another war? By keeping ever before the public the means relied upon by France to enforce her obligations—means as distasteful to the French as to ourselves—and by minimizing the obligations and the necessity of enforcing them, our newspapers have sown the seeds of misunderstanding on both sides of the Atlantic. This is doubly unfortunate since it is done by papers which desire to give the news with impartiality and which are not unfriendly to France. The mischief is not intentional; but could an "inspired press" do worse.

The Heroine of France

By Stephen Gwynn

IT is now two years since Jeanne D'Arc became officially a saint, and after this official recognition by the competent ecclesiastical authority she was, so to say, officially taken up by the French Government; this year and presumably in all succeeding years her festival will be officially celebrated in Paris on May 14. Everybody in France desires to find a rallying point and since those who are for the Church and those who are against it in France are determined people, Jeanne, the warrior Maid, has been accepted on all hands; since no one doubts in the review of history that she at least stood for France; that she, the simple peasant girl, before anyone else, saw the essential unity of France at a time when France was torn in pieces, and by a miracle of faith and courage risked and lost her life for what she saw and taught others to follow her. Perhaps the mere fact that ecclesiastics of her own day condemned and burned her makes it easier to gain for her the homage, and even the worship, of those who hate ecclesiasticism; while for Catholic France she is not only the patriot and the heroine, but also the Christian saint to whom Christian France owes reparation as well as gratitude.

But there is one place in France where folk can pride themselves on a fidelity that has no amends to make—Orleans keeps the festivity of its Maid at its own time, on the date which is consecrated now by almost five hundred years' observance. Orleans recalls on the 7th and 8th of May how Jeanne left her banner for one night in the Cathedral and next day went out with it, thus consecrated, drove the beleaguering English from their fortress at the bridge-head, and returned in triumph over the bridge which for half a year had been closed. It made no difference to the people of Orleans that two years later the Maid was condemned for a heretic and executed with ignominy and torture; they celebrated the anniversary of their deliverance and the memory of what to them seemed—as it was indeed—a miracle. She had done more than deliver them; she had taught them to deliver themselves. When they were disheartened and disunited she had brought them courage and unity, and they have never quite lost the lesson—which has been so often needful to France, but never more than today. I found my friends in Orleans proud above all of two things—first of their continued fidelity; secondly of the fact that Orleans could show, as could no other place in France, an example of the *Union Sacrée* in a field where it was not imposed by actual necessities of war.

At Orleans as everywhere else there are three distinct elements—the army under national control, the municipality holding the charge of local affairs, while apart from both national and local authority, and too often at discord with both, there is the clergy and its hierarchy. At Orleans only, you can see all three elements acting together. On the night of the 7th a salvo was fired from the fort of Les Tourelles, the bridge-head which Jeanne captured; it was a signal that troops were on the march. At the same moment, the Cathedral door opened wide and a long procession came swaying down the aisle, brought up by four bishops and with them Monsignor Cerretti, Papal Nuncio in France. The richly-robed

prelates halted on the Cathedral steps and almost immediately we saw torches debouching into the street which leads directly to the square in front under the illuminated arches and the fluttering flags. Troops began to defile and swung past the Cathedral, to mass on the north of the square. As they formed up, another band was heard, and past their halted ranks there came all the municipality, its servants, its officers, its councillors, and its mayor, bearing in their midst what had been regarded as Jeanne's own standard. They marched to the Cathedral steps, the bishops coming down to meet them, and the mayor, representing all the civilian life of the town, handed the banner to the Nuncio to be in the Church's keeping for that night. At that moment a rocket was fired, and in a moment the whole façade of the Cathedral blazed up with crimson flame—a piece of stage effect simple enough but amazingly effective—and the crowd, which had seen it every year that the oldest could remember, clapped with the delight of children at an oft-repeated fairy tale. There was interchange of greetings and speeches between the mayor and the ecclesiastics, and then the Nuncio, ascending the steps, gave his general blessing; and again the crowd applauded as if at a play. But there are not many municipalities in France which will stand officially on parade to be blessed by a bishop. At Orleans they accept it, unanimously, many doubtless because they value the blessing, but not a few, I should say, simply for the sake of their Maid. She was not merely a good Frenchwoman, a great patriot; she was France; and to her these usages were sacred. Men know this and remember it in Orleans today, even if they have quite other opinions of their own upon the blessing and all that it implies.

Next day's ceremony, the second act of this great pageant, was even more significant. Jeanne's banner had to be borne in state through streets which Jeanne's feet had trodden, to Les Tourelles and back, before the clergy returned the symbol to the mayor to be treasured for another year in the Town Hall. In that procession every element in the life of Orleans and its neighborhood was represented; every club, every benevolent society, every athletic association, every school marched in their order: The young athletes in white jerseys and trunks variegated the colors; but not they only: the judges were in their scarlet robes, the university professors were in gowns with hoods of violet, of green, of bright yellow; and even the black-coated men wore most of them some ribbon, and not a few, some cross. One group was of old combatants wearing the decorations of the Franco-Prussian war; another, of men whom this latest war had crippled, yet who still march. But over and above their miscellaneous groupings there were the well-marked divisions: municipal authorities of the town, civil authorities of the nation, senators and deputies for the town or department, and finally the departmental prefect, the definite head of civil administration under a government which cannot afford to be suspected of clericalism. Then there was a military section, representing all forms of the service, and with it marched a group of generals, having at their head the officer commanding the army corps assigned to this

district of France. Finally, at the end of all, came the clergy, and the purple-robed Nuncio with acolytes bearing his train. The procession covered the whole distance, at least a kilometre, from the Cathedral to Les Tourelles, and, as they turned back to reach the Town Hall, all in marching through the central square of the town saluted the great statue of the mounted Maid.

In the afternoon the army did its homage apart. Massing on the square, twelve ensign bearers ranged their standards before Jeanne, the corps commander behind them; the band sounded a general salute, all came to attention, and the standards were lowered till they touched Jeanne's feet. Then their bearers, stepping a pace forward, faced about and raised their banners at her side, while before them infantry, cavalry, artillery defiled by their units, saluting as they passed. It was the army's way of identifying the army with the national heroine, the patron saint of France.

We had assisted at a holiday and a pageant, at a demonstration of the town's pride in its past. The task of decorating the streets was left to the citizens and each house had vied with house and street with street to produce a whole of wonderful gaiety and beauty. If red and gold, the town's colors, predominated over the tricolor in one place, at another point it would be the other way. But everywhere there was gaiety and everywhere good humor. Cafés and restaurants did a good trade. Yet it would have been a very superficial observation that did not find in all this effort to make the ceremony worthy of the occasion any more than the dra-

matic instinct, or some pettier motive. France in this month is profoundly uneasy; emerging from its bitterly won victory, it finds dangers all about its life, and it feels that if alliances show rifts, the close and loyal union of all Frenchmen is more necessary, if possible, than before, yet more difficult to secure when the actual stress of war has gone. Certainly my friends in Orleans were of the opinion that there was something more than a holiday spirit underlying this pageant; and that they in their day and generation were continuing Jeanne's work when they kept alive the memory of their Maid.

It was good to see at Blois, one of the stations in Jeanne's pilgrimage of adventure, a statue of her wrought by an American woman artist and offered by an American who loved France. Such Americans—I hope there are many of them—realize what France means in Europe, and realize also probably how when Jeanne entered in, France as a nation seemed destroyed before its birth. They will realize also that men fought in this war who could remember how in their lifetime their country had once before needed to fight for its life; and they will not wonder that France should throw itself into a devotion for the warrior-saint who led France in the name of bare justice to a war of pure defense. For my own part, I think that all of us who fought on the right side from 1914 onward have our part in the homage. We also were serving under the banner of Jeanne D'Arc.

Orleans, France

Why the Supreme Court Rejected the Child-Labor Law

By Fabian Franklin

ONE of our enterprising newspapers employs an "inquiring reporter" to find out what "five persons, picked at random," think of some subject of conspicuous public interest on any given day. On the day that the Supreme Court's decision on the Federal Child-Labor Law was published, perhaps he made that the theme of his question. If so, it is highly probable that four out of the five answers were to the effect that the Supreme Court had sacrificed the welfare of the children of the land to a mere technicality; and it is not unlikely that the remaining one declared that the court had squarely reversed Chief Justice Chase's decision of half a century ago sustaining the validity of the prohibitory tax of 10 per cent. on State bank notes. In point of fact, however, the decision which pronounced the child-labor law unconstitutional rested not on a mere technicality but on grounds of fundamental, far-reaching, and permanent importance. Neither was it a reversal of the decision in the State bank-note case, but an affirmation of principles which that decision had left untouched.

Taxation as a Penalty

The vital question involved in the case just decided was the question whether Congress could, under cover

of its Constitutional powers of taxation, pass laws expressly designed as penal enactments to control or prohibit acts over which the Constitution gives it no jurisdiction; whether it can thus, by indirection, acquire powers which under the Constitution are "reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." How far this question is from being a mere technicality, no one who is imbued with a sense of the character of our institutions ought to need to be told; but Chief Justice Taft, in delivering the opinion of the Court in the child-labor case, has stated the importance of the subject in simple and impressive words which it would be well for us all to ponder:

It is the high duty and function of this court in cases regularly brought to its bar to decline to recognize or enforce seeming laws of Congress, dealing with subjects not entrusted to Congress but left or committed by the supreme law of the land to the control of the States. We can not avoid the duty even though it require us to refuse to give effect to legislation designed to promote the highest good. The good sought in unconstitutional legislation is an insidious feature because it leads citizens and legislators of good purpose to promote it without thought of the serious breach it will make in the ark of our covenant or the harm which will come from breaking down recognized standards. In the maintenance of local self-government, on the one hand, and the national power, on the other, our country has been able to endure and prosper for nearly a century and a half.

Child Labor and Interstate Commerce

In connection with this, it is most interesting to note the striking fact that while the decision in this case was dissented from by only one member of the Court, Mr. Justice Clarke, the child-labor law passed by Congress a few years ago was declared unconstitutional by the narrowest of margins—five to four. That law was a *prohibition* of the transportation in interstate commerce of goods into which child labor had entered; it was, therefore, the opinion of four judges of the Supreme Court that Congress might, under the power to regulate interstate commerce, pass a law whose real purpose was the prevention of child labor in the several States. Why, then, did they not take a similar view of the law just declared invalid? It is hazardous to conjecture in such a matter; but the explanation seems clear. If it be granted that the purpose of restraining or prohibiting child labor could not be constitutionally attained by a direct use of the unquestioned power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, much less could it be legitimate to obtain it by means of a law which, while professing to enact an excise tax, is in its whole character a purely penal enactment. Greatly as the four judges unquestionably desired to validate a Federal law directed against child labor, it is fair to assume that the three who did not dissent recognized the force of the principle which Chief Justice Taft asserts, and which is in some degree indicated in the foregoing quotation.

Child Labor and State Bank Notes

This brings us to the difference between the State bank-note case and the child-labor case. The object of the 10 per cent. tax on State bank notes was, of course, to destroy all possibility of their issue, and it effected that object. But while this law, which professed to be an act of taxation, was in reality an act of prohibition, the *subject to which it related*, the thing to which the virtual prohibition applied, was within the recognized Constitutional authority of Congress. "Having thus," said the Court in that case, "in the exercise of undisputed Constitutional powers, undertaken to provide a currency for the whole country, it cannot be questioned that Congress may Constitutionally secure the benefit of it to the people by appropriate legislation. . . . Without this power, indeed, its attempts to secure a sound and uniform currency for the country must be futile." There may be room for difference of opinion as to the soundness of either or both of the decisions; but to contend that the acceptance of the one necessarily involves the rejection of the other is to overlook a point of essential importance. It is one thing to stretch a special and specified power beyond the point which in a given person's judgment is reasonable. It is quite another thing to press so comprehensive a power as that of taxation into the control of a domain to which the authority of the Federal Government does not, under the Constitution, extend. To do that would be to break down all that is left of our system of local self-government.

Best Results Through State Legislation

That that system is worth preserving is not a dictate of mere conservatism; nor is it recommended solely by the sentiment which attaches to the tradition of State individuality, or aversion to unlimited centralized control in a vast and varied country like ours. For the

initiative of the separate States has been a fruitful source of our social and governmental progress. There is no telling, for example, how much longer it might have taken to establish by Federal legislation the principle of the workmen's compensation laws, which State after State adopted with such rapidity after one or two of the more progressive States had set the ball rolling. In this very matter of child labor the progress that has now become fairly general was set in motion by enlightened manufacturing States like Massachusetts, in the face of the alleged handicap which child-labor laws would impose upon such States as against Southern industrial States that did not enact them. That the progress will continue, under the steady pressure of public opinion, there can be no doubt. It is well to remember that the late Edgar Gardner Murphy of Georgia, the most devoted and effective opponent of child labor in the South, was intensely opposed to Federal legislation on the subject, and was firmly convinced that the best results would be obtained by educating the public sentiment of the several States to a right view of the question.

Preserving Our Federal System

If, however, anything like the traditional autonomy of our States in their home affairs is to be preserved, it will not do to look to the Supreme Court to save it from destruction. Judicial annulment of legislation which violates the letter of the Constitution is at best a poor substitute for that respect for the spirit of the Constitution upon which in the long run the preservation of our nation's traditions must rest. If the people, or the Congress which the people choose as their representative, don't care a fig for the fundamental principles of the Constitution, ways will be found a-plenty to undermine those principles. Not only can the Constitution be amended, but laws can be passed which, while perhaps not clearly violative of its text, tend to destroy its essential purposes. The place to fight measures subversive of the character of our Federal system is not the Supreme Court, but Congress. If Congress, or the people who elect the Congress, regard with indifference the general principles of our Government—if they are unwilling to take into account objections based on fundamental principles when they stand in the way of some immediate object of special desire—then it is merely a question of time, and not a very long time, when our Federal system will have been transformed into a centralized governmental machine, with the States of little more significance than counties are now. When the Prohibition amendment was adopted by Congress, many Representatives and Senators were perfectly aware of its monstrous impropriety as part of our Federal Constitution, but few had the courage and manliness to vote against it. After that experience, nothing that may be done under stress of real or supposed popular clamor can be very surprising. Yet it is to the courageous assertion of fundamental principles that those of us must look forward who still believe that the historic principles of American government are worth preserving. In the meanwhile, we must be thankful to the Supreme Court not only for maintaining those principles when the Constitution warrants its interposition, but also for directing the nation's attention to their vital importance, as Chief Justice Taft has done upon the present occasion.

Foreign Propagandists

By Ellis Parker Butler

MR. PETER HIBBS hurried into the court-room of our admirable Justice of the Peace, Judge Hooper, and after a nod to Court Officer Durfey, spoke briefly with the Judge and hurried out again.

"Durfey," said Judge Hooper, "did you see that man?"

"Sure, I did, Judge," said Durfey; "anything wrong with him?"

"He's an American," said Judge Hooper in his severest tone. "That man, Durfey, is a typical American. What do you think he just refused?"

"I could never guess it," said Durfey.

"He refused two tickets—two free tickets—for the meeting at the town hall tonight where that eminent Hindu patriot, Dungo Bungo Dass, is going to explain just what are the political and economical troubles of the ancient realm of India. And why do you think he refused those tickets, Durfey?"

"I could not guess that either, Judge," said Mr. Durfey.

"That man," said Judge Hooper in his most sarcastic tone, "absolutely refused those tickets and actually gave as a reason that he wanted to stay at home with his wife and boy and listen to the boy's radio machine pick a concert or something out of the air. Yes, Durfey! And he went so far as to say he did not care a whoop what was the matter with India's inwards, or who Gandhi was, or what the eminent Dungo Bungo Dass was trying to put over.

"Durfey, I am appalled when I note the frightful condition in which the American people allow their minds to repose! Consider this man Hibbs. Does he lie awake at night and worry over the down-trodden Hindu who goes shoeless to bed while his heartless British oppressors dance in boots with spurs on them? Does his heart ache for the perishing inhabitants of India who were a happy multitude of one hundred million when the cruel Sassenach marched in and who have now dwindled to a mere three hundred million? Does he moan with sorrow over the criminal work of the Englishman who has ruthlessly built dams and irrigation systems to prevent the Hindu from peacefully starving to death in independence? No; he does not, Durfey! He does not know and he does not want to know. 'Quit kidding me, Judge,' he says; 'I've a wife and family of my own and that's enough for me to look after. If I ever have any spare time I want to paint my ice-box—my own ice-box, you understand; it's a shame how I have neglected that ice-box.'

"Durfey, the indifference of the American man to the woes of far lands distresses me. There are dozens of foreign peoples, some with names we can pronounce and some with names we can't, who are crying for our love and sympathy and cash, and we go home and help Sammy tune up his radio! Is that broad? Is that in-

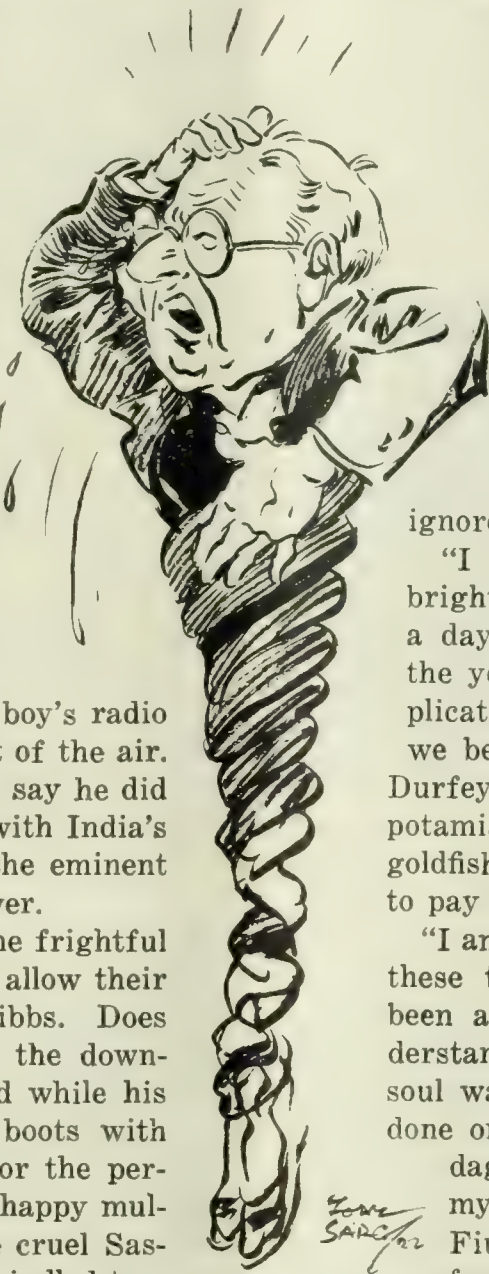
tellectual? Here we are, Durfey, selfishly earning shoes for the wife and kids, while nations that—most of the time—are so busy fighting each other that they have no time to do any work, hold out their appealing hands, palms up. And what do we do, Durfey? We say nothing and saw wood. Is that the altruistic spirit?

"The statistics show that there are now in the United States, Durfey, just about eight thousand six hundred and forty-four propagandizing foreigners, of assorted colors, some on one side and some on the other side of every foreign muss, and all talking eighteen hours a day. That shows the need is great. Some of the patriots' treasuries are so low that their sweet-voiced propagandizers cannot live at the Ritz, but have to put up with the food and accommodations of the Waldorf-Astoria. My heart bleeds for them. Some of their cash-boxes are so empty that they cannot buy rifles to shoot each other in the back. Is it right to ignore them as we do?

"I estimate, Durfey, that it would take a bright American man only twenty-five hours a day, three hundred and sixty-nine days in the year, to learn to misunderstand the complications of all the foreign ructions, and yet we begrudge the time. We turn a deaf ear, Durfey, to the woes of Europe, Asia, and Mesopotamia, and try to earn enough to feed our goldfish and our canary and have enough left to pay our own taxes. And do so!

"I am different, Durfey. Ever since I bought these tortoise-shell rimmed spectacles I have been an intelligentsia. I have sought to understand and to sympathize. For weeks my soul was racked with sorrow for the injustice done one gang in Fiume, and then a different dago in a long-tailed coat came along and my soul was racked for weeks for the other Fiume gang. And so it went, back and forth, now one side and then the other getting my tears until my soul was so racked it looked like a corkscrew and felt like a raw boil. And then the two gangs got together and forgot they ever had a falling out. So that was settled. And it was lucky for me it was, Durfey, for if the ruction had kept on much longer over there I might have been impeached for not attending to my business.

"I often wonder what would happen, Durfey, if everybody in Europe and Asia woke up some morning and went to work. I wonder what would happen if their folks rounded up all the criss-cross breeds of patriots and held their heads under water until there were no more bubbles. And I often wonder, Durfey, what would happen to America if all the people here got as excited over those foreign doings as the well-paid propagandists would like us to be, Durfey—"



Getting my tears until my soul was so racked it looked like a corkscrew

"Yes, your honor?"

"Do you want these two tickets for the Dungo Bungo Dass meeting at the town hall?"

"I do not, Judge," said Durfey frankly. "Tonight I weed my garden."

"And there you are!" exclaimed Judge Hooper. "You are a crassly materialistic American, Durfey. You want to make a living first, no matter what happens to

India or Patagonia. You are typically American; you don't care a whoop for any foreign country unless you can get something out of it!"

"And how about them foreign countries, Judge?" asked Durfey.

"Well, Durfey," said Judge Hooper, with his customary grin; "I have not noticed that they care a whoop for us, either, unless they can get something out of us."

The Mission Road

By Margaret Adelaide Wilson

YOU may have started off on a holiday tour, or some special business may have been the goal of your journeying; but if you travel far enough through California you will sooner or later come to a road where small bronze bells tell off the miles. They make an odd and old-world touch upon



The Mission of San Juan Capistrano

the modern concrete or macadam highway; and if you pause to examine the bells you will find this inscription: "El Camino Real"—the King's Highway.

This is the oldest road in California, made by the feet of Franciscan missionaries as they traveled up and down the wild new land nearly two centuries ago, planting the seeds of their faith with a zeal that no hardships could chill. They named the road, not after King Carlos of Spain, whose subjects they were, but after that old, stern Crusader king, Louis the Ninth of France. He had known the bitterness of bleeding feet and wild paths, and it was to him their thoughts turned in the task they had set themselves.

San Diego really marks the beginning of El Camino Real, for it was here that in 1769 Father Junipero Serra established the first station for the Christian faith in California. His lifelong friend and faithful biographer, Father Palou, gives a vivid account of that founding. The survivors of the land and sea expeditions gathered on a July morning on a sloping hill overlooking the lovely bay of San Diego de Alcalá, and Father Serra raised the cross and said mass while the Indians from nearby rancherias stood apart and watched the strange and disturbing sight. Nearly a year was to pass before any of the natives answered the good priest's call to salvation, but Father Serra was not easily discouraged. Leaving others to superintend the building of huts and chapel and storehouses for the San Diego mission, he pushed on up the coast, suffer-

ing but indomitable, blessing the site of one mission after another and crying the message of his faith into dulled and savage ears.

So that in the beginning it was seekers after the souls of men that traveled this lovely, winding, branching Camino Real. Because of its purpose it reached into inland valleys, and a chapel sprang up at Pala, under the purple shadow of Palomar. There the chapel stands to this day, with its exquisite campanile, its graveyard where bushes of whispering bells keep the little Indian children happy in their long sleep, and where in a shadowy niche of the chapel an old square tile is preserved on which long ago Isil the coyote left the print of his slender tameless feet. Strange legends were told in those days of Isil and his traffic with the unseen world, and it may be that he looked in at the mission door that dark night knowing that his day would soon be over, and that the men of the tribe would no longer turn to him for news of their dead.

From Pala the mission road traveled on up to a high valley of meadows and oaks, where the mission chapel of Santa Ysabel was founded. Nothing now remains of that chapel but the bells, swung on a sycamore beam



The Mission of Santa Barbara

beside the little graveyard. Here on a night of All Souls the traveler along El Camino Real may see a score of tiny, wistful candle flames among the graves. The Indians of Santa Ysabel do not forget their dead, and on the night of All Souls they come to light the spirits of the dear ones back to earth again.

There are other inland missions—solemn old San Miguel with its irregular arches and its dim chapel that no amount of well-meant restoration can quite mar;

the lonely outpost of Our Lady of Solitude; the mellow old building of San Gabriel in the little town whose repose not even the sight-seeing bus can disturb. These and others stand out of sight and hearing of the sea, and sometimes one comes upon them in a lonely field and is made quiet by the beauty of their broken arches, or the bit of a wall that the swallows have taken.

But for the most part El Camino Real brings one always back to the sea, and on some commanding point you find a mission standing. San Luis Rey, hidden from the sea by a long bluff, still echoes to the voice of the surf on stormy nights; and at mass you may pick



Old Indian church—Mission of Santa Ysabel

out the faces of bronzed, weatherbeaten fishermen at their prayers.

San Luis Rey is one of the more imposing mission buildings. An early traveler, Dihaut-Cilly, has left us a vivid description of it as he saw it one morning nearly a century ago. He tells how he reined in his horse to gaze in wonder as the first rays of the sun lighted up "the glittering whiteness of that superb structure."

Father Peyri was the beneficent influence of San Luis Rey. He loved his charges and they loved him devotedly, and when after the spoliation of the missions he sailed away, they wept over his going, and for years afterward burned candles to his memory, as to the one saint in the flesh they had known.

Now a straggling hamlet stands where once the vineyards and olive orchards flourished at the mission's feet, and the boundary walls are slowly crumbling away. But the work of restoration has done much for the great buildings, and the presence of a Franciscan college brings life to the long, sunny cloisters. The old baptismal font has come back to its place, and the original vestments are returned to their chests in the crypt. Time is mellowing the glaring newness of the restoration, giving it the beauty that is peculiarly the gift of time.

San Juan Capistrano, fifty miles up the coast, has also its guardian village. Nothing, not even the automobile, can modernize the quiet street of old San Juan. The long, low adobe houses have a dignity all their own, and it is the musical Spanish tongue that chiefly greets one's ears. The mission in its lovely garden watches at the head of the street right where El Camino Real comes down from between the rounded hills.

Of whatever creed the traveler may be, he finds it hard to resist the appeal of San Juan Capistrano. There is the sun dial among the flowers with its austere message: "Son, observe the time and fly from evil." There is the quaint latticed brick chimney above the old kitchen, home of drowsy doves that coo and preen themselves through the long afternoons and at sunset wheel above the garden like the doves the Psalmist of old looked upon—"with their wings of sil-

ver and feathers of gold, symbol of peace and content."

The big church, ruined in 1812 by a frightful earthquake, has never been restored, and only the sanctuary and a grass-grown wall remain to tell how beautiful it must have been. One can still trace the graceful spring of the arches, and the quaint frescoes done by Indian neophytes. The bells swing in low arches connecting the church with the main building. You can read their story on their bronzed sides: "Ave Maria Purisima. Me fesit Ruelas. I me yamo San Juan 1796."

For the collector there are wonderful treasures to see in the dusky room behind the chapel; illuminated missals, priceless old parchment volumes, the bell wheel used to call the early Indian neophytes to penitence; the quaint wooden figure of San Juan Capistrano, habited like a fighting monk. Behind this room is the oldest building of all, and through it you come out upon the graveyard with its unnamed dead, and look in at the quiet garden where the birds sing and the priests walk beside the herb-bordered fountain.

What San Juan Capistrano is to the south, Santa Barbara is to the up-coast country. Perhaps to the casual visitor Santa Barbara is the richest of all the missions in interest.

From its founding it seems to have suffered but little from adverse fortune. The delay in its founding was a deep sorrow to Father Junipero Serra, and it was not until two years after his death that the site was finally consecrated. The buildings were at first mere temporary structures of adobe, roofed with a mud thatch. Tiles fashioned over the bare knees of Indians gradually replaced the temporary thatches, and ten years later the big mission was completed. It was built of enduring material, with heavy sandstone walls six feet through. In the quadrangular garden a fountain was built whose beauty caught the eye of even so sophisticated a traveler as Dihaut-Cilly when he visited the mission a few years after its completion.



Ruined cloisters of San Luis Rey

So, up and down El Camino Real the traveler comes continually upon these beautiful testimonials to a strong and enduring faith. In faith was the road begun, and though the feet that beat it out of the wilderness grew tired nearly a century ago, the message they brought still speaks to us, the careless travelers of another day.

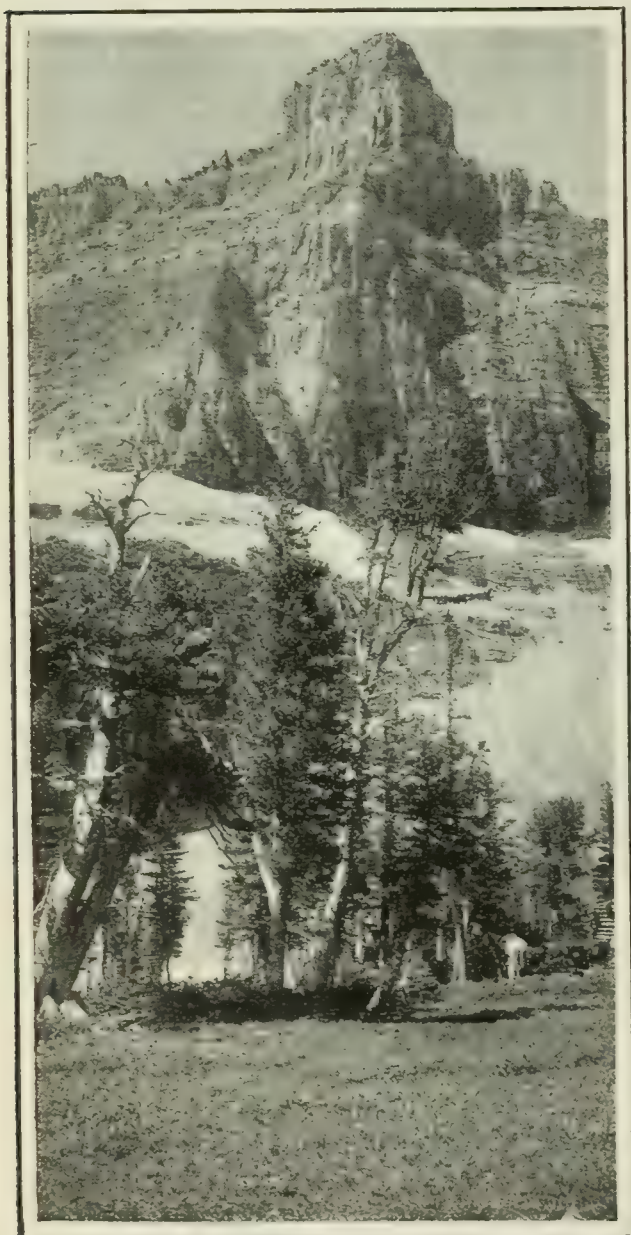
"For thee, voyager," ran the message buried at the foot of the cross on a wild headland near Monterey, "for thee, voyager, we pray that God may bring thee at last to the harbor of salvation."



Wiswall, Denver

View of Mount Evans, Denver National Park

The Lure of Mountain and Stream in Western America



Fred H. Kiser, Portland, Ore.

Iceberg Lake, Glacier National Park, Montana



Fred H. Kiser, Portland, Ore.

Josephine Lake and Grinnell Glacier, Glacier National Park, Montana



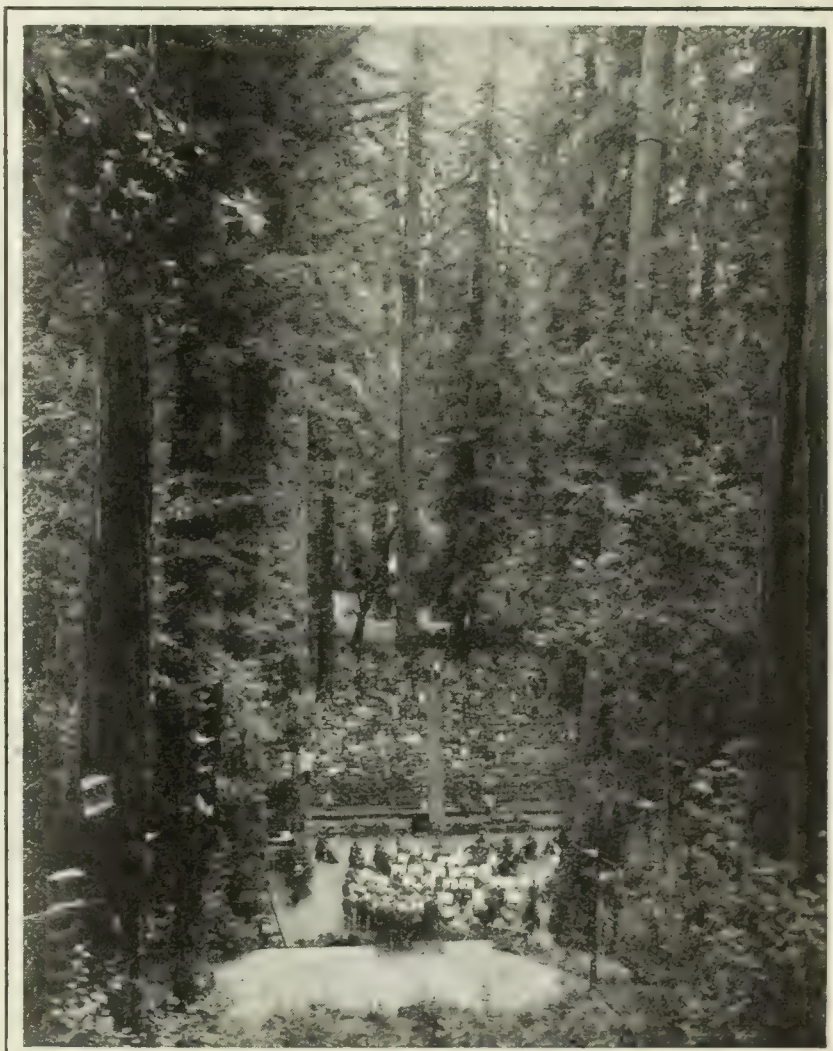
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R.R.

Across the Canyon, looking south, Grand Canyon National Park



Denver Tourist and Publicity Bureau

Boulder Falls, in Boulder Canyon, Colorado



Gabriel Moulin, San Francisco

A symphony in the redwoods—the Bohemian Club



Colorado Springs Chamber of Commerce

Twin Lakes, on the Pikes Peak Ocean Highway, Colorado

What the World Is Doing

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

Domestic Affairs

O Captain! My Captain!

O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought is won,
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring;
But O heart! heart! heart!
O the bleeding drops of red,
Where on the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

O Captain! my Captain! rise up and hear the bells;
Rise up—for you the flag is hung—for you the bugle trills,
For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you the shores
a-crowding,
For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces turning;
Here Captain! dear father!
This arm beneath your head!
It is some dream that on the deck,
You've fallen cold and dead.

My Captain does not answer, his lips are
pale and still,
My father does not feel my arm, he has no
pulse nor will,
The ship is anchor'd safe and sound, its
voyage closed and done,
From fearful trip the victor ship comes in
with object won;
Exult, O shores, and ring, O bells!
But I with mournful tread,
Walk the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

—Walt Whitman.

The Railroad Wage Cuts

THE United States Railroad Labor Board has handed down a decision (effective July 1) reducing by 13.2 per cent. the wages of 400,000 railroad maintenance of way employees, and cutting \$48,000,000 per annum from the carriers' payrolls. It is expected that other decisions affecting other classes of employees will be rendered prior to July 1, which will cut not less than \$100,000,000 more from the payrolls. It will be recalled that a decision in May, 1920, added \$600,000,000 per annum to the payrolls, and that in July, 1921, there was a reduction which totaled \$400,000,000 per annum.

The Railroad Labor Board protests that this decision is quite independent of, was in no wise induced by, the action of the Interstate Commerce Commission on May 24, in ordering a general reduction of 10 per cent. in railroad freight rates below the rates which became effective on August 26, 1920. The Interstate Commerce Commission was careful to declare that, in ordering a reduction of rates, it did not take account of the possibility of wage reductions.

The maintenance of way men will vote in the near future on the question whether they shall strike in protest against the Railroad Labor Board's decision. Other classes of railway labor will similarly vote, should decisions reducing their pay be rendered. A new railroad crisis seems to be at hand.

Statistics of the Coal Strike

A survey of the coal strike published by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America gives the total number of strikers as 514,500, including 117,000 non-union men, and then proceeds:

Of the non-union miners, probably about 121,000 are at work, producing 4,000,000 of the 8,000,000 tons of coal which the country requires weekly. The reserves above ground, which amounted to 63,000,000 tons on April 1, have been reduced to below 40,000,000 tons.

Mr. Hoover Announces Fair Prices for Coal

Mr. Hoover estimates the present production as about 5,000,000 tons and the needs of the country as about 8,500,000 tons weekly.

Mr. Hoover has (May 31) announced maximum "fair prices" for coal (at the mine) in five bituminous districts, after consultation with committees representing the several fields and pursuant to a plan that found acceptance at a general conference of producing operators over which Mr. Hoover presided. It is expected that similar announcements for the other fields now producing will be made within a day or two.

There is no law to prevent profiteering in coal or for fixing "fair prices," and agreements between operators to fix prices are illegal. Merely Mr. Hoover ascertains "fair prices" for the districts, announces them, and expects operators not to charge higher. Committees in the several districts will report instances of charging in excess of Mr. Hoover's maximums, and it is thought that moral suasion

will be as effective as a law could be.

Blizzard Acquitted

William Blizzard, charged with treason as one of the principal leaders of the armed miners who marched upon Logan County last fall, after a trial lasting one month, was acquitted by his jury on May 27. Blizzard is one of fifty-two indicted for treason. It seems likely that the other treason cases will be dropped, and that trials will be had on charges of murder, insurrection, and conspiracy, in connection with the famous march.

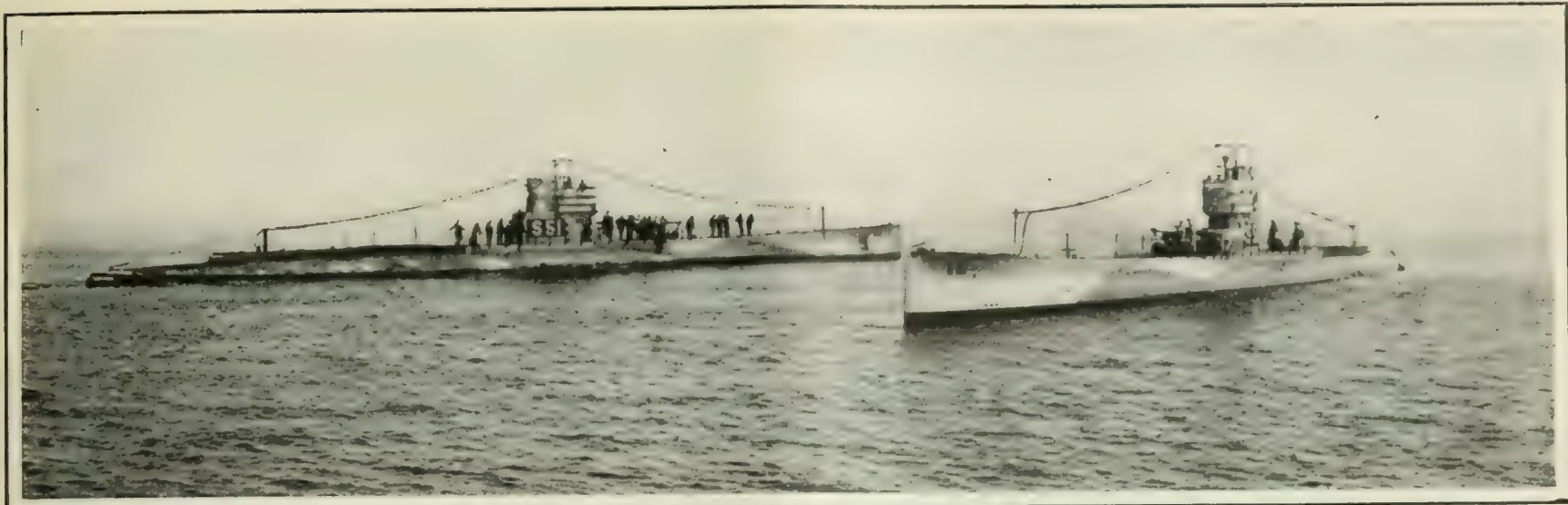
Politics in Columbus, Georgia

Following letters threatening his murder, a bomb exploded on the front porch of the Mayor of Columbus, Georgia, the other night. A good deal of damage was done, but nobody was killed. A few nights before, the city manager, while walking alone, was attacked and badly beaten by three men. It seems that the new City Manager plan of government is displeasing to some of



International

M. Tardieu of France, who stands for a stern policy toward Germany, and who has lately criticized the attitude of the United States toward France



Wide World Photos

U. S. Submarines 50 and 51, just completed, embodying all the good points of the German U-boats

the burghers. Doubtless most of the inhabitants of Columbus (forgetting the negroes) are of pioneer American stock. Really, Columbus, really!

Poor, Crack-Brain'd World!

The Countess Markiewicz sailed for Ireland on May 30. On the eve of sailing she was given a reception at the Hotel Commodore.

The following is quoted from the *New York Times*:

Many of those present were heard to say that they were tired of treaties and wanted war, which was predicted as coming inside of two months. "I want bullets, I am sick of treaties," said one woman. "When the Russian boys and the Germans get together and clean up, there will be peace in the world."

Poor world, poor crack-brain'd world!

Brief Notes

There survive in New York City 826 Union veterans of the Civil War. Of these between 400 and 500 participated in a Memorial Day parade.

* * *

The immigration from Germany is increasing; the present rate is 100 per day.

* * *

The Senate Committee on Finance on May 31 voted to report favorably to the Senate the McCumber Bonus bill, which does not greatly differ from the Bonus bill which passed the House whoopingly. The bill contemplates an ultimate cost to the taxpayer of about \$4,000,000,000. It does not contain provisions for finding the money.

The Irish Situation

ON May 20, Michael Collins and de Valera concluded a strange agreement, of which the following are the main items:

Elections to a new Dail to be held in June.

The Sinn Fein organization (which includes both the followers of Collins and Griffith, who are committed to the London Agreement which created the Free State, and the followers of de Valera, who hitherto have bitterly opposed the London Agreement) to present a single list of candidates, and the number of candidates from each of the two Sinn Fein parties to be the number representing that party in the present Dail.

The new Dail Cabinet after the elections to consist of ten members: five from the Collins-Griffith Free State party, four from the de Valera Opposition party, and one (the Minister of Defense) to be chosen by the army.

Winston Churchill invited the Irish leaders committed to the Free State to London to explain that agreement, which at first blush does not promise to promote the interests of the Free State. The Irish leaders went, and some of them are still in London explaining. On May 31, Winston Churchill made a powerful speech on the dangerous situation created by the agreement. Speaking for the British Government, he expressed confidence in the good faith of the Irish leaders who signed the London Agreement, but intimated (what Lord Birkenhead said right out in the Lords) that they had shown weakness, lack of judgment, and lack of political experience. The British Government, however, is disposed to interpret all in the most liberal spirit and to make the best of a very bad matter. It had been hoped that June elections, besides providing a truly representative Constituent Assembly, would be a true plebiscite on the issue of the London Agreement. That hope is sped. The British Government recognizes that now (the delay, due to weakly yielding to de Valera, is responsible for that) the obstacles to a freely contested election are almost insuperable. Therefore the British Government is disposed to recognize the new Dail elected as proposed by the Collins-de Valera pact as a provisional Parliament and Constituent Assembly answering the requirements of Article 17 of the London Agreement.

So far, so good; but the great difficulty is ahead. The Collins-de Valera pact contemplates (though it does not definitely say so) that the new Dail Cabinet shall supersede the present Provisional Government. That is certainly a shocker of the first magnitude, since at least four of the ten Cabinet members are to be of de Valera's following. But we're prepared to go the limit of concession, says Churchill. We will accept that Cabinet as the Provisional Government on one condition: that all the members sign (as required by the London Agreement and as the members of the present Provisional Government have signed) a declaration of adherence to the London Agreement. If any member refuses to sign and is continued as a Minister, the London Agreement is broken, and the British Government resumes "liberty of action." What action? Resumption of powers transferred, reoccupation of territory. The intended evacuation of British troops from Dublin has been suspended and will remain suspended, pending developments. There, gentlemen, is the answer of the British Government to the Collins-de Valera pact.

Seated in the Distinguished Visitors' gallery, Collins and Griffith heard Churchill's speech, which they admit-

ted to be "eminently fair," and "in accordance with the facts." * * *

It is reported that peace has definitely been established between the majority of the army loyal to the Provisional Government of the Free State and the mutineers.

* * *

Delivery of munitions to the Provisional Government by the British Government has been suspended.

* * *

It appears that the new Dail may after all differ considerably in complexion from the present Dail, despite



International

A Steeplechase at Belmont Park

the coalition Sinn Fein panel; for the Labor Party, the Farmers' Party, and other groups are bestirring themselves.

* * *

Irish Republican Army forces, in such strength that the movement is rather an invasion than a raid, have seized what is called the "Belleek salient" of County Fermanagh. Far north on the border, between Donegal and Tyrone Counties, in the vicinity of Strabane, Republicans have been attacking the Ulster constabulary. More important still, on May 30, Republicans at Pettigo, Donegal County, fired across the border into Fermanagh County, wounding some British soldiers. The Republican Army forces thus disporting themselves are of the "dissident" section, and are not acting under the orders of Mulcahy. The statement, therefore, that the "dissidents" are reconciled with the majority of the army loyal to Collins and Griffith, can only be true in the Pickwickian sense. Or, perhaps, they are extreme bitter-enders, and represent "the dissidence of dissent." If so, the matter is not so serious as it seems.

France

Poincaré's Address to the Veterans

A GREAT congress of the French National Veterans' Association at Strasbourg was closed on the 21st with a speech by Premier Poincaré. How one should like to know how much justification there is for the following passages:

You who won this peace with such titanic effort and so great a sacrifice, intend that it shall not be troubled or compromised. More than any you are anxious that peace should be kept. But you do not admit that little by little it should be turned against the victors, that it should become a decoy

and deception, and that its essential conditions should be violated without punishment.

None among you is animated by feelings of hate or violence. None among you nurtures those imperialistic designs which are so easily and so calumniously attributed to us. None among you desires that our relations with Germany should remain eternally poisoned by the memory of these bloody years. We all seek, on the contrary, to assure at last tranquillity of spirit.

But here, here in our Alsace, on the banks of the Rhine, we are too near the frontier to feed ourselves on illusions, and from this observation post where we are placed we see still ominous and disquieting clouds on the horizon. If we shut our eyes to realities, there is not a single Alsatian who will not force us to open them. At Strasbourg, at Colmar and at Mulhouse every one knows these pan-Germanists, of what they are capable and what they have done to avoid execution of the Treaty of Versailles.

Alsace cannot believe the fable of German disarmament. Alsace divines only too clearly what is hidden behind the police organizations, and knows too well what depots of arms are daily discovered in the Reich territory. Neither can Alsace believe in the moral disarmament of Germany; she is too accurately informed of the innermost thoughts of our neighbors, and observes repeated manifestations thereof.

Do we not see developing in a number of countries, notably America, a German campaign of leaflets and pamphlets in favor of the autonomy and neutrality of Alsace-Lorraine?

Benefits to France of an International Loan to Germany

FROM the announcement by the Bankers' Committee (convened under the auspices of the Reparations Commission, and including Mr. J. P. Morgan in its membership) that an international loan to Germany is out of the question unless Germany accepts without change or reservations the latest terms presented to her by the Reparations Commission, it seems reasonable to infer that, if the Germans do so accept, an international loan to Germany will be, in the opinion of the Bankers' Committee, easily floatable. Whether the German note of May 28 will be regarded by the Reparations Commission as a complete acceptance, remains to be seen. It probably will; and then it will be "up to" the Bankers' Committee.

So far, so good. What, then, are the benefits expected by the French to accrue to France from such a loan? The proceeds would be applied, they say, in part to cash reparations payments, and in part to stabilization of German finance, which stabilization would make possible, after a brief moratorium, regular payments by Germany under the London schedule.

Ah, but are not the French (*i. e.*, the average Frenchman on the street) a little optimistic? Suppose a loan of \$3,000,000,000; the highest figure any one has ventured to suggest. And suppose half of this were to be devoted directly to reparations payments. And suppose France should get her 52 per cent. share of the latter. Then France would get directly out of that loan about \$750,000,000; not enough to pay two years' interest on the internal loans through which France has expended about \$8,000,000,000 on reconstruction work. And France must continue to expend at the old rate on reconstruction through internal loans; for though through marvelous energy and industry the soil has mostly been restored to cultivation, and the railways, highways, and canals have been repaired, only a beginning has been made of reconstructing the towns in the devastated areas. So, then, France's cash share of the largest conceivable present international loan to Germany would be but a drop in the reconstruction bucket.

If, however, Germany should use half of a three-billion dollar loan in an honest effort to stabilize German finance *with a view chiefly to regular payments as*

soon as possible under the London schedule, the loan might in the end go far to save France; if only in the meantime France can bear up under the increasing financial burden. But if the Germans are to make that honest effort, let Americans and Englishmen cease to talk of the "intolerable burden" of the reparations total. It is heavy, it is even terrible, but it is not intolerable, whereas the present French burden is almost intolerable, yet must be increased. Gallant French, though hope deferred maketh the heart sick, cherish that hope; and do not dangerously deceive yourselves with the expectation of immediate important benefits from a loan to Germany!

* * *

The Reparations Commission has declared satisfactory the German note of reply to the Commission's latest terms. On with the loan!

Germany

Chancellor Wirth on the Rapallo Treaty

ADDRESSING the Reichstag the other day, Chancellor Wirth said the following about the Rapallo Treaty:

Whoever reads the Rapallo treaty carefully and unprejudiced must admit it is an honest, upright piece of work, a model of a peace treaty, wherein there are neither vanquished nor victors. It is a complete liquidation of mutual claims arising from the war.

It depends on one's standpoint regarding European politics whether one regards the Rapallo treaty as fair or unfair. . . . I can only repeat that the Rapallo treaty contains no sinister future intentions, but merely puts an end to the past relations of the two countries. It likewise signifies a bridge between the East and West in economic and social respects to the benefit of both parties.

It is interesting that the Rapallo treaty was hailed by the workers of the whole world as the first real peace work.

It cannot be said that the Chancellor's words are completely reassuring as to the objects and probable results of the Rapallo Treaty.

Farewell, But Not for Ever!

On May 30 the Reichstag ratified the Polish-German treaty regarding Upper Silesia. The flags on the Reichstag Building were half-masted. The members of the Government and most of the Reichstag members wore black. Almost everything inside the Chamber was edged with crepe. All standing, the President of the Reichstag delivered a formal farewell to the Upper Silesians torn from the bosom of the Fatherland. Farewell, but not for ever! The foul deed must be undone. For, as the *Allgemeine Zeitung* remarks on this occasion with the familiar Teutonic accuracy and restraint, "the Pole has neither racial nor historical right in Upper Silesia. Not an inch of Upper Silesian earth belongs to him, not a piece of Upper Silesian coal, not an ounce of Upper Silesian ore, not a pit, nor a miner's shack."—No, there's no danger in that quarter.

The Genoa Conference Ends

THE Genoa Conference ended with a plenary session on May 19. The plan of the Hague commissions, substantially as summarized in the last Fortnightly issue, was formally adopted. The delegates of France, Belgium and Japan did not formally assent, but stated that they would recommend acceptance to their Governments; Germany was ignored. The agreement to observe the *status quo* and to refrain from subversive propaganda is to remain in force a period of four

months after the conclusion of the work of the Hague Commissions. The agreement received the assent of all the delegations except the French, Belgian, and German; the French and Belgians saying they would recommend assent to their Governments, the Germans being again ignored. The report of the Economic Commission was presented and adopted.

The Hungarian Elections

ELECTIONS to a National Assembly were held in part of Hungary on May 28 and in the rest of the country on June 1. Returns from the voting of May 28 indicate an overwhelming victory for the party of Regent Horthy. Horthy's ingenious arrangements for the so-called elections insured that happy result. The new assembly is to settle the succession.

China

ADEQUATE discussion of the important developments in China since mid-May must be postponed to another issue. The latest news is happy. Chang Tso-lin is on the run. Not only are Wu Pei-fu's columns close on the heels of his demoralized army, but his home detachments are mutinying and declaring for Wu Pei-fu. Most of the members of the old Parliament are assembled at Tientsin. They have been invited by the Peking Government (at the instance of Wu Pei-fu) to move to Peking and resume control of affairs. They will shortly do so. They have urged those members of the old Parliament who now constitute the Parliament of the Canton Republic to join them.

President Hsu Shih-chang has resigned, but will probably not relinquish office until the old Parliament is again in function at Peking. General Li Yuan-hung, who resigned when the old Parliament was dissolved by Tuan Chi-jui in 1917, will be invited by that reassembled Parliament to resume the Presidency. With the resignation of Hsu Shih-chang, there is no longer any justification for the existence of the Canton Republic. Sun Yat-sen hesitates to doff his honors, but, if he hesitates much longer, his old lieutenant, General Chen Kwang-ming, who is in sympathy and correspondence with Wu Pei-fu, is likely to apply the necessary pressure. Wu Pei-fu says he will be the obedient servant of the Parliament, as soon as it has a firm grasp of things.

Altogether, the outlook for China seems very bright. But, China being China, one should watch out for "crookèd eclipses."



Knott
Doc ought to have no trouble diagnosing the case

Toward the Setting Sun

By Marguerite A. Salomon

Saddle, rail, or pack-sack—anyway you take it;
Choose a pal and try him, but on your own is best.
Sand, clay, or cinders—anyway to make it
Looking for Tomorrow down the long road West.

“**D**OWN the long road West”—what a wonderful road it is! What wonderlands it reaches and how little, unfortunately, are they known by our countrymen! Vast national parks, national monuments, and national forests, cliff dwellings and living aborigines to visit; gorgeous canyons, snow-capped peaks to climb, glaciers to explore—the list is endless.

One of the most interesting and delightful trans-continental trips is that from New Orleans to California and the great Pacific Northwest. Out from New Orleans the train quickly speeds past cotton and rice fields and sugar plantations and across cypress swamps with their ancient moss-draped trees.

The first city, after leaving New Orleans, worthy of a stop-over is San Antonio. This is an ideal tourist resort because of its moderate and healthful climate and also because it boasts plenty of good hotels and much sightseeing to keep the tourist interested and busy. Historic buildings and associations give tone to the city. The most important of these is the far-famed Alamo.

After leaving San Antonio, the route follows the course of the Rio Grande to El Paso, about six hundred miles west. As the “doorway into Mexico,” El Paso presents many interesting side trips; it has some fine hotels, and the traveler who can afford the time may well spend a few days here.

Westward through a colorful land of much charm. This is really where “the West begins.” Superb mesas and magnificent buttes, sharp-pointed peaks on the skyline, cliff-dwellings—the sights so make the hours fly by, and before you know it you are at Bowie, an old historic frontier town in Arizona, from which the remarkable rail-auto side-trip is made to the Roosevelt Dam, over what is known as the Apache Trail.

Follows a short rail-ride to Globe, which is reached

early in the morning. After breakfast seven-passenger cars are ready to make the tour over the Apache Trail. This is, in fact, a marvelous highway and gives a fine idea of the skill of American highway engineers. Riding along so comfortably, it is hard to believe that barely thirty years ago this district was impassable for vehicles and even for saddle horses, and that here life was constantly endangered by a notorious band of lawless Indians under the leadership of one Geronimo.

In seventeen miles the highway rises almost a mile on an imperceptible grade. The sky is the clear azure of which Arizona alone can boast. On either side are crags and cliffs of almost every color of the rainbow. To one who has

never seen the shading of the various volcanic formations of the West it is difficult to convey an idea of the brilliancy of the purples, the greens, the blues, and the reds.

Viewed from the summit, the distant Apache Mountains rise jagged and clear; the tiny thread of gleaming light in the distance is, so the driver says, the Salt River; and before you are Tonto

Basin, Dutch Woman, and the four Peaks of the Mazatzal Range, lifting their heads 7,500 feet. They seem so near, yet you are told they are sixty miles away! It is magnificent. And that tiny bit of blue beneath you—the

guide says it is Roosevelt Lake, the largest artificial body of water in the world; and he goes on to inform you that that speck is thirty miles long and four miles wide!

But presently you have started on the downward trip, and the towering crags are now on all sides. The car stops part way down. Someone shouts, “Look up,” and you see before you the ancient cliff dwellings of which you have read so much. The climb up is neither wearisome nor difficult, and is very rewarding. About twenty apartments of these relics are almost perfect. The dwellings date back to an age when a race of men somewhat different from our own inhabited the earth. The Indians called them the “Little People”—and so they



Southern Pacific

Avalon, on the magic isle of Santa Catalina, Los Angeles



Southern Pacific

Cliff House and Seal Rocks, San Francisco



International

Golden Gate, Yellowstone Park



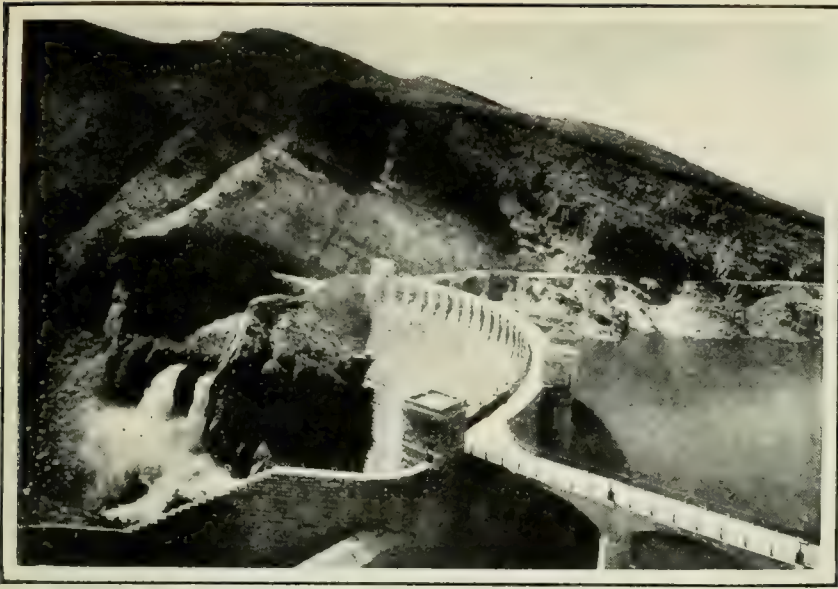
Southern Pacific

Mount Shasta, California



International

The Golden Gate near Fort Point



Southern Pacific

Roosevelt Dam, Apache Trail of Arizona

must have been to have lived in these tiny and low-ceilinged rooms. To get an idea of the age of these ruins one must remember that they were ancient when Columbus discovered America.

Once more in the motor cars a slight turn in the Trail opens up for you a splendid view of Roosevelt Lake, and you do not question its size now. The great dam, higher than Niagara Falls, is in the foreground. Here, surrounded by the mighty works of Nature, is the stupendous undertaking of man.



Southern Pacific

Old mission La Purisima Concepcion, San Antonio

After a delicious luncheon at the Apache Lodge, on the edge of the Lake, the afternoon is given over to sightseeing. Or the fisherman may prefer to occupy himself with the black bass and salmon in the lake.

After a brief stop-over at Globe, it seems almost no time before you reach California. The locomotives have puffed their way over the mountain passes, where the traveler is overwhelmed by the scenery as it rolls so swiftly by. A climb, and then a decided drop, and you are going through the famous San Gabriel valley, with its olive and orange groves and its touch of southern California "local color." Past San Bernardino and Riverside, and you soon are rumbling into the fine Southern Pacific station at Los Angeles.

Los Angeles needs no introduction nor eulogy. Its fame is international as a tourist resort. Here the traveler can live a week, a month, or a year and still not see it all. There are fascinating side trips to San Diego, Coronado, Long Beach, Pasadena, and Catalina; through the orange-grove country and through the missions. The traveler is overwhelmed by "things to do."

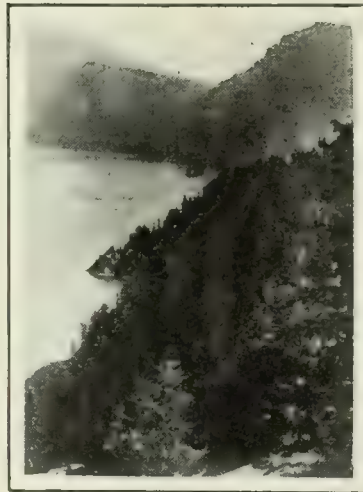
On the northbound Coast Line trip to San Francisco, two important stop-overs should be made; else the tour is not complete. One is at Santa Barbara—at least for a visit to its mission; and the other at Monterey and Del Monte, with its famous Seventeen-Mile Drive.

San Francisco can hold one enthralled for months, yet if time is limited one can see the "sights" in a week. There are the Muir Woods, for instance, and the Beach with its famous Cliff House; the view of the Golden Gate and the Bay from Twin Peaks; Golden Gate Park; Oakland; and the University of California at Berkeley, which contains the wonderful Greek Theatre.

And then from San Francisco via the Shasta Route to Portland, Oregon! How can one, in a paragraph or two, convey the charm, the exquisite beauty, the loveliness of this trip through the Bret Harte country, and then into the Mt. Shasta country with its all-day view of Mt. Shasta—solemn, snow-capped glorious peak?

From Ashland, Oregon, there is a worthwhile side-trip to Crater Lake. Crater Lake, one of the wonders of the world, is a liquid sapphire in an emerald-and-gold setting of jagged cliffs and lofty Oregon pines. The blue of Crater Lake is so vivid and so remarkable that

artists are continually being accused of over-coloring their work in trying to transfer it to canvas.



International

Crater Lake, Oregon

Back again on the Shasta Route, the second day takes one through the rich fruit-growing country of the Rogue River Valley; and then there is the remarkable climb over the Siskiyou Mountains, where at one time you can see the first and second sections of your train high above you at a point where three tunnels are built, one over the other, on the mountain pass. Thence the never-ending beauty of the Cascades keeps you fully engaged until you reach Portland.

Portland, loveliest of cities—the City of Roses, it is called—ends our tour. Here are beautiful parks, with views of Mt. Hood, Mt. St. Helens, Mt. Adams,



Southern Pacific

Tonto cliff-dwellings, Apache Trail, Arizona

and Mt. Rainier, and often of Mt. Jefferson; a trip over the unique Columbia River highway, extending 100 miles along the Columbia River, a tour never to be forgotten.

The Independent Travel Bureau, which is in charge of an expert on tours, hotels, etc., will be glad to answer any inquiries from our readers as to vacation trips, itineraries, stopping places, expenses, etc.

Bennett and Wells

By Percy Lubbock

IT is always agreeable to have two fine poets or two remarkable novelists, of about the same size and standing, at work in our midst at the same time, in order that we may be able to take sides and make a party-strife of their merits. Dickens and Thackeray, Tennyson and Browning, were very conveniently placed for us to this end; there were many years during which enjoyment of Dickens could always be enlivened by disparagement of Thackeray, and admiration of Browning's strength by depreciation of Tennyson's sweetness. Criticism is much simplified by these party cries, no doubt; and we ought to be grateful accordingly to Mr. Bennett and Mr. Wells for standing side by side in their generation, near enough and like enough to each other for comparison, diverse enough for a clash of opinion over their talents. And now they have helped us still further by coming forward within a few days of each



Arnold Bennett

other, the two of them, with new novels. "Mr. Prohack" and "The Secret Places of the Heart"—they must evidently be compared and contrasted, they decidedly ask for it.

And remark, moreover, that we have reached a moment when the appearance of an important novel by a considerable novelist is of a special interest for a certain reason to a critic of fiction. These two novels before us will deal, we may be sure before opening them, with life of the latest sort, the life that has been left to us by the convulsion of the war, the life of the last three years; and to a critic it is a matter of extreme curiosity (to put it no higher) to see how a novelist, a story-teller of the power of these two, will succeed in tackling what may seem an impossible task. The old conditions which the novelist had known from a baby came to an end eight years ago; and any one who now tells a story of the contemporary world is involved in the immense difficulty of treating new and strange conditions that are still being doubtfully fashioned around him while he writes. He can no longer fall back upon that loose and general "present day" which was at the disposal of the novelist before the war; there is no "present day" in that sense now nor will there be for many years to come. The novelist of manners, like these two, must contrive to discern the new order for what it is, even while it is coming into being; he may say that "human nature" doesn't change, but even if that is true the forms and shapes in which human nature lodges (and these are his material) have been changed of necessity by the blow that fell upon life, all the life we know, such a short time since. How are two men, both so signally gifted with the power of picturing the world about them, going to meet and overcome the difficulty? They give us at this moment a pair of novels of con-

temporary life—we fall upon them with a lively curiosity.

Well, they do *not* meet the difficulty; each of them in his own way refuses it and passes to something else, something less difficult—small blame to him indeed! But it is disappointing. "Mr. Prohack" is an elaborate (rather too elaborate) and droll and entertaining farce—it is farce from beginning to end, as it has every right to be; Mr. Bennett, we know it of old, is an admirable farce-writer as well as a novelist of manners, and some have even preferred "The Card" and "The Grand Babylon Hotel" to "Clayhanger" and "Hilda Lessways." His new book is an excessively ingenious fantasy, set in the London scene of today, but blithely exempt (as fantasies are) from the bonds of hard plain serious truth. The men and women of the story are what are called, in the artless jargon of the stage, "character-parts"—they are not characters at all, that is to say, only a set of amusing qualities and idiosyncrasies. The fun (though it does last too long) is charming, with its hail of mockery upon a few of the stupidities and absurdities of the day; and it has the same relation to a novel of manners that Gulliver's Travels have to a journal of real exploration. Gulliver and Prohack may be preferred; but meanwhile the new true common world is evaded, so far as Mr. Bennett is concerned.

And so it is, too, by Mr. Wells in *his* fashion. He has made his book out of a string of conversations between two middle-aged men and an American girl. They talk discursively, sometimes about their hearts' secret places, more often about the history of the world. It is very good talk, they are striking people. Half-way through the book Mr. Wells suddenly turns his dialogue into a love-story, fine too in its way; but the metamorphosis is a little breathless, and it makes the dialogue more disjointed than ever. And the whole book, talk and sudden love-affair and all, is precisely the book that Mr. Wells might have written, and did write several times (only very much better), before the war; he has not tried at all to discover a story in the world as the war has refashioned it. If any man could, he could; it is particularly disappointing that he should have refused to try.

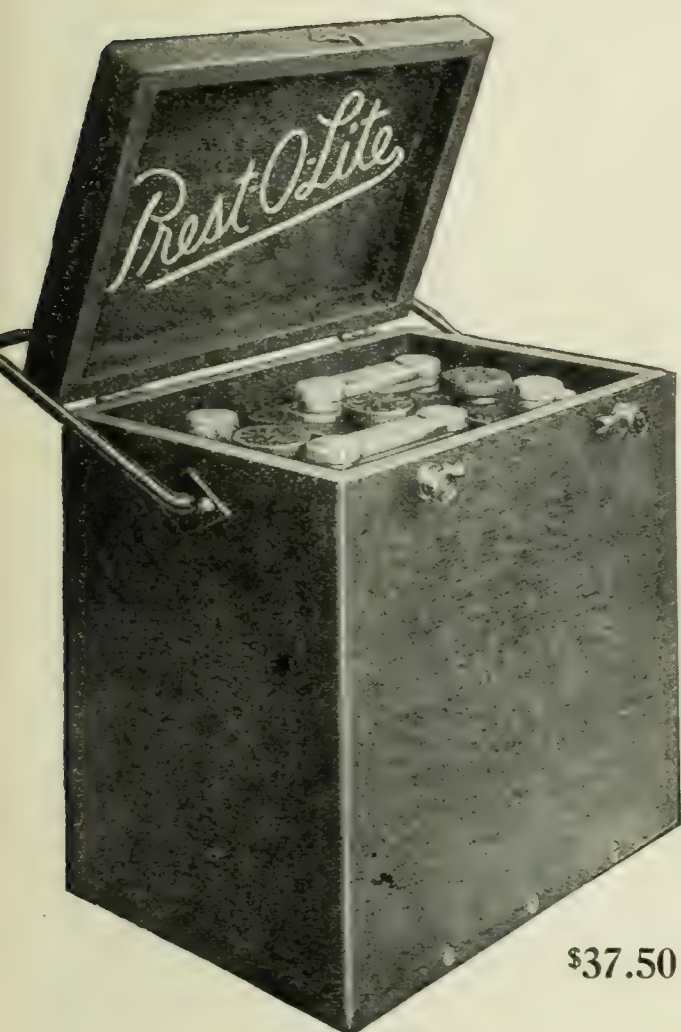


H. G. Wells

Perhaps after all it is indeed impossible—as yet. Not for those who are grown men in an age of crisis, but for the children who inhale its air with their first breath, who know the taste of it from their cradles—it will be for the children to tell the story when they can; we must wait, I dare say, till somebody now bowling a hoop or nursing a doll is ready to take us in hand and make a story of us.

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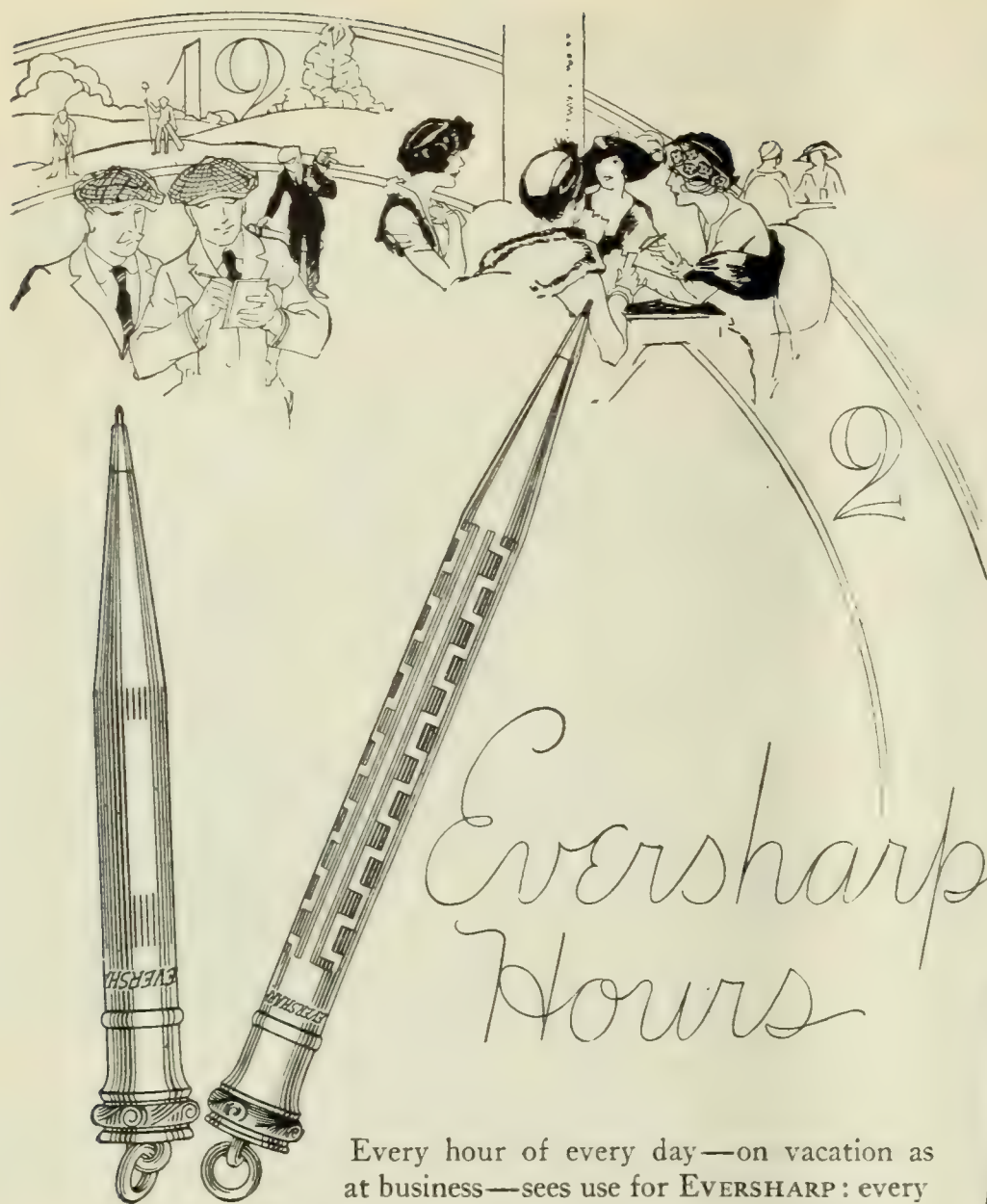


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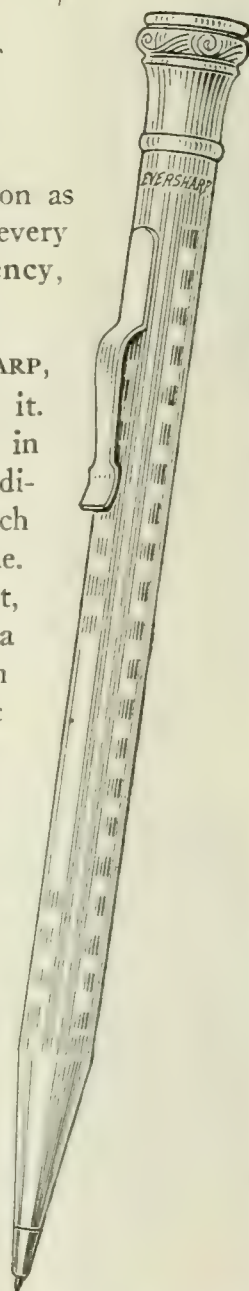
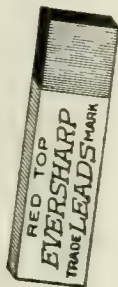
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New Books and Old

Books of the Week

A SHORT HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, based upon the Cambridge History of American Literature, edited by William Peterfield Trent, John Erskine, Stuart P. Sherman, and Carl Van Doren. Putnam.

WAITING FOR DAYLIGHT, by H. M. Tomlinson. Knopf.

The diary of an editor and war correspondent; discussing the war and books and country life and a number of other things.

THE MINDS AND MANNERS OF WILD ANIMALS, by William T. Hornaday. Scribner.

A book of personal observations by the director of the New York Zoölogical Park.

TEN YEARS AT THE COURT OF ST. JAMES 1895-1905, by Baron von Eckardstein. Dutton.

By a German Ambassador to England who worked for a friendly understanding between the two countries.

SONNETS TO A RED-HAIRED LADY, by Don Marquis. Doubleday.

PLOTS AND PERSONALITIES, by Edwin E. Slosson and June E. Downey. Century.

"A new method of testing and training the creative imagination."

AN ill-mannered critic went to see Irving in one of his first performances of Hamlet and displayed his superiority by laughing all through the performance. I do not wish to imitate him, but I must say that there is so much which is amusing in Dr. Slosson and Dr. Downey's "Plots and Personalities" (Century) that I have been delayed in getting to the serious part. Doubtless writers may test and develop their imagination by reading what the two doctors have to say on the use of newspaper "personals," upon the literary imagination, upon plot-making, and upon the novelist's mind. But reading this collection of personals, from the London Times, as well as the odd headlines which the authors have found in American newspapers, has kept me busy. Their students and amateur story-writers were set to work to develop a plot from this advertisement:

Jasper.—Tick-tock. Tick-tock.—Sweetie.

Some one paid money to insert that in the Times, and many and fatuous are the explanations of it, and the characterizations of Jasper and Sweetie supplied by the students. They all smell a love-affair, and see Sweetie as a beautiful blonde! How strange are the errors of the human mind, my dear Watson! As a matter of fact this is the Brixham robbery, and I was myself employed in clearing up some trifling points in connection with it. Jasper is a small, red-headed, bullet-headed Cockney; while Sweetie is the name by

which his pals knew Joe Duggan—a particularly heavy-jowled, broad-shouldered, bow-legged thug and burglar. "Tick-tock. Tick-Tock" means that Sweetie has succeeded in getting three pounds ten for the watch and rings which they acquired two nights previously, and that if Jasper will come to the "pub" they usually frequent (The Man Full of Mischief) he will get his share. (He will not, really, for Sweetie is holding a bit of it back on him.)

Since the subject of crime in London is under discussion, permit me to say that the best novel I have read this month, and one of the best stories in its class I have ever read, is a book published eight years ago—"The Lodger" (Scribner), by Mrs. Belloc Lowndes. The theme of the book is murder—I say this in order to warn those who wish to avoid such books—a famous and terrible series of murders, but the killing is all done "off-stage." In suspense, in deft contrivance, in creepiness, Mrs. Lowndes, according to my humble opinion, can give cards and spades to all similar novels written by women, and to all but one or two by men.

Don Marquis's "Sonnets to a Red-Haired Lady" (Doubleday) includes "Famous Love Affairs." In neither series is he at his best. At times the verses seem vulgar without being funny, and at the risk of an accusation of Anglomania it must be said that they do such things as the "Famous Love Affairs" better in England—in Maurice Baring's "Lost Diaries," etc., for example. But after so much "You gotta hand it to him, kid" and similar lines, Mr. Marquis can write stanzas like these—the first two from "Harlequin and Columbine":

When the soul of the year through its body
of earth
Burst forth in a bloom as of fire,
And the butterflies rose in a rainbow riot
of mirth
To flutter and burn and take wing and
aspire,
To her garden our Columbine came . . .
She was light as her laughter, and bright
as blown flame—
Flower, woman and music, and all these
the same.

Harlequin
Was a wind of the spring that came out
of the dawn;
He was air, he was whim, he was fancy
and mirth,
And his feet on the earth
Were as fleet as the feet of a faun.
He was fickle as glimmers of starlight that
shine
On the waves of the rivers of dream; he
was tricky as wine;
He was pagan as Pan;
A dancer, a lover, a liar, a wit;
A poet, a satyr, an imp with the face of
a man;
And his heart was unstable as wings are
that lift
Where the dragonflies drift,
His heart was as wings that turn, dartle
and flit,
And his loves were as swift.

For a present for a boy of fifteen or older "Guy Hamilton Scull" (Duffield), edited by Henry Jay Case. This is the biography, told partly in his own letters, of an American college youth and



Alluringly Distinctive—these Sweaters, Hats and Scarfs!

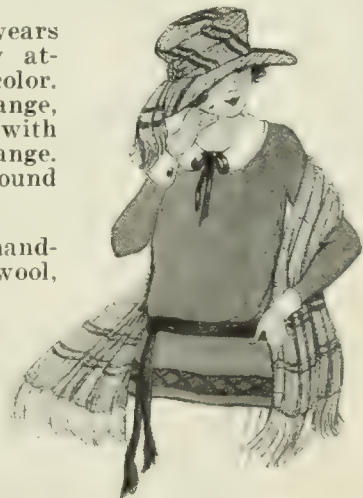
WHAT matter whether one plays the game—or not! These sports togs are enticing enough to be their own raison d'être!

The girl in the picture who is preventing the summer breezes from stealing her hat, wears a Tuxedo Sweater of Fibre Silk in a new, crinkled weave. Pockets and tasseled belt and smooth front panels are attractive features. In Black, White, Navy, Tan, Orchid, Pearl, and Copen at \$10.50. The hat is a becoming shape with a Silk crown, a Straw brim, and an under-facing to match the crown. Black stitching ornaments it. Will be made in any color combination you desire at \$15.00.

The second young woman is sure of the fashionable distinction of her Sweater, in a novelty weave of Fibre-Silk and Wool. It comes in all the wanted colors, Navy, Tan, Copen, Red, Black and White, and in combinations of Orchid and Gray, Orchid and Copen, and Black and White, at \$18.50. Her Hat is one of those jaunty little, handy Collegiate Hats of Wool and Fibre Silk. All colors at \$7.50.

The Miss at the bottom of the page wears a slip-on sweater of plain weave, very attractively banded with contrasting color. White with Black border, Copen with Orange, Camel with Red, and Brown, Black with White, Orchid with Plum, Silver with Orange. These very good-looking sweaters have round or V neck, and cost \$13.50.

This same Miss wears a stunning hand-loom scarf of zephyr-weight Australian wool, and a Hat to match. The open mesh weave makes them just the right weight for summer. In exclusive designs and colors, Copen, Rose, Orchid, Gold and Henna, and in combinations of Red and Black, Black and White, and Tan and Brown. The Scarf at \$5.00; the Hat at \$15.00.



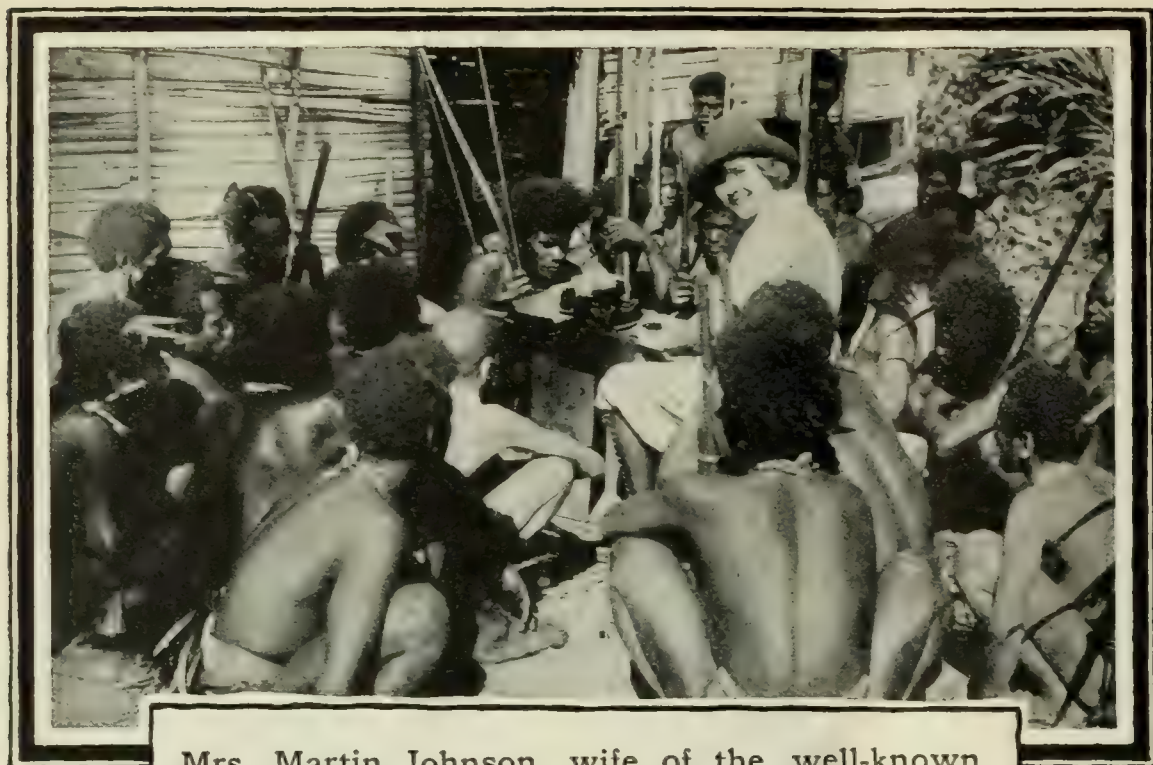
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athlete, who became a war correspondent, soldier, and police commissioner. He was never a follower of the Cubist school of patriotism, which has a small group of devotees in some universities.

A pleasant book, of pocket-size, is "Poems from *Punch*" (Macmillan). It includes the best of the verse from that weekly between 1909 and 1920—light verse, memorial verse, and war poems. From the first of these classes, and by one of the best writers of light verse, Patrick R. Chalmers, here are quoted two stanzas from "Treasure Island":

A lover breeze to the roses pleaded,
Failed and faltered, took heart and advanced;
Up over the peaches, unimpeded,
A great Red Admiral ducked and danced;
But the boy with the book saw not, nor heeded,
Reading entranced—entranced!

He read, nor knew that the fat bees bumbled;
He woke no whit to the tea-bell's touch,
The brown pigeons that wheeled and tumbled,
(For how should a pirate reck of such?)
He read, and the flaming flower-beds crumbled
At tap of the sea-cook's crutch!

An excellent one-volume résumé of "The Cambridge History of American Literature" is given in "A Short History of American Literature" (Putnam). Thus we have the chapters on Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin by Paul Elmer More and Stuart P. Sherman respectively; Poe by Killis Campbell; Hawthorne by John Erskine; Longfellow by Professor Trent; Holmes by Brander Matthews; Melville and Mrs. Stowe by Carl Van Doren; a chapter on the short story writers by Fred Lewis Pattee; and the other poets, novelists, historians, and philosophers by competent hands. The "Preachers and Philosophers" included, by the way, are Beecher, Brooks, Royce, and William James. Harry Morgan Ayres' chapter on "The English Language in America" is wisely included.

A writer of paragraphs for a newspaper column would certainly find something waggish to say about such headings as "Good Sense of the Wedge-Tailed Eagle" and the one which follows—"Memory of the Cereopsis Goose." I find myself reading them, and the information which succeeds, with the utmost seriousness. And this shows, I think, that among the many subjects upon which my sense of humor is defective, dormant, or completely absent, books about animals are prominent. I will read any book about them—especially about birds, as I believe them to be superior to human beings—with the same devotion which Gabriel Betteridge had for "Robinson Crusoe." With Dr. Hornaday's "The Minds and Manners of Wild Animals" (Scribner) a fascinating volume, I can feel that I am in the safe hands of a scientific observer, a writer whose knowledge of and sympathy for wild animals has long made me an interested reader.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

Book Reviews

Ways of Laughter

THE WAYS OF LAUGHTER. A Comedy of Interferences. By Harold Begbie. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

THERE GOES THE GROOM. By Gordon Arthur Smith. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co.

THROUGH THE SHADOWS. By Cyril Arlington. New York: The Macmillan Co.

BEST LAID SCHEMES. By Meredith Nicholson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

GENTLE JULIA. By Booth Tarkington. New York: Doubleday, Page and Co.

THE ILLUSION. By Raymond Escholier. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

MUCH of our confusion and dissension about the nature and value of humor must be laid to an acquired distrust of laughter. When Puritanism submerged the gaiety of the Elizabethan genius, and prohibited its free and deep laughter, we lost something that we may never recover. We lost our innocence, our spontaneity, our natural and unlabored discrimination between the various sorts and degrees of humor and what might be got from them. To smile became a doubtful business; and pretty soon all smiles looked alike to us. Anything with over half of one per cent. of joy in it was illegal; and what did it matter whether it might be the small beer of facetiousness, or the moonshine of artificial folly, or the immortal nectar that no ethos of the moment can denature or mend? Hence our conventional belittling of anything that is not said with the long jaw—or rather of anything that is not written so. For, queerly enough, in daily intercourse the small change of humor is our only legal tender. To be accused of lacking a "sense of humor" is the fate we most keenly dread. But to humorous literature we still agree to condescend. Such books are in "the Major Key," "the Lighter Vein"; and that's the end of them. As if half the deepest and most searching studies of the human heart in literature were not books of laughter!

"The Ways of Laughter" cannot be counted among these smiling masterpieces. Nobody can make the most fruitful use of humor by rising to defend it. The Mr. Barnet of this sketch is, I will not say a middle-aged he-Pollyanna, but a too-conscious apostle of the cheerful life. He chortles overloud at times, and the thought of Father William haunts us as we watch his determined antics. A "fresh" old gentleman is not greatly more to be desired in actual life than a fresh schoolboy. One is not sure that his gay salvage of Mary at the end is heroic rather than fatuous. And the whole episode of Mary and Stanger—a blob of naturalism-to-date—sorts ill with the satirical farce of the Napper-Diggie imbroglio. Of such incongruous matters, you may say, life is built. But it is the artist's affair to make us believe this anew, not question it.



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"There Goes the Groom" and "Through the Shadows" are good comedies of what may be called the country-house variety: bits of ingenious nonsense which never, thank Heaven, deviate into sense. In the first, the American tale of the two, young aviator George comes back from the war to New York and is put up at the sober bachelor establishment of four middle-aged men of substance. One of them, his uncle, is the supposed story-teller. Being confirmed celibates, these four at once determine that the only thing for rich and healthy young George is to marry. One of them has a lady in view, the lovely and talented daughter of an eccentric scientist who lives in a quiet place on Long Island. To that neighborhood the five repair, young George being quite willing to inspect the lady. But George's ingenuousness is of the surface. After divers comic maneuvers and alarms, it is he who escapes heart-free and foot-loose, leaving two of the old bachelors, one of them his uncle, in the noose of matrimony. The incident of the old scientist and his invention are overlabored and rather flat in the upshot. The merit of the book lies in its amusing minor situations and turns of phrase.

"Through the Shadows," with its misleading title, is a piece of deliciously clever foolery. If "The Ways of Laughter" is a "comedy of interferences," this is a comedy of impersonations. Sir Richard Atherton and his friend Captain England are typical Britons of the ruling class, somewhat at a loose end after the war. Sir Richard is supposed to be going in for politics. His method of contesting an election is to pull a distant wire whenever his private amusements permit, and we see him duly rewarded for his public spirit by the suffrage of his grateful fellow-countrymen. Meanwhile he is chiefly interested in a certain young lady and in the amusing complications which attend his wooing of her. She is the admirable daughter of an impossible American mother. Sir Richard has bidden them to a house party at which a married sister, Mrs. Howard, is to act as hostess. At the last moment the sister is detained, whereupon the baronet drafts a cousin who resembles her, to take her name and place. Captain England is also persuaded to impersonate a mythical Professor Lapski, a thought-reader and psychic, with whom Sir Richard has baited his invitation to the gullible Mrs. Branson, mother of his desired Diana. To these, by adroitly and plausibly contrived circumstance, we have presently added a young Lord who pretends to be his parson brother, a wealthy brewer who pretends to have been a retired member of the Indian civil service, and an Archdeacon, who is somewhat uncomfortably himself. The ensuing situations are really very funny, and depend not at all on the risky and shady sort of thing which French farce has so largely imposed, of late, on English comedy of this general order.

"Arabella's House Party," in Mr. Nicholson's "Best Laid Schemes," is in

a similar vein of clean fun. "The Busyness of Susan," "The Campbells Are Coming," and "Wrong Number" are not far from it. Mr. Nicholson can do several other kinds of fiction, as "The Girl with the Red Feather" and "The Third Man" here show. But I for one always like him best, find him most original and inimitable, when he is most playful and romantic. And in the best of his tales it is always the girl, rather than the official hero, who holds the centre of the stage. She is The Girl of, we suppose, the author's boyish dreams. Like Mr. Tarkington, he has only one heroine, and she is by no means of this feminized and flapperized century. With a different accent, under a different shading, she is the same charmer always. Arabella of the house party is a rascal, and an adventurous one, but as innocent as she of the "House of the Thousand Candles." We are sure that she has never heard of Freud. We note that to her a cigarette is an object between the lips of a young man to the tip of which a nice girl may blamelessly if somewhat daringly hold a match. Can it be that such nice girls, pretty and coquettish, and bold, at most, after the fashion of the "Dolly Dialogues," still exist somewhere for the consolation of old-fashioned males of all ages; and that romancers like Messrs. Nicholson and Tarkington are clever enough to see that they still live and deserve to live?

How about "Gentle Julia," for example? What is she but a maiden of the nineties, when maidenliness was still recognized as an institution? What is hers but the world of Alice Adams, and the Flirt, and all the rest of the Tarkingtonian damsels?—a world of the front parlor and the front porch, of coquetries that assume the chivalry of the victim, of fussy, helpless fathers and tolerant mothers, of whining or booming male insects of all ages adrift about the flame of young beauty. It is a world upon which neither vamp nor flapper has yet dawned. Alice Adams seems to have been vigorously resented by survivors of her own generation because she lacks the all-conquering charm which it is vaguely felt alone vindicated her type. Julia embodies that charm, and therefore, though she is just as shallow and selfish as Alice, people seem to be liking her very well. She "gets away with it"; while poor Alice, for lack of tact and reticence and the guarded instinct for effect, becomes a figure uncomfortably exposed and piteous. It is rather interesting, the vehement distaste which Alice's story, a fruit of Tarkington's deeper humor, has roused in many middle-aged admirers of Tarkington the entertainer. He has travestied or, worse, betrayed, the maiden of their own youthful dreams. Shame on him, and on the "professional Dismal Jimmies and Gloomy Gussies" who have dared commend his disconcerting portrait of an American.

Well, speaking humbly as a Jimmie or a Gussie, I may confess that I still think "Alice Adams" a book of more importance than a dozen "Gentle Ju-



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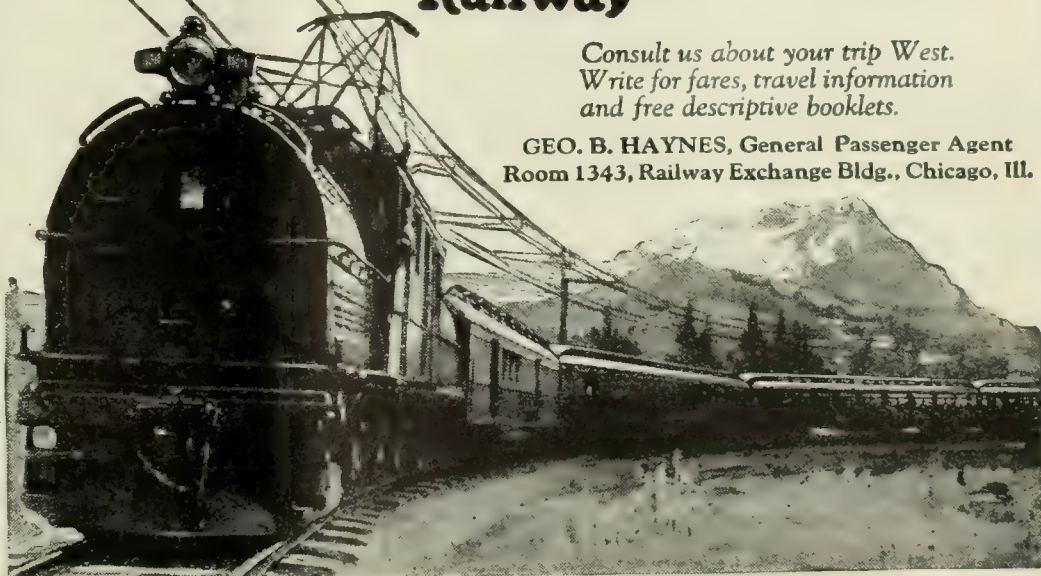
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lias." For in "Alice Adams" Mr. Tarkington did something neither he nor anybody else had done before. He took a sounding, and honestly reported it. In "Gentle Julia" he simply gives us more of what we want. The book is amusing, and we shouldn't care to miss it, but it is the old stuff of "Seventeen" and "Penrod" and "Clarence," with Julia, the late-Victorian flirt, in the title part. The leading lady, or the star part, of course, is her cousin Florence, the thirteen-year-old. She is an even closer relation to the girl in Clarence—I forget her name—though in a slightly earlier phase. She is not, we note again, at all the flapper of this hour, so genially hit off in the popular "Babs." She is the innocent tomboy of the nineties. She speaks the half-articulate dialect of all Mr. Tarkington's juveniles. She despises and wars upon her male contemporaries, Herbert and Henry, and is as absurd as they are in speech and in mental processes. I sometimes think Mr. Tarkington's chronology of youth is a bit easy, so that he inclines to prolong into the 'teens certain picturesque and quaint usages of a tenderer age. . . . Noble Dill is the harmless necessary moon-calf of the story, hopelessly adoring gentle Julia and hopelessly adored of ungente Florence. On the whole, this is an excellent characteristic turn by a deservedly popular entertainer.

For a fresh savor, the lover of humor may turn to "The Illusion," an English version of "Dansons La Trompeuse" by Raymond Escholier. That it won a Lady Northcliffe prize as the most important French novel of its year is matter of mild interest: the French woods seem to be full of such prizes. What wins us is the subtle simplicity of its matter and manner (the quality that won us in "Maria Chapdelaine"), and its penetrating and tender humor. Its Madame Lestelle is, you may say, a sort of antiquated French Alice Adams. She is a silly feminine thing, a creature of piteous belated pretenses and vanities, the butt of fate and the victim of her own limitations. The tragedy of the butterfly, fluttering towards joy only to fall unregarded in the dust of the wayside. Almost unregarded, for we, with her creator and the good curé who has been her sole friend, find her worthy somehow of sorrow and remembrance: "with the factitious freshness of her face, with her high, clear, vibrant voice, with all her childish soul, famished for life and youth and happiness. . . ." Here, surely, humor is more than a quip of ingenuity.

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The Crown Prince's Little Story

MEMOIRS OF THE CROWN PRINCE OF GERMANY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$5.

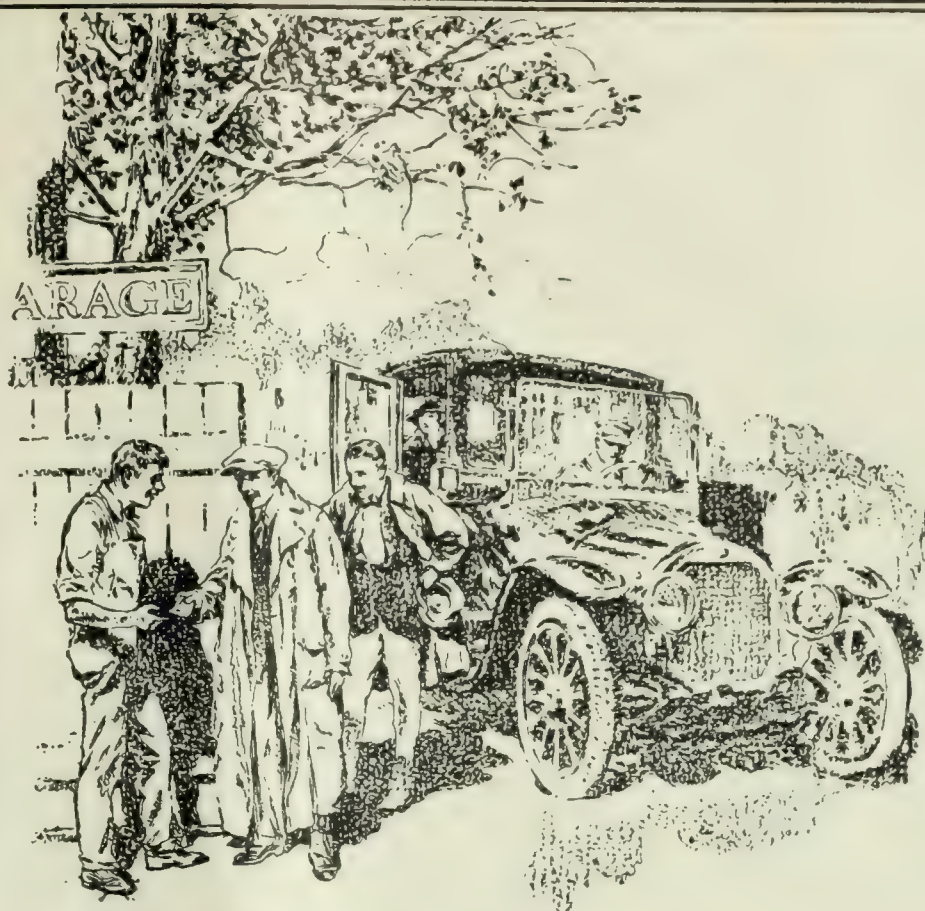
THE Crown Prince may or may not be an honest man. He may or may not have the calculated duplicity of Machiavelli. He may or may not have planned with the military party to force the Kaiser to abdicate in his favor. As the young Colonel of the Death's Head Hussars, he may or may not have been spoiling for a fight just for fun. As the commander of an army and an Army Group he may or may not have been what Bismarck called a blood spendthrift. Whether or not we still believe the vile things that were so abundantly said about him during the war is more a matter of prejudices than of evidence.

If our old friend, the Man from Mars, happens to pick up the Crown Prince's book he will conclude that the younger Wilhelm has a gay and ardent temperament, some humor, and many pleasant accomplishments; that he is instinctively liberal in politics; that he is a keen soldier and something of a student, with an unusual gift of expression. There is not a dry or pompous or pedantic paragraph in the book. There is tact and taste and sentiment.

About one-third of the book is given to the earlier years of the Crown Prince; the rest of it is occupied with the war period. One soon meets the Kaiser and the Kaiserin. The Crown Prince and his father were never sympathetic. In fact, the Kaiser could be sympathetic with no one. He was always on dress parade. Most of his intercourse with his boys was through a third person.

The Crown Prince professes great respect and admiration for his father but no affection. He tells of "one of the most perturbing incidents in the life of the Kaiser, namely, the conflict of November, 1908." This was the famous, not to say notorious, *Daily Telegraph* interview. This caused an uproar in the Reichstag and in the press, and "his self-confidence and his trust were shattered." From this the Kaiser seems never to have recovered. At any rate, the rest of his life was marked by amazing vacillation. The climax came in the tragic hours at Spa, November 9, 1918, when the Kaiser wavered back and forth. Should he abdicate or not? Should he flee to Holland or should he stay with the army? Other men decided for him. "His Majesty did not resolve of his own accord to go to Holland." Of course if the Kaiser was irresolute after 1908 he had been irresolute before. A strong man cannot be killed by an epigram.

For his mother the Crown Prince has deep and abiding love. In his book are many charming passages telling of her sweetness, her simplicity, her dignity, and devotion. "To my mother, to that ever-sympathetic and comprehending woman, so clear-sighted and wide-visited in her simple modesty, I could al-

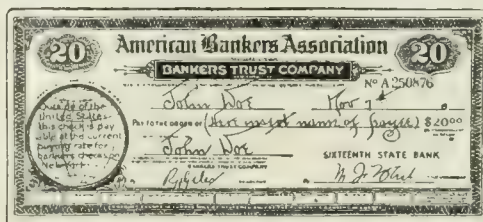


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ways come when my heart needed the kindly and soothing hand of a mother."

The Prince's home in exile is the Isle of Wieringen, off the Dutch coast. It is blanketed in fog or swept by gales. He lives in an old parsonage lit by lamps. He walks and swims and works in his garden and reads. There he has read more than in all his life before. He was thirty-six when he went there. The tranquillity and seclusion of the "island have doubtless tended to enrich my powers of discernment."

It goes without saying that a Hohenzollern prince should be educated for the army, and the Crown Prince at seven was put under the care of General von Falkenhayn (Chief of Staff in the Great War) as his military governor. In their rides amongst hedges, ditches, and gravel-pits von Falkenhayn used to say: "Fling your heart across first; the rest will follow." In due time the Prince became a lieutenant, a captain, a squadron commander, a colonel, and a general. He loved his work and passed much time in friendly talk with privates and non-coms and he thinks his men loved him. It would not be surprising to learn that he thought himself heir to the military powers of Frederick the Great. There are profile portraits of Frederick which the Crown Prince much resembles. He spent two years in the University of Bonn and, as a lad, apprenticed himself to a wood-turner, it being customary for every Hohenzollern prince to learn a trade. "Master and apprentice took the matter quite seriously and I felt thoroughly happy in the atmosphere of the workshop and in the simple household." There are some good points in the Hohenzollern traditions.

But it is time to come to the World War. Who started it? The Crown Prince has the Prussian (shall we say German?) gift for "passing the buck." Austria started it. "I had for a long time been watching with discomfort the growing dependence of our Near East policy upon the ideas of the Vienna Ballplatz. . . . The fears that the Reich would some day become fatally dependent upon the superior diplomacy of Austria-Hungary, as expressed with such anxious prescience by Prince Bismarck, seemed to me to have long ago found their fulfillment. . . . The results of the excessive Viennese demand upon Serbia involved us in the war against our will." Of course the ancient encirclement notion is brought out. The jealousies, fears, and ambitions of England, France, and Russia, and even of Italy, the perfidious member of the Triple Alliance, are considered; but Austria turned the trick. Germany had to fight for her life, a defensive war. It is too late in the century to take this childishness seriously. The Prince writes as Senators, speaking in "the most august body in the world," sometimes talk, for the folks back home. Quite a number of heirs-apparent have nursed hopes of a restoration, and Wilhelm Hohenzollern, Jr., is only forty and in good health.

The Prince was commander-in-chief of the Fifth Army in the advance in

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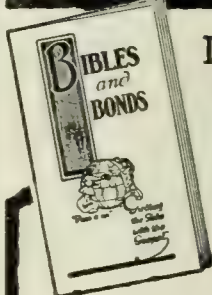
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August, 1914, and at the Battle of the Marne and afterwards until he took command of an Army Group. This command he held till the end. He does not admit defeat at the Marne but ascribes the retreat to the "incompetence and physical collapse of General von Moltke, the unfortunate leadership of the Second Army by General von Bülow, and the absolutely disastrous activity of "an officer of the Headquarters Staff" who ordered the "retreat of the two victorious armies on the wings." General von Moltke died at Berlin of a broken heart. "With the retreat from the Marne, Schlieffen's great plan was frustrated," and from that day to the armistice the Prince continued to urge the Kaiser and Berlin to seek for a "peace of understanding."

Verdun is dismissed with less than seven pages. The net result is that the order to attack Verdun "originated in a decision of the General Higher Command." There is not a word to tell whether the Prince did or did not suggest or urge such a decision. One is left with a strong suspicion that it is another case of passing the buck. If that terrific episode had ended in victory for the Fifth Army, perhaps the story might have been different.

The Prince tells little of military operations, but he promises to write another book. He tells many very interesting things about the confused and vacillating Government at Berlin and thoroughly agrees with Ludendorff in his opinion of von Bethmann-Hollweg. "An impassable chasm lay between his mentality and my own." He was "a bureaucrat of sluggish character. His hesitating heart had no wings; his will was joyless, his resolve was lame." The truth was carefully concealed from the Kaiser and the people. The administration was the fine flower of bureaucracy. On the other hand, in a visit to England "of all the impressions I received the greatest and most lasting was that made upon me by the organizing and administrative talent of the English." The comparatively young officials were "energetic and were invested with great independence and responsibility. Extensive and healthy decentralization prevailed generally." Surely we need not point the moral. As the orators say, "I leave that thought with you." H. G. PROUT

The Carriso Mountain Gorge

“TRAVELERS are urged, and properly so, to see America first, but no person can claim to have fulfilled the admonition,” says Editor Howe of the Atchison (Kansas) *Globe* in a recent issue, “unless he has made a trip over the San Diego Short Line from Yuma, Arizona, to the coast city, the thrill road of this continent. While the road known as the San Diego and Arizona is 220 miles long, only eleven miles is thrill territory. During that eleven miles it passes through Carriso mountain gorge, dodging through seventeen tunnels which alone were driven at a cost of nearly two millions



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of dollars, and clinging, when out in the open, to a roadbed chiseled from the sides of mountains, with gaping canyons almost straight below you to a distance in places as great as 900 feet. Above the track are sheer and almost perpendicular walls of granite. As the train slips slowly around sharp mountain curves on its shelf, which from a distance looks like a burro trail, one gets as many thrills as are experienced in aviation, but with confidence inspired by the knowledge that he is secure and upon a firm footing through modern railroad construction. The San Diego and Arizona was the only railroad completed during the late war. It was opened in 1919. Its total cost was over eighteen millions of dollars and it is owned jointly by J. D. and A. B. Spreckels and the Southern Pacific. It was built to give San Diego a direct line to the East, and before its completion everything moving west-



ward into San Diego or going east from there had to pass through Los Angeles. Because of its enormous cost the road doesn't pay, it is said, but it is a great scenic route. The San Diego and Arizona hugs the international boundary closely, crossing and re-crossing it a number of times. In fact for forty-four miles it is in Old Mexico, but in the peaceful section of Lower California. No passports are required by passengers, and there is no inspection of through baggage. The train stops at several Mexican villages where lager beer signs may be seen from the car windows, but the thirsty must restrain their thirst. The train doesn't stop long enough to wet whistles, and anyway vestibules are not opened. There is no chance for passengers to leave the train. Persons who have traveled extensively say there is nothing surpassing the scenery in Carriso gorge, not even in Egypt. Over this remarkable piece of railroad the Rock Island operates its Golden State Limited passenger train, through arrangement with the Southern Pacific, and the El Paso and Southwestern, and is gaining much popularity with trans-continental travel, being the shortest line from Chicago and Kansas City to tidewater at San Diego.



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Random Book Notes

A little book on the use of skis, is Arnold Lunn's "Alpine Ski-ing at all Heights and Seasons" (Dutton, \$2.00).

A study of Russian problems, especially in connection with the Washington Conference, is Leo Pasvolsky's "Russia in the Far East" (Macmillan, \$1.75).

The average reader, after perusing Elisha M. Friedman's "International Finance and Its Reorganization" (Dutton, \$7.00), with its seven hundred pages, index and bibliography, should feel himself fairly well informed upon this weighty topic.

K. K. Kawakami, the Japanese-American author of three other books about his native country, writes in "The Real Japanese Question" (Macmillan) an answer to the agitators who are trying to provoke bad feeling between Japan and America.

In "The House of Commons and the Monarchy" (Harcourt) Hilaire Belloc takes as his thesis that the House is essentially part of an aristocratic state, and that as England is such a state no longer, the House of Commons is ceasing to function.

Frank A. Vanderlip's "What Next in Europe?" (Harcourt) is an economic study based on travel through fifteen European countries in August, September, October, and November, 1921, and interviews with cabinet ministers, financiers, and labor leaders.

The "Chapters from Childhood" (Harcourt) of Juliet M. Soskice are the reminiscences of one who was the grand-daughter of Ford Madox-Brown. She was Juliet Hueffer, and she writes of the famous artist, her grandfather, as well as of her youthful experiences in Germany.

In "The Conduct of American Foreign Relations" (Century, \$3.00) John Mabry Mathews studies his theme by subjects—diplomatic procedure, enforcement of treaties, neutrality, the beginning of war, etc. Thus it is a treatise upon our theories and practices, rather than a history of them.

Three famous Spanish plays are included in "Masterpieces of Modern Spanish Drama" (Stewart Kidd, \$2.50) edited by Barrett H. Clark. The plays are "The Great Galeoto," "The Duchess of San Quentin," and "Daniela." The book includes biographical and bibliographical notes of the dramatists—Echegaray, Pérez-Galdós, and Guimerá.

There have been many books about the experiences of the unskilled laborer, written especially by the college man, or student of sociology, who tries his hand at labor. Cornelia Stratton Parker's "Working with the Working Woman" (Harper, \$2.00) is one of the most readable of them all, and deserves success. She had five or six experiences, in as many jobs, and writes of them with humor, sympathy, and a clear head.



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You can't be perfectly well and strong if poisons from decayed food particles seep through your system. It doesn't make you downright sick, but it does slow you up. And it's all so unnecessary. You have failed to form a very simple little habit, the night and morning tooth-brushing habit.

Brush the germs away! It's not alone cavities in your teeth which you want to avoid, you want to avoid having your food mixed with unclean particles.

You want your "grinders" in perfect condition to chew up your food so it properly feeds the tissues of your body and keeps you up to normal weight. Many people starve their bodies without really knowing it. They eat plenty of food but it isn't properly chewed or else the food is contaminated right in their mouths.

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How to Study This Number

THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department,
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. New Books and Old.

1. Explain how Dr. Slosson has made use of newspaper advertisements as a means of inventing plots for stories.
2. Clip from newspapers any advertisements that you can use as the foundations of plots for stories. Read your advertisements to the class. Ask your classmates to suggest plots. Then read aloud the plots you have made. If you wish, you may challenge your classmates to a contest in forming ingenious original plots.
3. Read aloud the poem called "Harlequin and Columbine." Tell what it is that makes the poem beautiful.
4. In the poem just mentioned check the lines in which there are figures of speech. Explain the figures. What is the name of every figure?
5. Explain in full the following words in the poem: aspire, Columbine, Harlequin, faun, glimmers, pagan, Pan, wit, satyr, dattle.
6. How does the poem affect the reader?
7. Read aloud the stanzas quoted from the poem called "Treasure Island." Tell what the poem means. In particular, explain the last two lines.
8. Tell something concerning every one of the prominent American writers mentioned in the review of "A Short History of American Literature."
9. Read what is said about a new book called "The Minds and Manners of Wild Animals." Imagine that you have been asked to write for some such book a short chapter based on your own observations. Write the chapter.

II. Bennett and Wells.

1. In what respects are the books written by Dickens and by Thackeray alike, and in what respects are they different?
2. Name poems that illustrate Browning's "strength," and Tennyson's "sweetness."
3. What is a "novelist of manners"? Name such a novelist. Give a short talk about any "novel of manners."
4. In what ways is "Gulliver's Travels" like "a journal of real exploration"? In what ways is it different from such a journal?
5. Prepare a report concerning the literary work of Arnold Bennett.
6. What different types of books has Mr. H. G. Wells written?

III. "News."

1. What advantages are to be gained through an impartial printing of the news?
2. How may headlines become "a dangerous means of emphasis"?
3. What is the principal point that the writer of the article wishes to emphasize?
4. Making use of the principles suggested in the article prepare a criticism of your own school paper.

IV. Foreign Propagandists.

1. What is the writer's real opinion of foreign propagandists?
2. Explain in full the last paragraph on the first page of the article.
3. By what means does the writer indicate his beliefs concerning India and the work of Indian propagandists?

V. The Heroine of France.

1. Write very simply and clearly the full story of Jeanne D'Arc.
2. Give an oral account of the recent ceremony in honor of Jeanne D'Arc.
3. Explain the sentence: "She was not merely a good Frenchwoman, a great patriot; she was France."

VI. The Mission Road.

1. Write an original description based on any one of the pictures that illustrate the article.
2. "Strange legends were told." Invent a story that will appear to be one of the "strange legends."
3. What spirit does the article emphasize?

VII. Toward the Setting Sun.

1. Use the stanza that heads the article as a sort of topic stanza for a composition in which you tell of wanderings of your own. Imitate the method of the article. If possible, illustrate your own composition.

VIII. Why the Supreme Court Rejected the Child Labor Law.

1. What proposition does Mr. Franklin attempt to prove?
2. Prepare a brief that will show the course of reasoning that he follows.

History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,
Head of the Department of Social
Science, Julia Richman High School

(Hereafter references to Editorial Paragraphs will be indicated by *Ed. Par.*)

I. O Captain! My Captain!

1. Describe the situation in the United States when Whitman wrote this poem.
2. Why was the death of Lincoln a great loss to the South?

II. Why the Supreme Court Rejected the Child Labor Law.

1. Explain carefully the exact grounds on which the law was declared unconstitutional.
2. Describe the federal nature of our government and explain its advantages. How has the federal idea spread in the world since the adoption of the United States Constitution?
3. In what way has the power of the national government grown at the expense of the States?
4. Give a full account of the attempt to regulate child labor by national action. Why were its advocates not satisfied with State action?
5. What is the status of child labor in your State? Is any further prohibition desirable?
6. In view of the Supreme Court decision what are the next steps in the movement to decrease child labor?

III. Ed. Par.—Daugherty and His Critics.

1. Why are even "the great majority of Republicans . . . disgruntled with Congress"?
2. What is the editor's explanation of the trouble with Congress? Can you give any other factors which help explain it?
3. What is the editor's idea of the remedy?
4. Describe the situation in which Attorney General Daugherty is placed and explain the issues involved.

IV. Railroad Wage Reductions.

1. Why does the Railroad Labor Board have the right to reduce wages, instead of its being in the hands of the railroad executives?
2. What changes in the Transportation Act are intimated as advisable?

V. The Coal Strike—Ed. Par., Domestic Affairs.

1. Describe the method by which "fair prices" for coal are being fixed. Compare this method with other methods of fixing maximum prices during the war.

VI. Ed. Par.—Coöperative Production.

1. Describe the Amalgamated plan and explain why Russia was selected for the experiment.
2. Can you give other examples of coöperative production by labor unions in this country?
3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of coöperative production?

VII. The Irish Situation.

1. Describe the latest developments in Ireland.
2. Explain the attitude of England.

VIII. The Heroine of France.

1. Write an account of the work of Jeanne D'Arc for France.
2. Show why she is such a popular figure in France today.
3. Try to picture to yourself the pageant here described; its color, movement, and spirit.

IX. Germany, France, The Crown Prince's Little Story.

1. Show why the situation in regard to the Rapallo Treaty, Silesia and Alsace is not "completely reassuring."
2. What is the question in regard to the "Benefits to France of an International Loan to Germany"?
3. Show how the feeling of the Crown Prince for his father can be paralleled in former Crown Princes of that line.
4. How does this picture of the Crown Prince differ from your idea of him?
5. In what respects might one question his opinions?

X. Toward the Setting Sun, The Mission Road.

1. Look up these trips as if you were going to take them. Trace the routes on railroad maps or in atlases. In back numbers of the *National Geographic Magazine* and other sources find pictures of the places and people you would see.

XI. "News."

1. Explain how "papers which desire to give the news with impartiality" are not impartial in practice.
2. Show how the writer believes this has affected our idea of France.

XII. China.

1. Explain why "the outlook for China seems very bright."

The Independent

A Fortnightly Journal of Information and Discussion

June 24, 1922



“**B**UT this is an outside view,” is the comment of the Iowa press on editorial interpretations of the State primaries by even such nearby and competent observers as the *Chicago Tribune*. A study of Iowa’s comment concerning itself leads us to conclude that the Esch-Cummins Railroad Act was the nearest sizeable object at which the Iowa farmers could throw the stones that they desired to throw because of the low price of corn. In this the farmers were aided and abetted by the labor vote, irritated by the railroad wage decisions. One prominent Iowa paper says, “It must be admitted that if any other great element of the United States had received the sudden blow which the farmers received a near approach to civil war would have resulted.”

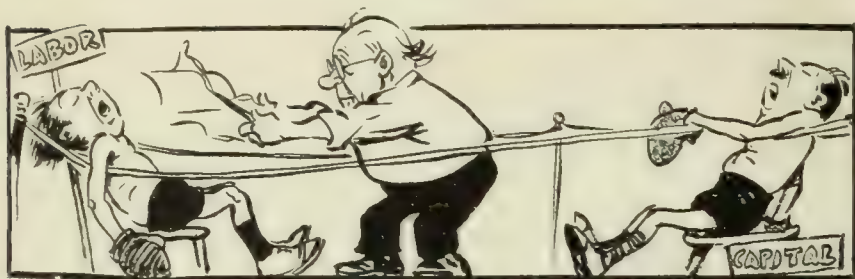
Why “sudden”? Did any price movement that ever occurred cast longer shadows before it than the fall in the price of corn? Did ever a Government do more to soften the blow than was done by our Government for the farmers—the Emergency Tariff, the Farm Loan Act, the enforced reduction of railroad rates on agricultural products—on whatever other matters Congress has been dilatory, it has moved swiftly to aid the farmer. But these things could not atone for the low price of corn, any more than the economic necessity of lower railroad wages could atone for the actuality of reduced pay. Most inconsistent of all, in coupling with their economic discontent that of the railroad workers, the farmers of Iowa helped to resist one of the constructive movements most essential to their own economic betterment—the deflation of railroad-labor costs.

As to the soldier’s bonus, and other issues, we do not believe that they materially affected the result.

What actually happened in Iowa is rather picturesque. It reads like the politics of twenty years ago. This was the kind of thing that won the Iowa farmer: “There were ten of us children,” says Smith W. Brookhart, the Republican Senatorial nominee, “raised on a rented farm in Van Buren county. We planted corn by hand and hoed it too. We had to work hard. Work had no terrors for me. I have trained my boys the same way . . . the thing I’d rather do than anything else in the world is to handle stock and prune and trim my apple trees.” Coupled with the solemn actuality of a “sudden” low price for corn, this kind of thing nominated a man who will in all likelihood be elected and who will prove to be a picturesque figure in the Senate—as one Iowa paper remarks, no more radical than Senator Cummins or Senator Kenyon. After a year or two of oratorical corruscation we expect the “orator from Calamus Swamp” to settle down into a useful, hard-working Senator with little to contribute to the constructive discussion of important issues. For a great, constructive leader we look to the primaries yet to come. Surely the people of some State will appreciate its present opportunity to send to the Senate the kind of man for whom the people of the whole country are yearning. We are moved to add that the railroad-wage reduction ought to have been a fully accomplished fact one year ago. Few things could have done more to

hasten our economic readjustment the slow development of which is the real source of popular discontents. Herein the railroad workers themselves have an opportunity to show a statesmanlike spirit.

TO make an exceptionally absurd attack upon "the great metropolitan newspapers" is a good deal of a feat, but Senator McCumber has accomplished it. He charges that those papers are attacking the present tariff bill in order to serve the interests of their advertisers, who are "making fortunes buying cheaply abroad and selling at big



Gompers the Peacemaker

prices to the American consumer." The charges against the press which are made by sensation-mongers like Upton Sinclair are flimsy enough, but their imputation of general newspaper turpitude has reference at least to the actual big interests of what those gentle reformers are in the habit of calling "predatory wealth." Senator McCumber, however, not only assumes the turpitude of the newspapers, but creates out of his own imagination the interests to which that turpitude makes them subservient. The idea that the department stores—for those are the only advertisers that cut any figure in the case—are so desperately interested in keeping the tariff down as to compel good protectionist papers to belie their principles for fear of losing their advertising is a mare's nest of more than standard quality.

AMERICA simply cannot afford to be represented abroad by second-rate or incompetent diplomats. The interests at stake are too great to be placed in jeopardy by the acts of agents who are not fitted by training or temperament for their tasks. Not only must the time-honored custom of paying political debts or acknowledging campaign contributions by appointments in the diplomatic service be given up, but adequate compensation must be provided to attract and hold first-class men. All this is set forth vigorously by Secretary Hughes in his address before the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

IT is a source of satisfaction to know that the retirement of Mr. Boris Bakhmetieff from the post of Russian Ambassador at Washington does not signify any change in American policy toward Russia. In reality it makes the course of the State Department easier in that regard. Great

as Mr. Bakhmetieff's services were, his novel position, though logical according to modern democratic ideas, placed our Government somewhat on the defensive. In the effort to appear scrupulously correct there might have been a tendency to lean over backward. Few diplomats have left Washington with such a splendid reputation for probity, tact, personal charm, and good judgment, and few with such a record of real achievement. His position was extraordinarily difficult and it must be a great satisfaction to him to see all the vicious attacks upon him by Bolshevik sympathizers fail, one by one, and his defense of the interests of the Russian people justified in the event.

ONE of the world's most fluent journalists, Mr. J. L. Garvin, editor of the *London Observer*, tells us that "in no case would the Russians submit to a Franco-Belgian ultimatum based upon those rigid bourgeois principles of individualist economics which have been dead in Britain for fifty years." This is just the sort of phrase-mongering that muddle-headed "liberals" delight in, and it is the fruitful source of muddle-headedness in others. Mr. Lloyd George, whose spokesman Mr. Garvin undertakes to be, would be the first to recoil from the task of defining what those "bourgeois principles of individualist economics" are which are thus cheerfully allocated to a grave fifty years old. That ideas of the relation of the individual to the community have not been "rigid"—that they have undergone great change in the past half-century or whole century—every one who is not a fool must recognize; Mr. Garvin must of course mean more than this. The implication is that the fundamental principles of individualist economics have been dead in Britain for fifty years; the word "rigid" is cannily prefixed simply to save Mr. Garvin's or Mr. Lloyd George's face



The horse comes back

in the event that the assertion is challenged. The real question is whether the fundamental principles of *communism*, announced with such flourish and sworn to by such terrific pledges of word and deed four years ago in Russia, are really and truly dead in that country now. Mr. Lloyd George would not dare to assert that the principles of individualist economics are dead enough in Britain to make British ideas any more accordant with Lenin's than French ideas are; all he is after is a purely opportunist arrangement with Russia,

principle or no principle. And, by the way, it isn't fifty years, nor twenty, since it was France that was supposed to be the socialist and England the individualist country. Among other things, a short memory is a great convenience to the fluent journalist.

SECRETARY MELLON, whose slogan apparently is, Efficiency is the best policy, would doubtless disclaim any particular credit for thwarting the raid on the personnel of the Treasury Department. To prevent the indiscriminate replacing of Democratic office-holders would be matter for applause in any Governmental department, where civil-service regulations are supposed to operate. To hold the Treasury Department up to standard will strike the public as especially meritorious, in that economy is maintained at the clearing-house of the nation's resources. President Harding has a commendable habit of backing up the members of his Cabinet, and in standing squarely behind Secretary Mellon's demand for efficient service, regardless of party affiliation, he is using the best way to help his own party, at a time when it can not afford to neglect its opportunities. It is perhaps natural that many Republican Congressmen, fearful of their primary prospects, should press Elmer Dover to secure for them some additional patronage with which to strengthen their political fences. If they were far-sighted they would see that

Mellon's food will do them more good than Dover's powder.

WE have not investigated the tale which has come to our ears that each of the Twelve Greatest Living Women in America has become a mortal foe to each of the other eleven. But we knew it: what every man knows is that twelve greatest living women are just twelve times too many for



Some of the "Twelve Greatest Living Bootleggers"

one man to propose. Certain queries suggest themselves: Is it true that the current replacing of the word *women* by the word *Woman* is to give us a professionally representative type, as the replacing of that other fine word *laborers* by the word *Labor* has given us that problematical personage, the labor leader? The *London Times* says that pretty women are no longer popular, and adds, cynically, that it is marvelous how swiftly the type has disappeared to be replaced by the "interesting" type. There is hope in that lightning change—perhaps it will turn back as quickly.

The Republican Tangle

NO explanations can cover up the fact that the record of Congress has been one of bungling and inaction. Yet a glance back over the past few years, before examining the present situation, may disclose an enormous difficulty with which Congress was confronted from the start.

Four years ago Woodrow Wilson was the most powerful man in creation. Never before in history did a ruler have so promising an opportunity to shape the world's destiny. The nations, exhausted by the war and in great confusion, looked to him and to this rich, strong country to set them right. President Wilson went to Paris with no definite plan, as we now know for certain, but with a body of inspiring principles. Into the question of the expediency of entangling the Treaty with the League of Nations, it is not necessary to inquire now. The upshot of all the bickerings at Washington during the next year and a half, and of President Wilson's overthrow, is clear enough: the world at large was left with a deep sense of disappointment over America's lack of coöperation, and this country, while rejecting Mr. Wilson's programme, was possessed of a big, cumulative desire for magnanimous

action, without at all knowing what ought to be done.

So far as this country is concerned, one can conceive of its having a much more definite attitude, if the precedent conditions had been modified. If the Versailles Treaty had been put through without reliance on the League, the disastrous delay would have been avoided; Congress would have ratified the Treaty promptly; and Americans, after their exhilarating coöperation with the Allies against a common foe, would have had a chance to consolidate the great experience by a unanimous sense of a duty well done. Instead, they turned from the war to form armed camps at home: League and no League, reservations and no reservations. When a people has spent nearly two years—which should have been years of helpfulness to the world and to one another—in the midst of the bitterest recriminations, it is hardly in a position to show its best self.

The difficulty was increased by the fact that the debate which ended in the election of 1920 was not clear-cut. Many of those who voted the Republican ticket were disheartened that America had held up the world's recovery so long, nor were

they deaf to the new note which Mr. Wilson had struck: in some way statesmen must be prevented from reverting to the course of selfishness; in some sense every nation—particularly every great nation—must henceforth be its brother's keeper. It is this spirit which is pointed to by those who proclaim that the teachings of Woodrow Wilson will not die.

Briefly stated, the situation when Congress convened was as follows: There was much confused thinking as to the lines which this nation should strike out for itself. Bitter disappointment reigned among Mr. Wilson's followers, but people generally cherished the hope that Congress might be driven to solid achievements of some dimensions.

Yet what were these to be? The Washington Conference is the one bright spot. Here a magnificent programme was finally put through because a definite, rational plan—the thing which Mr. Wilson lacked at Paris—had been carefully thought out in advance. The popular response with which it met, especially at the outset of the Conference, clearly revealed the new spirit which had been born since the war: Americans, as well as others, had been hoping to see breadth and charity among statesmen and legislators.

To impregnate Congress with those qualities, even as regards foreign matters, was not easy, as is evident from the halting way in which these Washington treaties were ratified. Domestic legislation offered many drawbacks. Here old habits were deeply entrenched and the popular craving for a large, rational programme—a craving which was none too definite as to the objects sought, even in the minds of those who felt it most strongly—tended to confuse rather than clarify Congress. Congress has been made to understand that it is greatly lacking; members have begun to feel uncertain about reelection, and there has been a scramble to pacify constituents in small, old-fashioned ways: attention to local issues and the treatment of national issues for local advantages.

This is the situation today. It is a situation which calls for clear thinking and quick action, and the private citizen can no more afford to be indifferent to it than can the politician. Merely to say bitter things about Congress may ease one's mind, but it gets one nowhere. If the next Congress is hostile to the President, one can look forward to nothing but two more years of backing and filling. As we have contended before, the hope of the country for the present must be realized, if at all, through the agency of the Republican Party. And, if those who are disgruntled really wish to help the country, they will work now as never before to spur the party's leaders on to furnish the most promising candidates that can be found. No progress can be made by a policy of sitting back or by criticism which is merely destructive. There are enough persons in

the country perennially to do the aimless kicking; at a time of crisis like the present the great need is for helpful suggestions.

Meanwhile Congress had better indulge in some serious reflection on its own account. The evidence of a little independent, rational thinking and acting in that body would excite popular enthusiasm.

Tariff—Bonus—Subsidy

THE present Congress is profoundly unpopular. It is not concerning itself with issues of real interest to the public. Read the *Congressional Record* and note the account of the tariff debate. Talk, talk, talk. Hour after hour frittered away in personalities, badinage, irrelevant remarks, and trivial and futile discussions, which display less knowledge and less statesmanship than the average high-school debate. And all this is costly, for Congress is an expensive institution. But there is some compensation of a negative sort. Talking occupies the time of the members and keeps them out of mischief.

Just now the time of Congress is taken up with debate on the Fordney-McCumber tariff bill. It is not a popular issue and the old slogans will not galvanize it into one throughout the country. The fact is that our whole economic situation is so altered by our transformation from a debtor to a creditor nation and by the readjustments made necessary by post-war conditions that it is impossible at the present time to legislate in regard to the tariff intelligently or with any assurance that what is done now will not have to be undone before another year has passed. Data are not yet available on which to base reliable calculations. We see the necessity of protecting industry against ruinous foreign competition—competition just now conditioned upon violently shifting exchange. We also realize that our creditors cannot pay us or buy our goods unless we make it possible to buy from them. The wise thing for Congress to do—and expedient as well—is first to postpone to another session the enactment of any tariff bill, and second to constitute a commission of real experts to study the relation of the changed economic conditions to a sound tariff policy. Meanwhile it would appear that incessant talking may bring about the first, even if it precludes the second.

The bonus advocates are seeking to make themselves heard above the tariff babel, but without success. There was a time when the soldiers' bonus made considerable stir, creating the impression that it would be the paramount political issue. Now, however, there does not appear to be much life left in it. Its popularity was greatly exaggerated and it has few real friends in Congress. The programme seems to be to let each man do the amount of speechmaking that is neces-

sary for home-consumption in preparation for the primaries and then let the proposal die a natural death. Few indeed will take any interest in it after the primaries are over and it will not be a partisan issue in the November elections.

The President has brought sharply to the fore the Ship Subsidy issue, possibly in response to the demand that he should assume leadership. If so, his choice of an issue is not happy. Quite apart from any question of its intrinsic merit, the issue leaves the public cold; the subsidy is regarded as only another burdensome expense. But the Ship Subsidy issue has provided its own boomerang. A prominent brewer raises the question of the legality, under the Volstead act, of selling liquor on American vessels, and the cat is out of the bag. American passenger steamers cannot compete with foreign ships if they are "dry." Chairman Lasker's curious defense of the sale of wines and liquors as a necessary business expedient only exposes another of the absurdities into which the dry legislation has led us. It looks as though the Subsidy Bill would be shipwrecked upon the rock of prohibition. Some wag may remark that our shipping will perish of dry-rot.

Labor and the Supreme Court

BETWEEN the falsifications of labor-union partisans and the carelessness of the newspapers there is a poor prospect that the general public will have any clear idea of what the Supreme Court really decided in the Coronado case—still less what is the practical application and consequence of the decision. Yet the facts, and the Court's statement of the law which applies to them not only are perfectly simple, but will satisfy the sense of justice, we believe, of all but those who demand that organized labor shall be held responsible to no law but its own desires.

First of all, *the Supreme Court did not deny, limit, or restrict in any way the right to strike.*

What the Court *did* decide, in general terms, is that a labor union can not, merely because it is an unincorporated organization, escape financial liability for offences committed by it *against the laws of the United States*. The Court had no power to lay down the law for judges in the State courts; and in the separate States the liability of unions and union funds in suits for unlawful damages is unchanged by the decision. Judges of State courts may if they choose adopt the Supreme Court's interpretation of the common law, but they are not bound to do so. The decision establishes a rule only for the Federal courts.

A glance at the main facts of the Coronado case will make the whole matter clear. In July, 1914, the officers of District No. 21 of the United

Mine Workers, with its headquarters at McAlester, Oklahoma, not far from the Arkansas line, provided rifles and dynamite for an attack on a coal mine in Arkansas which was attempting to run non-union in the midst of a union territory. The mine buildings were blown up and burned, and two non-union men captured by the raiders were murdered while in custody of the local constable, who had been active in preparing the attack. The Court holds that the evidence of planning, arming, and directing by the District officers is conclusive. It is perhaps necessary to add, in these "liberal" days, that the arson and murder referred to were unlawful, even though the mine operator had violated the essence of his contract with the union.

Suit was brought against the local union, the district union, and the International Union of the Mine Workers, on the charge that these several bodies had engaged in a conspiracy to restrain interstate commerce in coal, in the carrying out of which conspiracy they had done the damage recited above. The verdict of \$200,000 in the lower court was trebled under the provisions of the Sherman Act, and with interest and counsel fees added, the total liability of the Unions reached \$800,000. The defence of the Union was on two main lines—that there was no conspiracy to restrain interstate commerce; and that even if there was, the Union was not liable because it was an unincorporated association.

On these two main heads the court decided, as to the alleged conspiracy, that the evidence did not establish its existence. The strike and the war on the mines were clearly a matter within the district organization, as to which the district officers were not required by the Union constitution to consult the national officers, and in fact did not. The strike was a local affair, whose sole object was to prevent the operation of the mine with non-union men. But though the unions were not guilty of the offence charged, the Court held that it was proper to sue them on such charges, and that they would have been liable in damages if the evidence had in fact proved the offence charged.

Under the common law, voluntary unincorporated associations like labor unions have been held to have neither the right to sue nor the liability to be sued in their own name. In explaining why it thought the common law should now be modified so as to hold unions liable to suit for unlawful action, the Supreme Court pointed out that labor unions have been recognized by both Federal and State statutes in a great variety of ways. Many of them have organizations of great effectiveness and financial power. Unincorporated associations of employers' interests have been held liable under the Sherman Act, and there was no reason, the Court considered, why labor unions should be made an exception. To force persons suffering from unlawful damage by unions to sue

the separate members, as the common law required, would amount to a denial of justice. It is worth noting that among the many instances of recognition of labor unions the Court mentioned foremost "their right to maintain strikes."

Labor monopoly is just as unlawful under the Sherman Act as is capitalistic monopoly, and on precisely the same ground—that it endangers the welfare and safety of the people of the United States. If you believe in *inequality* before the law, you will dislike this decision: if you believe in *equality*, we see no sound reason for not approving it. In addition to establishing the liability of unions for offences against the Sherman Act, the decision makes them also liable for unlawful damage under the common law of the United States in cases where diversity of citizenship allows a plaintiff to sue in a Federal court.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the liabilities of labor unions and their funds under this decision is only for damages caused *unlawfully*. The financial loss caused to an employer by a properly conducted strike may be large, through the interruption of his business; but such damage to him is not unlawful, and does not create a right against the funds of the striking union. Moreover, the decision that makes unions liable to suit for unlawful damages also enables them to sue others for unlawful damages to themselves. The decision, therefore, opens wider the way to an even-handed legal adjustment of industrial contests. It is interesting to see that the official journal of the Mine Workers recognizes and welcomes this added resource.

All Quiet Along the Baccalaureate

WE had been under the impression that our country was knotting its brow over a number of new and puzzling questions, but obviously it is not. At any rate the College Commencement season is well advanced without a message from the seats of learning which would give us reason to suspect that there is any urgent need for a scholarly approach to a great theme.

It is true that a number of cataclysmal portents have been observed from the baccalaureate heights, but these are only such as have always cast their monstrous shadows over the brighter side of Commencement Day: merely that the Constitution of our Government is endangered by "latter-day laxities"; that commercialism "threatens to destroy this country and all the world"; according to one college president, that the great war has proved that we at least are not "too commercialized and too fond of wealth"; that "life, like knowledge, should be dynamic and not static"—or was it the other way around? In neither case need it disturb

the youthful graduate's reflection on that engagement ring—which it will be safe enough to promise, because a world waiting for the products of higher education will, he is certain, soon be competing for his invaluable services.

At first we were disturbed by this apparent absence of vital and arousing discussion on Commencement Day. Was it not on such occasions in the past that James Russell Lowell's rumbling thunder, George William Curtis's acute diagnoses, and Ralph Waldo Emerson's break with conventions amounted in the minds of some to a scandal and to others seemed like new milestones in our national progress? What has happened? Is the lid on? And if so, who has put it on? Something might be said about that. On the whole, we are rather glad that, to the academically minded, nothing more seems to be the matter with us than of old. No more than then are there any concerns sufficient to break in on the great preoccupations of youth—the ball game, her, and that career. Somehow, by the very familiarity of it all, there comes a feeling that, after all, we are muddling through.

WHAT'S the use of being a philosopher if you can't think of things that plain people overlook? Mr. Bertrand Russell is nothing if not a philosopher; and so it is natural that he should put his finger on the true cause of Bolshevik failure, which all the rest of us have failed to discover. "Few Governments in history," he says in his article in the *Atlantic*, "have had more honesty, determination, and energy than the Soviet Government; yet it may well be doubted whether even they, in the end, will be found to have enough for the carrying out of their original intentions." Lenin and his associates, it appears, thought that six months, or a year, or at most a few years, would be enough time to enable the Communist dictatorship to put the new order on a permanent and democratic working basis; but now they realize that "at least a generation" of dictatorship will be necessary. Meanwhile, says our philosopher, "many of the original leaders will have died," and all sorts of weakness and "corrupt bargains" will have crept in. So it seems that if the original dictators could only keep on living some fifty years or so, and could keep a stiff backbone throughout that time, all would be well; the homely circumstance that the Russians who were not dictators would be starving and dying by the million being of course, too trifling a matter to disturb the calculations of a philosopher.

Senator LaFollette's attack before the American Federation of Labor on the Supreme Court as the interpreter of the Constitution seems to us to find a fitting commentary in a translation of the Senator's own name—*la follette, the little foolish one*.

Mr. Farmer Considers His "Bloc"

By Charles Moreau Harger

HE is a man of past fifty years. Starting with little, he has acquired a good Kansas farm which is well stocked and paid for. He has filled the positions of township officer and school district officer, and once been the nominee of his party for member of the Legislature. Altogether he is a fair example of the well-informed agriculturist.

"What do you think of the agricultural *bloc* in Congress?" I asked him.

"Well, to tell the truth, I had not thought much about it."

"Is it something we should have?"

"Why not? Every other class of business has its *bloc*; the farmer ought to have one, too. It can do things for him."

"What things, for instance?"

He studied over it a little—"I hardly know just exactly what things, but something that will help the farmer get his rights in business. We sell at the other man's price; we also buy at his price. Anything that will help give us the same chance as others will be beneficial to the farmer. The only way to do that is to unite our strength and compel recognition. Just what is to be done I'll have to leave to someone else—but we want to get our share."

Probably that is a very fair expression of the average producer as to the legislative "combine" so widely discussed and making so direct an appeal to the man who tills the soil. His reaction to its motive has been one of acquiescence, without any very definite knowledge of concrete objectives. This position is due to his experience during the past two years—the deflation in the price of his products, dissatisfaction with the price of commodities, restriction in credit at the banks because of lessened ability of the bank to fill all the demands made upon it, the general upsetting of his entire financial structure.

Early in this period of uncertainty the farm country was visited by many prophets, political and otherwise, who spread before the producers plans for correcting present ills. Mostly these were hinged on coöperation, a "one big union" of the farmers which should control prices of products and dictate to the States and the Federal Government through their political influence. Paid representatives of various organizations held schoolhouse meetings, street meetings, assemblies, and made personal canvasses seeking to pledge a sufficient number of members to make the movement irresistible. But the effect was lessened by the number of rival organizations, each seeking supremacy for itself. The result was that none became predominant and many failed to maintain their activity. Some, like the Non-Partisan League, had temporary success locally, but, like the League in its North Dakota experiment, showed inability to realize efficiently the visions presented in its propaganda.

The farmer is, first of all, an individualist. His very occupation tends to develop independent thinking. As a result it is difficult to form farmer organizations except under the pressure of financial distress or of some overpowering concrete issue. While such conditions rule, there is an instinctive training toward the pic-

tured path of relief, regardless of its intrinsic validity as an economic principle. But as soon as the financial pressure is lessened the incentive weakens and the hold of the organizer fails. The only thing that kept the Farmers' Alliance, later the Populist party, alive so long was the continued depression of the nineties. As soon as national prosperity came back to us in the early years of the century, the organization faded away. The latest enthusiasm for organizing all farmers in a political and business unit had its maximum late last autumn. When the turn in the prices of products came, when livestock and grains showed a stronger tone in the markets, that enthusiasm waned and, instead of crowded schoolhouses and courtrooms to hear impassioned orators, there was a tendency to go to the movies. News of the Non-Partisan League and the Grain Growers' Association, which had occupied the front pages of the country newspapers, moved over among the patent medicine advertisements and gave way to reports of the graduation exercises at the schoolhouses.

That is to say, the agricultural States settled down to their normal living. Everyday activities became paramount and prospects of a coming harvest were far more interesting in the spring of 1922 than statistics on the varying cost of living since before the war or a graph of the packing-house percentages of profit.

Much of the local ebullition had subsided when along came the agricultural *bloc*. Had it been evolved earlier, it would have received far greater acclaim. However, it did appeal as one way in which, as my farmer friend expressed it, to "get our share" of whatever good things are extant. National legislation is to the average agricultural citizen something afar off. He can with difficulty visualize it. Hence he relies for his information upon organizations like the Grange, the Farm Bureau, and similar bodies with representatives at Washington, and to a degree acts on their advice.

"These representatives can send out a form letter to a hundred thousand farmers," explained a Congressman from the West, "and in a few days we are flooded with letters and telegrams for or against a pending measure. We know that the senders have not acted voluntarily; they have responded to orders or advice from some organization head. For my part I give to such letters only the consideration which I think they deserve, knowing their source. Sometimes they are right; often they are sent under an entire misunderstanding."

An instance of this reaction from the "grass roots" is reported in current dispatches. The farm *bloc*, say the reports, at first favored a tariff on hides to protect the cattle raiser against competition from Argentine ranges. But when it was demonstrated that the tariff might raise the cost of shoes, there came a demand for free hides, it being considered more advantageous to keep the price of shoes, already high, within reasonable limits than to seek the small benefit that might come through a slight increase in the value of hides. The farm *bloc* demanded free hides, responding to the sentiment back home among its constituents.

To some extent, but not generally, there exists in the interior a belief that all classes of business, bank-

ers, manufacturers, importers, have completely organized *blocs* in Congress looking after their interests, regardless of the fate of the producer of foodstuffs; the fact that all business realizes its dependence upon the producer, that it knows agricultural prosperity is essential to national advancement, and that any attempt to overlook this principle would inevitably destroy progress, is overlooked. Occasionally the view seems taken that the remainder of the country considers the farmer as its enemy, instead of holding him, as it does, an important partner in national development. Likewise it is hard for some to understand that there is no "conspiracy" to oppress the crop raiser; on the contrary, even Wall Street realizes that its own success depends on the success of the producer.

Perhaps there is a feeling prevalent that the farm *bloc* is to advance the farmer at the expense of the consumer or of the manufacturer of commodities, but this, too, is not general. The average producer has advanced beyond that point. He is far less bitter than a year ago; he has taken a broader view than at first, when in the heat of his disappointment he was tempted to visit his wrath on all business.

The farmer is today something of a business man as well. Often he owns stock in a country bank or in a local elevator or mill. He meets with boards of directors and has a broader vision than ten years ago. This makes him critical of any class movement that does not take into consideration the common good.

As he has thought over the situation he has come to the opinion that after all the country is not going to the dogs. Furthermore, he himself has been making

good progress. The War Finance Corporation, which has proved a most valuable aid in extending credit where needed in the farm country, last December was caring for a large volume of loans. The last week of 1921 it made 372 advances to country banks and live-stock associations, totaling \$13,058,000; the last week in March its advances had dropped to 185 for \$4,704,000, and the last week of April to 124 advances with a total of \$4,651,000. From February 5, the demand has steadily decreased, indicating by a sure barometer that there is less burden on the country banks, that credit is easier in the farm country, that the producer is getting back on his feet and is better able to finance his operations. No legislation did this, beyond the rehabilitation of the War Finance Corporation and expansion of its offices to domestic affairs.

To be effective, the agricultural *bloc* must retain the confidence of the producing country as an agency of general betterment. The producer is looking on with somewhat indefinite ideas of just what it is trying to do and suspending judgment until it sees results. These results, of course, cannot come in a day; some of the proposed measures will take years to bring the fruition claimed for them. In the meanwhile, the man who is following the plow will be thinking it out for himself and computing in dollars and cents just what net gain he secures from the effort expended. The *bloc* is on trial in the farm country, with the crop raiser predisposed in its favor because it promises something for him beyond what he possesses. The man behind the plow is going to be the arbiter, and upon his judgment of its accomplishments will it stand or fall.

Was the Bolshevik Failure an Accident?

By Fabian Franklin

THE attitude of the intellectual "liberals" towards the Bolshevik régime in Russia has, from the beginning, presented a remarkable contrast with that of convinced Socialists. This contrast might well be pointed to, for a long time to come, as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the "liberal's" favorite dogma of open-mindedness. Everybody, to be sure, believes in open-mindedness; but sensible people instinctively recognize that there are times when to be open-minded is much the same thing as to be empty-minded. On the subject of Bolshevism, sober and thoughtful Socialists were not empty-minded, and therefore did not feel themselves under any compulsion to be open-minded. Accordingly the best-known intellectual Socialists in America—Mr. John Spargo, for example—found it quite unnecessary to wait for the full development of the horrors and miseries and futilities of Bolshevism in order to declare their detestation of its programme, or their conviction of its desolating consequences; while on the other hand our intellectual organs of "liberalism" did all that in them lay to influence Americans to take a benevolent interest in the Lenin-Trotsky adventure. For a long time they persisted in denouncing as monstrous lies the reports of its brutalities and its ghastly failure which have now been so abundantly confirmed. What seasoned Socialists everywhere saw at once to be outrageous and irrational—what Russian revolutionists like heroic old Mme. Breshkovskaya immediately denounced as mon-

strous—was viewed with a complacent and indeed a favorable eye by dilettante "liberals" who have never dared to call themselves Socialists.

Of all this, one is reminded by an article in the *Living Age* taken from the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. That Independent-Socialist newspaper discusses the address which Lenin delivered at the Congress of the Communist party of Russia, on the eve of the Genoa Conference; and, so far from finding excuses or extenuations for Bolshevism, the article is impregnated with unsparing contempt for the insane undertaking whose ghastly failure Lenin himself admits. "Any person," says this radical Socialist journal, "with even an elementary knowledge of the laws of economic and social evolution knew from the outset that the Bolsheviks and their brand of Communism were foredoomed to failure—above all in a country where the peasants form more than 90 per cent. of the population. The fundamental fallacy of the Bolsheviks was their belief that a communist system of production and control of property could be created by political edicts and terrorist pressure." And though it quotes with grim satisfaction Lenin's own confessions of blundering, incompetence, and failure, these do not by any means serve to mitigate the severity of its condemnation as to his past or of its judgment as to his future.

It is interesting to consider the explanation that Lenin himself makes of the failure which he so frankly

admits. Frankness in the admission of failure is one of Lenin's specialties. He acknowledges error with an air so bold and free that there seems to be something almost triumphant in the avowal. This is partly, I am sure, a psychological trick; he counts upon the impression it will produce upon the multitude of the soft-minded. "There must be something fine about this man," they will say, "and he must have some splendid resource to fall back upon, or he would not be so magnificently candid." But it is not altogether a psychological trick; it is part of something deeper in the man's make-up. Ever since the days of the French Revolution, it has been a commonplace that boundless audacity is the first—and almost the last—requirement for a man who would play the rôle of a Danton or a Lenin; and Lenin has outdone all his forerunners as an exemplification of the maxim. The unblushing frankness with which he acknowledges the shortcomings of Bolshevism is but another phase of the unblushing audacity with which he imposed it upon his unhappy country and with which he proclaimed his purpose to impose it upon all the world.

Lenin's explanation of the failure of the Bolshevik rule is that the Communist chiefs were incompetent business men. If they had known more about business management, all might have been well. "If every responsible Communist workingman," he says, "had understood clearly that we were not qualified to manage business enterprises and that we must start out and learn from the beginning, we might have succeeded." There is even another kind of incompetency that Lenin cheerfully admits:

It is clear that what we Communists of the ruling class lack is culture. Look around us here in Moscow. Consider our army of bureaucrats. Who leads that army? Do the forty-seven hundred responsible Communists lead these battalions or the reverse? I do not think we can honestly say that the Communists are the leaders.

Yet in all this flaringly paraded humility there is not a trace of the genuine humility of a normal mind self-convicted of failure. The incompetence which Lenin confesses, he evidently regards as an accidental weakness—a regrettable defect which a little thought will remedy for the future. There was nothing vitally unsound in his programme; it just happened that for a first go he had overlooked the need of a certain amount of study of business methods, and a certain regard for the qualifications of the men who were to be the instruments of his scheme of salvation.

A curious sidelight is thrown upon his state of mind by what he says about the success of the capitalist system in achieving what Communism failed to achieve:

The capitalist was able to supply things people needed. He did it badly. He robbed us; he oppressed us; he pillaged us. The simplest laborer and peasant, though he may know nothing of Communism, though he may not even know what Communism means, knows these facts. However, the capitalist actually supplied goods. Can we Communists supply goods? The question was not always put in precisely these words, but it lay behind the whole crisis of a year ago. The people were saying: "You're fine men and all that, but you cannot do what you set out to do in a business way."

Thus it appears that Lenin has no more perception than he ever had of the real essence of the difference between the Communist system and the system that is built upon the foundation of private property and individual enterprise. All he "knows" about the capitalist is what, according to him, the simplest laborer and peasant "knows"—that capitalists are robbers and

oppressors; the only discovery that he has made as a consequence of Russia's terrible experience is that these robbers and oppressors possessed a certain skill which he had previously not suspected and which enabled them, while filling their own coffers, to leave something over for the people. That wonderful organism of production and distribution which is in reality the outcome of the efforts and ambitions, the emotions and desires, of millions of human beings, each bent upon the promotion of his own interest but contributing to the welfare of all, is to him nothing but a mechanical contrivance, whose good or bad working depends simply upon the skill and intelligence of a few persons in control of the machine. The capitalists understood the machine better; they worked it so efficiently that it not only gave them the plunder they were after, but furnished the people with food and clothing and shelter; and under Communism the people went hungry and naked and homeless solely because the Communist chiefs had happened not to take the trouble to learn how the machine was manipulated. What it was that really made the machine go—the play of human interests and motives which is the real source of productiveness under the individualist régime—to all this Lenin is as blind as he was when he first launched his insane scheme.

Childish as is the view thus complacently put forward by Lenin as the explanation of the Communist failure, it may be dwelt upon with some profit. Though his view of the rôle of the capitalist is fantastic, it is interesting as an admission that the capitalist has been something more than the parasite which it is the custom of fanatical Socialists and Communists to represent him. To say that he "robbed" and "pillaged" is merely to indulge in epithet. If you admit that he accomplished something essential to the general good—something which was destroyed by his extinction, something the destruction of which was fatal to the community—the whole charge of parasitism falls to the ground. You may claim that his reward was too great; you may indulge in reprobation of his selfishness to your heart's content; but you grant the supreme value of his function, and put yourself under bonds to supply something that will perform that function before you decree his extermination. Lenin, however, commits the puerile error of supposing that that function can be supplied by mere administrative and business skill; forgetting that the capitalist's part is only one, though a very important one, in the whole vast network of human relations which constitutes the existing economic organization. The Bolshevik failure does not prove that Communism can never by any possibility be made to work; but it does impress upon any sound mind, by a tremendous object lesson, the depth and sweep of the factors which conspire to keep in effective action the complex organism of economic life. The collapse of Russia under Bolshevism was no mere accident of unskilful management, though, to be sure, that played its part; the fatal blow that Bolshevism delivered was the blow at the heart. Communism takes the very heart out of economic life as we have known it; and Communism will not work until it has supplied a new heart to that organism. Such a thing may conceivably, in the course of time, be possible; but only a fool can imagine that it can be accomplished by a *tour de force*, however audacious the aspirations, and however terrible the methods, of those who undertake it.



Book Menus for

Selected by Edmund Lester Pearson—Editor

In choosing these, attention has been paid to the season; thick soups and hearty meat courses have been avoided. Instead, the investigator will find many varieties of salads and fruit, with some sweets—not too sticky. It is believed that agreeable luncheons—cold consommé and salad, with a choice of pastry or cheese, for example—can be devised from these suggestions.

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Supernatural tales by the greatest living explorer in the fields where Poe was the pioneer.

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Lem Hooper on Genoa

By Ellis Parker Butler

COURT OFFICER DURFEY approached the desk of our eminent jurist, Justice of the Peace Lem Hooper, with a frown of perplexity on his brow.

"What's the matter with them Rooshuns, Judge, that the conference at Genoa would not give them what they wanted?" he asked.

"Well, I'll tell you, Durfey," said Judge Hooper, putting down his pipe. "I'll tell you all about it. So far as those Russians were concerned that conference at Genoa was what you might call a meeting of the bank directors of the United World and Universe Bank, Uncle Sam absent but having the real cash. So in comes Russia, with a black eye and looking like a tramp.

"Gents," Russia says, 'I'll tell you how it is. I got a little business up there in the corner of Europe and over in Asia, and it's gone all to thunder. I'll admit that—it's gone all to thunder! You see, gents, I had a little fire in my store—'

"Fire?" says one of the directors, suspicious-like. "Fire? How come you had a fire, Ivan? Who set the fire?"

"Well, gents, I did!" says Russia. "It was like this: I had some old stock on hand—Czars and property and one thing and another—and I sort of figured if I had a good fire and collected a bunch of communistic insurance I'd be fixed pretty good. And I would have been, gents, only the Commune and Soviet Millennium Insurance Company went blooey on me. They didn't make good, gents. So that's how it is. That's why I'm here, gents. I just want you to back me up with a few billion dollars or so—cash or credit—and I'll be all right in no time. I got a good property there, if it's handled right.'

"George," says one of the directors, 'just hand me this man Ivan's record with this bank, will you, if you've got it handy,' and one of the clerks named Lloyd George gets out the discount book and the card catalogue and turns to the Ivan Russia page.

"If I may make so bold," says Lloyd George, with a gentle smile, 'I'd like to call the attention of the directors to the fact that Ivan's record is not quite what we would like it to be. One rule of this bank is that when a man buys goods he must expect to pay for them.'

"How about that, Ivan?" a director asks.

"Well, that rule, now, I can't promise to abide by, gents," says Ivan. "Paying for what I buy is against my principles, as you might say. I'm a man of principle—"

"Hum!" says the director. "Well, how about this other bank rule—"If a man borrows money and promises to repay it, he must repay it." How about that?"

"Well, now," says Ivan, "that's all right for you folks, but I'm doing business a different way. You see, gents, it's against my principles to repay anything. I got principles—"

"Hum!" says the director. "I see! It's against your principles to pay for the goods you've already bought, and it is against your principles to pay back the money you've already borrowed. The only thing that is not against your principles is to borrow some more—is that it?"

"Yes, mister!" says Ivan. "You got me right; I'm a man of principle, I am. It could be that I'd say to you, 'No! I don't like the way you gents do business and I won't borrow from you no more,' but I ain't got no prejudices. Money is money—"

"Well, my good man," says the director, "if you have no prejudices we do have a few. One is that goods bought must be paid for, and another is that money borrowed must be repaid, and the third is that the man who comes here to borrow more money and swears he will not pay what he has already borrowed is not a good risk. George, see Ivan out and watch that he don't steal the penholders off the customers' desks.'

"That's what happened at Genoa, Durfey. Ivan went there and said, 'I don't believe in property rights and I want to borrow your property awhile.' He went there and said, 'It'll be all right, gents;

I'm a man of principle, and I'll return your property unless I happen to think it is against my principles to return it.' It's hard to do business with a man like that, Durfey.

"The trouble with Russia, Durfey, is that it don't vote the good old Human Nature ticket. It made a mistake and got itself elected on the Angelic Millennium ticket, and there ain't no such animal. When mankind turns its back on human nature and calls in the angels to run things the chances are that the angels keep right on strumming their golden harps up in Heaven, and what comes in is the wolves.

"To my notion, Durfey, one of the basic qualities of all living beings is property ownership. If my wife goes out in her garden and plants a petunia seed, and waters it, and grows the flower, she feels it is her flower and that she owns it, and she don't want the City Coun-



"The trouble with Russia, Durfey, is that it don't vote the good old Human Nature Ticket"

cil to vote it to Bill Jones's wife. The trout in the brook will fight for the stone it hides behind, and the sparrow on the roof will fight for its nest. Even the wolf, dad-baste it! will fight for its den.

"Maybe, Durfey, the angels are satisfied to go up to the heap of harps each morning and take any one that is handed out, and be happy, but a man likes to own his own harp. The Russian has misjudged human nature and human desire; he's been a poor guesser. Down be-

low here, Durfey, a man wants something to own. I don't know that I've ever seen perfect communism in but one place on this earth in all my life."

"And where was that, boss?" asked Durfey.

"Well, I hate to say it, Durfey," said Judge Hooper, "but it was one time when I saw a mass of maggots in a rotten cheese. And somehow, Durfey, I don't seem to feel that a cheese owner would consider a maggot a good financial risk."

The Latest Development in Ireland

By Stephen Gwynn

ON Friday, May 19, Mr. Griffith, President of the Dail Eireann, declared in the Dail with great force that the mass of Irish people had a right to settle by their votes whether they would accept or reject the Treaty and that no body of armed men should prevent them. Meanwhile Mr. Collins, Chairman of the Provisional Government and colleague of Mr. Griffith, was in prolonged conference with Mr. de Valera. The outcome was seen on Saturday when Mr. Collins and Mr. de Valera agreed to throw over Mr. Griffith. On Friday Mr. Griffith had introduced a motion: "There shall be an election on June 16." On Saturday he had to add: "subject to the agreement." That agreement reduced the elections to an idle form and took the issue completely out of the hands of the Irish people. The original proposal was to elect persons to sit in a Parliament of Southern Ireland, and take the oath prescribed in the Treaty. Under the agreement, the election is to be for a new Dail which will at least pretend to represent all Ireland and will impose the existing oath to the Irish Republic. The election cannot therefore be in itself an acceptance of the Treaty. Secondly, it is to give no indication how Ireland is divided upon this question. The followers of Mr. Griffith and of Mr. de Valera are in the Dail two sharply divided and almost evenly balanced parties. But Mr. Griffith on Friday claimed that not 2 per cent. of the people in the country agreed with Mr. de Valera in wishing to prevent an electoral vote which would ratify the Treaty. By the agreement, Mr. Griffith's followers and Mr. de Valera's are to put forward for election a combined panel which both will unite to support. The panel is to be composed in the same proportions as the present Dail. Then the two parties in Ireland which command organization, money, and revolvers, have agreed to impose candidates on constituencies without the least concern for the opinion of the constituents on the vital and paramount issue. Both parties to this compact pledge themselves that there shall be no speeches, because under the conditions it would be difficult to enter upon any political discussion without jeopardizing the agreement.

It is true that candidates not of the panel are permitted to present themselves. But an appeal is made to both wings of the Sinn Fein, and to both wings of the Army, to defeat them. Labor, however, declares it will put up a considerable list. Probably a deal will be done with Labor, because Labor also declines to say for or against the Treaty: it will therefore be possible to let in an equal number of labor candidates for and against—and to provide that such candidates shall be

available. Otherwise the independent citizen has to go on with his candidature under the most hopeless conditions. He will be represented by both parties to the panel as an opponent to unity and, consequently, as an enemy of peace. The country will not have in the three weeks that intervene a full opportunity of judging the new administration, which, as part of the agreement, now takes charge. And even if they complain that peace has not yet been established they will be told that a solid vote to support the coalition is the way to ensure it. Finally, any candidature which seems likely to succeed against the panel is likely, if not certain, to be met with arguments that will deter all but the hardiest electors from going to the polls. Mr. Griffith promised protection to voters, or people hoped they might get it, because they would be voters going to strengthen his Government. But nobody in Ireland believes that a Government will protect voters who are going to vote against its candidates. Any opposition to any panel candidate will be regarded as factious, and the desired result is a series of unopposed returns. Labor may modify this, and possibly one man will make an exception. The Lord Mayor of Dublin has held his office without definite party commitment for four years; he has shown great courage and shrewdness and rendered great service; to oppose his candidature by violence would be damaging, and it is probable that his success will be desired. But I expect to see him the sole independent.

If it be asked why the people stand this, the answer is plain. The promised peace carries everything. On Sunday the news was spread through the country by motor cars and everywhere was received with rejoicing. For everywhere people felt that security was gone. There might be at any moment civil war between the two armed sections. There was at the moment a state of things in which mere chance and not in any sense the popular will decided whether force in a particular district rested with Free State troops or the mutineers. If with the latter, the men, having no war-chest, necessarily commandeered what they needed, and those whose goods or wares were taken naturally grew resentful. This injured the cause of the mutineers, who then hit upon the expedient of looting the banks to provide pay and rations. This was done first in the name of the Belfast boycott, and branches of Northern banks suffered; later it was represented as a protest against the unfairness of the Provisional Government, who paid their own troops but would not provide for the expenses of

the mutineers. To do them justice, short of this, they gave General Rory O'Connor and his followers all possible facilities.

It must be remembered that not all the Free State troops were in uniform and that the mutineers were all in mufti. Consequently, there was nothing to prevent any enterprising persons from visiting houses and declaring themselves I. R. A. on a search party or on requisitioning duty. Generous use was made of the opportunity. Cattle, motor cars, money, property of all kinds went. Life went too, on occasions. Ireland was genuinely horrified when cases occurred of murdering Protestants as such. Yet genuine as was the resentment it did not prevent the evil from spreading. Every Protestant farmer felt himself, and was, much more liable than his neighbors to raids and intimidation.

Everybody wanted all this stopped and, though Mr. Collins talked big about stopping it, nothing was done; except here and there, where an energetic young soldier, General McKeown, "the blacksmith of Ballymalee," was in command. In a kind of despair people have accepted the view that agreement between Mr. Collins and Mr. de Valera will restore unity and discipline to the army and will put down crime in the country. Mr. de Valera said order would be restored within a week. That was last Saturday, and I write on Thursday. Then last night there has been heavy firing in Dublin, of which no mention appears in the papers, and then there are published every day conspicuous acts of brigandage. For instance, yesterday a retired general officer was shot by two youths who demanded the pony and trap in which he was driving. But until the failure to reestablish security is proved, people will continue to be enthusiastic for an agreement which gives them the promise of it. They will not ask—as yet—what is the price of the promise.

The price is, however, exorbitant. First, the existence of the Treaty is jeopardized. On the faith of the Dail's acceptance of it last January, England handed over control to the Provisional Government, and withdrew the troops. Dublin is now the only place where any remain, and even in Dublin most barracks have been transferred. Yet at this stage Mr. Collins, who signed the Treaty, has agreed to replace the Provisional Government by a Coalition in which four out of nine shall be men who refuse to recognize the Treaty in any shape or form. He has agreed that the Minister for Defense shall be elected by the army itself, which may elect General Rory O'Connor; and finally he has replaced the election in which the people were, under the Treaty, to ratify it or reject it, by a bogus election in which the Treaty can be no issue at all.

The disturbances in Southern Ireland, the murder and intimidation of Protestants, the robbing of Belfast banks, the confiscation or destruction of Belfast goods (in violation of a pact between Mr. Collins and Sir James Craig) all have envenomed the trouble in Belfast, where a savage fight has been proceeding. Things had gone from bad to worse, savage attacks by Protestants led to savage reprisals (bombs in crowded tram cars, for instance) till finally it had come down to a regular attempt to squeeze the Catholics out of all their outlying settlements in the town into one quarter—with probably an ultimate intention to push them completely out. But on the whole disturbance was confined to Belfast, till the Rory O'Connor section of the Irish

army had the brilliant idea of effecting unity in the South by concentrating upon action against the North. There was a sudden campaign of aggression: burning of buildings in Belfast and all over the six counties; murder in many cases of the most cold-blooded kind. The result was a violent outburst of unauthorized revenge. But when the Collins-de Valera compact became known this was steadied down and systematized. The Northern Government said, and were fully entitled to say, that a campaign had been set on foot to render government impossible in their country. They retorted by proscribing half a dozen Sinn Fein organizations, by mobilizing their whole police force, and by appealing for more British troops. The position is now that they have nineteen British battalions in their territory, most of them posted along the border, so that any raid in force from the South would involve acts of war against the British forces. Such a raid with a coalition in power could no longer be regarded as the act of one undisciplined section. Southern Ireland under the Treaty would have become the aggressor. Behind this cordon there is an immense police force, in three categories. Outside the police, no one in the area can own a cartridge without risking heavy penalties. This armed Protestant population is about two to one and at least in Belfast it shows a growing unity of determination to expel all the Catholics, since the Catholics as a body refuse to recognize or obey the Government which has by act of the Imperial Parliament been set up.

In the coalition which has been formed under the agreement of May 20, both sides agree that the main reason for unity is that Ireland may be able to deal effectively with Ulster. Both agree that the first object is to end the partition of Ireland. Mr. Collins, however, plainly wishes to do this by persuasion backed by economic arguments. Mr. de Valera relies on force. It is clear that Mr. de Valera's will must prevail, however. With his will or without it, emissaries of the extremist wing from the South or their partisans in the North can force the pace by assassination of prominent Ulstermen, or by burning of their homes or places of business. The torch is lit already, it may be lit in a score of other places, and the measures of repression by arrest of suspects which already the Northern Government is taking will make it easier to kindle. I do not think this war party in the South will be content till they have tried their strength in what may be called a battle. It will be a new experience for them, and they will meet many for whom the experience is not new. Ulster has will be largely reinforced by volunteers from across the a far larger population of ex-soldiers in its ranks, and it Channel. The war may not last long; but we shall, I believe, be the next theatre of European war. Mr. de Valera may probably die decoratively having accomplished incalculable mischief with the most sublime intentions. If it were not for the Ulster complication, our troubles might cure themselves; but Ulster on the border with the rival claims of Northern and Southern Ireland, Protestant and Catholic Ireland, presents a problem which only sane and deliberate statesmanship could solve, and that is perhaps too much to expect of people in the throes of revolution. As it is, Balkan conditions are likely to prevail in this island for a period which must seem grave to the individual, yet in the history of a nation, how brief and transitory. That is the only consoling thought I find; and I find it chilly.

What the World Is Doing

Edited by Franklin H. Giddings

Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, Columbia University

June in 13th Century Italy

In June I give you a close-wooded fell,
With crowns of thicket coil'd about its head,
With thirty villas twelve times turreted,
All girdling round a little citadel;
And in the midst a springhead and fair well
With thousand conduits branch'd and shining speed,
Wounding the garden and the tender mead,
Yet to the freshen'd grass acceptable.
And lemons, citrons, dates, and oranges,
And all the fruits whose savour is most rare,
Shall shine within the shadow of your trees;
And every one shall be a lover there;
Until your life, so fill'd with courtesies,
Throughout the world be counted debonair.

*Translated from the Italian of Folgore Da San Geminiano
by Dante Gabriel Rossetti (one of the Twelve Sonnets
of the Months).*

Domestic Affairs

Coal Prices and Mr. Hoover

SECRETARY HOOVER has been in conference with representatives of the National Retail Coal Dealers' Association, with a view to keeping down coal prices to consumers. The results have not been entirely satisfactory; partly because of misunderstanding, partly by reason of the cupidity of certain dealers, and partly, if the dealers are to be believed, because of the cupidity of certain operators. It is charged that certain operators have chosen to interpret their agreement with Mr. Hoover that the maximum price of coal at the mine shall not exceed \$3.50, as justifying an immediate boost of the price to that maximum. There are doubtless scoundrels even among coal operators, but Mr. Hoover seems to think that his plan of voluntary agreement and coöperation will, after a few hitches, work out all along the line. There are certain Senators who do not think so, who charge that Mr. Hoover's intervention has been maladroit.

The Anthracite Negotiations Broken Off

The negotiations which have been going on for many weeks between representatives of anthracite coal operators and miners were broken off on June 14, the miners' representatives having rejected the operators' ultimatum proposing arbitration of the controversy by a commission to be appointed by President Harding.

A definite strike is now expected to supersede the "suspension of work" which has existed since April 1. Apparently the only differences caused by a strike order would be withdrawal of 5,000 maintenance men now protecting the mines and the necessity of a vote before resumption of work.

Germany Coming Back

In March Germany purchased from us 140,872 bales of cotton; England, 109,853; France, 64,122. In the same month Germany took from us 26,357,425 pounds of copper; France, 10,227,165; Japan, 8,848,079. In March, 1914, Germany imported from us 219,948 bales of cotton, and 31,403,531 pounds of copper. The figures for the nine months ended with March show about the same proportion as to purchases by the several nations, German purchases being much nearer pre-war figures than those of other nations.

An Arts Centre for New York City

Arrangements are well under way toward realization of a plan for a great arts centre for New York City. It is proposed to erect an opera house facing on Central Park South, to be flanked on one side by a building to house musical and dramatic activities, on the other side by a building to house activities of the "fine arts." The construction would cover two blocks (Fifty-seventh to Fifty-ninth Street, Broadway to Sixth Avenue, Seventh Avenue between Fifty-seventh and Fifty-ninth Streets ceasing to exist) and would require condemnation proceedings. It is estimated that the cost would be not less than \$15,000,000. It is planned also to cut a semi-circular plaza out of the Park opposite the buildings.

The Museum of Heads and Horns

The new Museum of the National Collection of Heads and Horns was presented to New York City by the New York Geological Society, on May 25. It is a building of very solid construction and of classic style, worthy of the incomparable collection it houses. On its front is the inscription: "In Memory of the Vanishing Big Game of the World."

The Kaiser's Memoirs

All Americans have reason to feel unlimited pride in the fact that, in the competition for the foreign rights of publication of the ex-Kaiser's memoirs, America has won. For these rights the highest price ever paid for any piece of writing was paid over to William's agent, a Leipzig publishing house, by an American combination including the New York Times, the McClure Newspaper Syndicate, and

Harper and Brothers.

So the headlines, causing the American breast to distend with pride. But, reading on, one discovers in the fortunate competing group, besides fifteen United States newspapers, a Buenos Ayres newspaper, one of Mexico City, one of Havana, and The London Sunday Times. Moreover, though Harper and Brothers have the American and Canadian book rights, Cassell & Co. of London have the English and colonial book rights,



International
King Fuad the First of
Egypt

But, after all, the chief glory goes to America. The Kaiser need never worry any more for lack of funds. He has the joke on Mr. Stephen Leacock.

Brief Notes

The Supreme Court has decided that labor unions are suable for damages caused by strikes and that strike funds are subject to execution in suits for such damages.

* * *

The President has signed the bill providing for an additional member of the Federal Reserve Board.

* * *

On June 6 the Railroad Board issued an order cutting by 7 to 9 cents per hour the pay of 400,000 railroad shop-crafts workers, the annual saving to the owners involved being \$60,000,000. The executives of the shop-craft unions have decided to take a strike vote.

* * *

The McCumber Bonus bill was reported to the Senate on the 8th. According to Senator McCumber its ultimate cost to the people will be \$3,845,659,481. That estimate is probably very conservative. The bill does not provide for finding the money, whatever the amount.

* * *

The Federal Trade Commission has reported to the Senate that action to prevent consummation of the proposed merger of the Bethlehem Steel Company and its subsidiaries with the Lackawanna Steel Company and its subsidiaries, would be in the public interest, as the merger, if accomplished, would operate in violation of the Federal Trade Commission Act.

* * *

The 42d annual convention of the American Federation of Labor opened at Cincinnati on June 12. Its work will be discussed as a whole after its adjournment.

* * *

The order that all American troops be out of Germany by July 1 has been revoked. About 1,000 of our men will be retained at Coblenz for an undetermined period.

* * *

Our Government has accepted an invitation from the British Government to designate officers to participate with British, French, and Italian officers, in investigation of Greek charges of Turkish atrocities upon Greeks in Anatolia, and of Turkish counter-charges.

* * *

The United States Lines (Emergency Fleet Corporation) has started a weekly service from North Atlantic ports to London,

"second to none." The fleet consists of the President Garfield, President Monroe, President Adams, President Van Buren and Presi-

dent Polk; combination passenger and freight steamers.

* * *

General Semenov is on his way through Canada to Vancouver, B. C., whence he will sail for the Far East. His departure gives much satisfaction.

The British Empire

The Irish Situation

ON June 4 British troops cleared invading Republican Army troops out of Ulster territory in the Pettigoe district (region of Lough Erne), and on June 8 they cleared other invading Irish out of the "Belleek salient" of County Fermanagh (Ulster territory). The total casualties in the two encounters were trifling: one Briton killed, the number of Irish killed not certainly known except to the Irish authorities. It would appear that the British pushed outposts short distances into Free State territory to hold commanding ground, and that these outposts have not been withdrawn. A great hullabaloo was started by the Irish over the Pettigoe affair, but died down so suddenly that one suspects the Irish recognized that they had a weak case. If Irish troops were on Ulster territory in the Pettigoe district, the assertion from Republican Army Headquarters that they were regulars and not, as the British seem to think, "dissident" or irregular troops, scarcely justifies the invasion. Michael Collins spoke the other day of the two incidents as trifling and as holding no threat of prejudicing the relations between the British and Provisional Free State Governments. It is not certain, but it seems from dispatches that the border tension has been considerably eased during the past few days.

* * *

Outrages in Belfast have greatly fallen off since the terrible last days of May.

* * *

The schism in the Irish Republican Army is said still to exist, though the troops loyal to the Provisional Government, and the "dissidents," refrain from falling foul of each other.

* * *

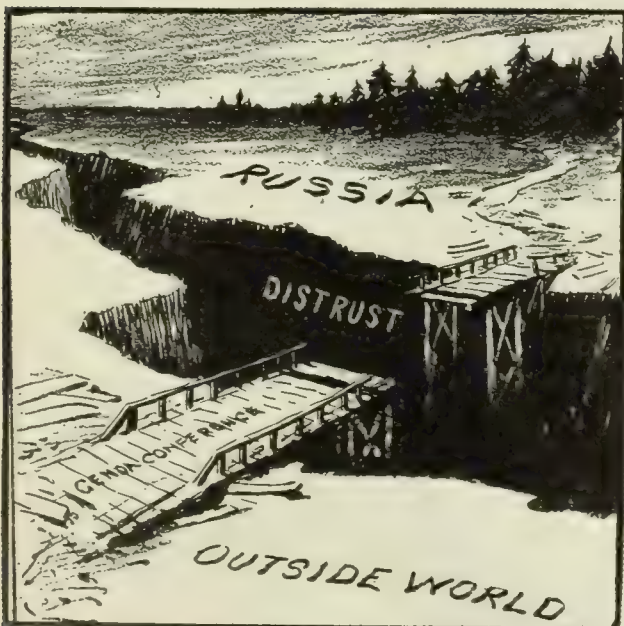
To illustrate the singular character of the Collins-de Valera compact, in a certain constituency admitted by everybody to be overwhelmingly pro-treaty four of the five candidates on the coalition Sinn Fein panel are anti-treaty. There seems a likelihood, however, that in this as in some other similar cases non-panel pro-treaty candidates will defeat anti-treaty panel candidates.

* * *

It is averred that the conferences in London between members of the British Government and Irish leaders committed to the London Agreement have had the happy result of bringing the draft of the Free State constitution into strict conformity with the London Agreement.

The Brennan Helicopter

Louis Brennan, the Irish inventor, working for the British Air Ministry, has invented a helicopter, which, if the results of laboratory experiments are borne out in actual flight, will revolutionize the art of aviation. It is expected to rise vertically, to hover stationary, to descend vertically with the engine cut out, and to take off and land on a space exceeding by little its over-all dimensions.



Nelson Harding

The Great Divide



Wide World Photos

A new kind of May-Pole Dance (London mounted police in Kensington Gardens)

The above according to a press report given much prominence; which report, however, has been characterized as an absurd piece of extravagance from a source deserving the highest respect.

The Bankers' Committee Adjourns

IT will be recalled how the committee of eminent bankers convened at Paris by the Reparations Commission to "give technical advice" as to the conditions under which an international loan to Germany might successfully be floated, discovered that their inquiry would be of little value unless the subject of German reparations should be included in its scope; and how in consequence they asked for instructions on that head from the Reparations Commission. The Reparations Commission, by a vote of 3 to 1, authorized such inclusion. But, since the adverse vote came from the French member of the Commission, and since French interest in German reparation payments is a 52 per cent. interest, and since M. Sergent, the French member of the Bankers' Committee, showed himself uncompromisingly opposed (*under the circumstances*) to consideration of any proposals looking to reduction of the reparations total or even to modification of the London schedule of payments (that of May 5, 1921), the Committee felt, or professed to feel, that continuance of their deliberations would be (*under the circumstances*) useless; wherefore on the 10th they adjourned, after drawing up a report to be submitted to the Reparations Commission. M. Sergent submitted a minority report, expressing his unwillingness to associate himself with the conclusions agreed on by the other members.

On analysis of the windy and confused majority report, what (baldly expressed) appear to be the main heads of the Committee's finding? The following answer is submitted:

That a small (i. e., comparatively) loan to Germany (unless understood as preliminary to a larger loan and to save German finance from collapse prior to consummation of the latter) would be of little value to German's creditors, and is not worth considering.

That to secure takers of a large loan (they must be found chiefly in America) reestablishment of the general credit of Germany is necessary.

That to the reestablishment of German credit a great reduction of the reparations total is essential, and a definite and permanent settlement of the reparations problem.

That consideration of reduction of the German reparations total is bound up with consideration of the foreign debts of Germany's creditors. That (the report does not say so, but the implication stares out) Germany's chief creditor, France, will not hear to a reduction of the reparations total without a corresponding reduction of her foreign debts.

That at this point an *impasse* is reached; for it all comes to this (not so directly stated in the report, but the implication fairly leaps from the text, like the Dragon from an old Chinese painting): that a loan to Germany of size to go far to liquidate the embarrassments of the situation, is not possible unless the United States will cancel the war debts due her.

"Such questions as interallied indebtedness are outside the competence of the Committee and cannot be discussed by them." But the Committee "cannot ignore the fact" that the solution of the problem they were convened to solve presupposes solutions of the forbidden questions.

The Committee will meet again when unanimously requested by the Reparations Commission to do so; provided (again the thing is implied, not said) all limitations on their competence to discuss and find are expressly withdrawn.

When, if ever, may the Reparations Commission be expected to request the Committee to continue their deliberations with no limitations on their competence?

Mr. J. P. Morgan, in a statement independently issued to the press, partly answers that question as follows:

I am now and shall continue to be ready to do everything in my power to assist in the solution of the problems which confront the economic life of Europe, but I believe that in so far as such problems depend for their solution upon an international loan to Germany in which the American investor would take part, the solution is not possible without a general settlement of the reparations question and only as a part of such settlement. Undoubtedly a settlement of this question involves the consideration and arrangement of many other questions which must be settled between the Govern-

ments in order to arrive at the unanimity required for the first condition of a loan.

I shall, of course, as I have stated to the Reparations Commission, be ready at any time to return and do anything in my power when conditions permit and the Commission may so desire.

Is it not proper to infer that, of the "many other questions which must be settled," the outstanding, the all-important ones, are those of inter-allied indebtedness?

* * *

The Committee hint that, if there is much delay in settling those "many other questions that must be settled," German finance may collapse. And German newspapers are already declaring (mendaciously, to be sure, but nevertheless declaring) that, "Germany's



Wide World Photos

Bronze bust of Viscount Bryce, to be presented to the American people by Sir Charles Wakefield, through the Sulgrave Institution, and placed in Washington. A replica will be placed in Trinity Church, New York. The photograph shows (left to right) Reid Dick, the artist; Lady Bryce, and Sir Charles Wakefield

acceptance of the Reparations Commission's latest terms being contingent on foreign credit relief," that engagement now lapses.

Le Temps on the Report of the Bankers' Committee

THE semi-official *Temps*, noting that the Bankers' Committee finds a loan impossible without reduction of the reparations total, observes:

But it does not dare add that a reduction in the German debt was made impossible by the maintenance of the debt.

In fact, the committee does not hesitate to reach a conclusion that reflects upon France, but it takes good care not to reach the conclusion which is inseparable from it but which would reflect upon the United States. It pretends to aim at the French, when it knows very well its blow should fall on the Americans. It is a tactic that lacks grandeur. Shall one say that the Committee of Bankers cannot expose itself to disoblige the United States, which holds so much gold?

Poincaré and Lloyd George on the Hague Conferences

ON June 2 Premier Poincaré of France addressed a note to the Governments invited to participate in the Hague conferences on Russian questions (Russia excepted, presumably), setting forth the attitude of France toward further negotiations with the Russians.

The Hague programme calls for a meeting at The Hague on June 15 of representatives of the Powers represented at Genoa, except Russia and Germany, to "examine under what conditions a commission of ex-

perts representing these Powers shall treat with a Russian commission of experts, and to decide on the composition of that commission." By the 20th of June the composition of that commission is to be communicated to the Russian Government, and on June 26 the two commissions of experts are to meet at The Hague.

That schedule, said Poincaré, does not allow sufficient time for achievement of that common understanding among the Powers, or for that elaborate preparation (prior to the meeting of the experts), without which the experts' conferences must be a failure.

As to the common understanding: Poincaré made clear that the attitude of France at The Hague would be more uncompromising than it was at Genoa in regard to: the public and private debts of Russia to foreign Governments and nationals; property in Russia formerly owned by foreign nationals but since confiscated by the Soviet Government; and credits to Russia. Since France will not budge a jot from her position on these questions, a "common understanding" implies subscription by all the other Powers to the French views. It is obvious how it might take a considerable time to secure the subscription of Great Britain on the question of property.

As to preparation: Nothing, said Poincaré, is to be hoped of the conferences of the experts without "establishment" in advance "of a very clear, very complete general plan" of Russian reconstruction based on such an examination (on the ground itself) of conditions in Russia as that proposed by Mr. Hughes in his note declining the invitation to The Hague.

Establishment of such a plan and of the required "common understanding" calls for a great deal more time, concluded Poincaré, than the schedule allows (*i. e.* June 15-26 at most). *Ergo* (though Poincaré did not plainly say so), the meeting of the experts should be postponed.

On June 11 the British Foreign Office issued a memorandum in reply to Poincaré's note.

The British Government will not agree to requiring the Russians to withdraw their note of May 11. [Probably Poincaré had no thought of pushing that point: merely wishing emphatically to record his opinion of that preposterous document, and perhaps hoping thereby to forestall more such nonsense.]

The British think it would be absurd to present the Russians with a complete plan of reconstruction framed without their collaboration, to take or to leave. [Here it may be remarked that a compromise between the French and the British *expressed* views would seem to be "the ticket." Certainly it should make for success of the experts' conferences, if the non-Russian experts should enter those conferences with a tentative plan based on first-hand investigation.]

The note does not make clear whether or no the British cling to the leasehold tenure idea; a most important matter. But the following is clear enough: "Whether the Russian Government makes restitution of private property alienated from its owners or pays compensation for it, is a matter solely for the Russian Government to decide." [Is it not clear that Poincaré is quite right in urging that a common understanding among the non-Russian Powers on the property question prior to the experts' conferences, is essential?]

Poincaré is quite right as to the substance of his argument. The Genoa Conference failed so egregiously

mostly through lack of a common understanding among the Powers exclusive of Russia and Germany, and through lack of preparation. The Hague conferences are likely to fail as egregiously for the same reasons. It is a pity Poincaré's representations were not made before the invitations to The Hague were sent out; it is too late now to adopt his proposals.

* * *

On the 12th Poincaré dispatched another note to the Powers in reply to the British memorandum, reflecting quite justifiably on a certain tone of insolence in the British note, and setting forth the French position with more lucidity and precision than in his first note. As for the Russian note of May 11, since Lloyd George chooses to consider that it has virtually been annulled, Poincaré is content to let it go at that. But Poincaré is more insistent than ever that before further negotiations with the Russians there should be agreement among the non-Russian Powers on "certain guiding principles," and a tentative plan of Russian reconstruction should be concerted, based on examination of Russian conditions by representatives of these Powers "on the spot." It would, however, "be a travesty of the intentions of the French Government to pretend" (this is a thwack at Lloyd George) "that it thought of proposing a ready-made plan for restoration under the form of an ultimatum."

On the whole Poincaré is right. But unless all hands, including the Russians, show more sense than is to be expected, his proposals have come too late.

* * *

As this is being written, the preliminary Hague meeting is being organized. It is not likely that much will be accomplished prior to information of the result of the meeting of Premiers Lloyd George and Poincaré in London on the 19th. Poincaré goes to London by invitation of London city and county committees to attend a celebration in honor of Verdun Day. Under such circumstances it is likely that both Premiers will be tender of the *entente*.

China Has a New President

HSU SHIH-CHANG has retired to private life. Invited by the Chinese Cabinet and urged by Wu Pei-fu and the members of the old Parliament now gathered at Peking, Li Yuan-hung has resumed the Presidency, which, under pressure from the militarists, he resigned in 1917. His present tenure of the office is obviously irregular. The Parliamentary group would fain regularize it, but cannot do so, since (contrary to earlier reports) they are not a majority of the old Parliament and hence are not competent to perform constitutional functions. Li Yuan-hung is reorganizing the Cabinet. He has invited Wu Ting-fang to be Premier; that Wu Ting-fang who is now Civil Governor of Kwang-tung Province and, since General Chen Kwang-ming parted company with Sun Yat-sen, has been the chief of Sun's supporters; the same Wu Ting-fang who was once Chinese Minister at Washington, wittiest and one of the wisest of diplomats. He was Li Yuan-hung's Foreign Minister when the latter was constitutional President. Li is waiting anxiously for Wu's answer; if it should be favorable, Wu is expected to draw with him to Peking enough members of the Canton Parliament (all the members of

the Canton Parliament were members of the old Parliament) to swell the group at Peking to the required majority. Even if Wu Ting-fang declines, likelihood is hinted of enough defections from the Canton Parliament to secure that majority at Peking. If a majority cannot be assembled at Peking, there is likely to be a national convention and an attempt at fundamental reconstruction; a doubtful business, because of the delay involved. Should the first fine careless rapture of the present desire for unification lapse, it is doubtful whether it can be recaptured. Dr. Yen continues as Foreign Minister and will be Premier if Wu Ting-fang declines. Wu Pei-fu is the new Minister of War. Dr. Wang Chung-hui, who distinguished himself at the Washington Conference, retains the portfolio of Justice.

Sun Yat-sen continues to denounce the Peking programme of reforms and unification as bogus, and apparently continues to advance north through Kiang-si. He seems to be elaborately preparing to "come a cropper." When Chang Tso-lin has been disposed of, it will be Sun's turn.

Chang Tso-lin asked Wu Pei-fu for an armistice, and Wu Pei-fu granted it. Chang had in mind a foul trick, but Wu Pei-fu saw through him. Expecting to find Wu Pei-fu off his guard, Chang attacked the latter's forces south of Shan-hai-kuan, but found them alert and expectant and was repulsed. Wu Pei-fu has, according to reports, upward of 50,000 troops either close on Chang Tso-lin's heels or *en route* by land and water to crush him.

Several Things

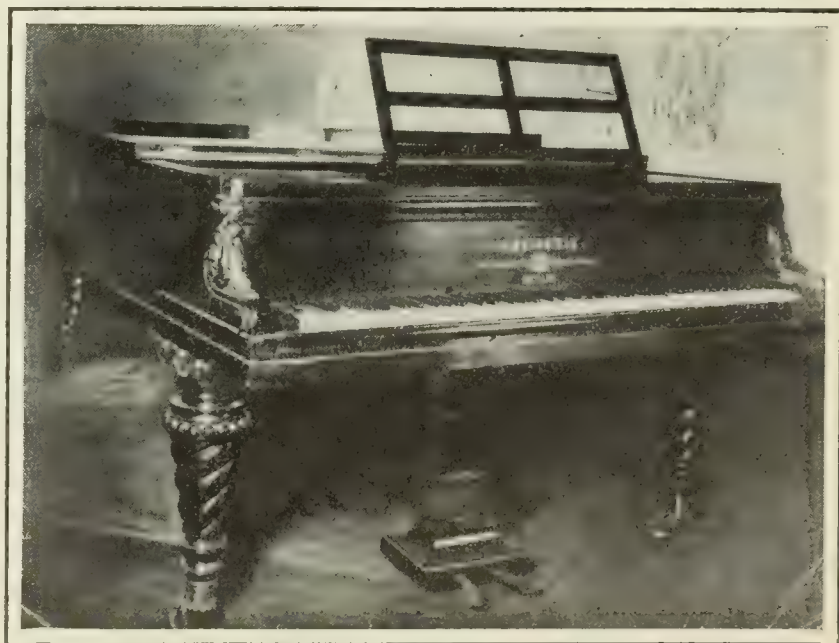
THERE is a deadlock in the conference of plenipotentiaries of Chile and Peru, now in process at Washington.

* * *

A civil war is on in Paraguay.

* * *

It will be recalled that the Constituent Assembly of the Priamur Republic (of which Vladivostok is the capital) deposed or made the gesture of deposing Merkulov from the Presidency of that Republic. How it came about does not appear, but Merkulov is back on the job.



International

The piano with whose aid Wagner composed some of his most famous pieces. It will be brought to the United States

"What I Am Going to Read This Summer"

Answers from Persons of Various Occupations and Interests to the Following Questions:

1. What kinds of reading do you do during the summer? 2. What books do you look forward to reading this summer? 3. What books do you recommend to others for the summer?

Carolyn Wells, Author

MY summer reading is the same as my winter reading, omnivorous. It includes all sorts, from the wisest science to the most foolish detective stories. From erudite essays to light verse. From Schopenhauer's Philosophy to F. P. A.'s Column. I look forward this summer to continuing to read "The Outline of Science," which comes to me serially from England, and a new story by J. S. Fletcher, promised for August.

I recommend to others to read any books that I have written.

William T. Hornaday, Ornithologist

OWING to the exigencies of heads and horns, and the growth of a certain book in which I have a fatherly interest, my book-reading during the past six months has been calamitously inadequate. During the summer I intend to read the third volume of William Beebe's monumental "Monograph of the Pheasants of the World"; Lieut.-Col. G. K. Howard-Bury's superb volume on "Mount Everest Reconnaissance"; the remainder of Stefansson's "Friendly Arctic"; Dr. A. K. Haagner's "Mammals of South Africa," and T. A. Barns's book on his hunting of monster gorillas on Mount Eglon, as soon as it appears.

The list of books that I advise all real book readers to read next summer, for instruction, diversion, and admonition, is headed by a one-volume exposition of the law and gospel of wild-animal intelligence, entitled "The Minds and Manners of Wild Animals," by William T. Hornaday. The chapter entitled "The Wild Animal Bill of Rights" is alone worth the price of admission. (Always I have made it a rule never to penalize and obscure a book because it chanced to have been made by a friend!) This book is quite new, and thus far unscotched.

The other volumes that I feel safe in recommending for the summer solstice are not all of them "new," but in these days of a million books per year who will know the difference? By all means read Conan Doyle's masterpiece of wild-animal fiction, and a real work of art, called "The Lost World"—but to enjoy it 100 per cent. a modicum of animal lore is necessary to the party of the second part. For a delightful outing in Africa, take Abel Chapman's "Wild Sudan," and give up to his able guidance. He is a charming writer and partial to good illustrations. For a great record of wild-life protection, read Dr. C. Gordon Hewitt's "The Conservation of the Wild Life of Canada."

I recommend the reading of Philip Ashton Rollins's "The Cowboy" before all the cowboys of the Western cattle plains are dead and buried "on the lone prairie." Along with this I vouch for and recommend the genuine poetry of the West in Badger Clark's "Sun and Saddle Leather," handled by L. A. Huffman, Miles City, Montana—one of the last of the plainsmen.

Finally, if your heart is bad, and ungrateful for the

good things of life, then go off into the woods, by yourself, and read "Hitting the Dark Trail," by blind Clarence Hawkes, of Hadley, Massachusetts, and from it you will rise a chastened and a better man.

H. L. Mencken, Critic

TO your questions:

1. I see no reason why summer reading should be differentiated from other reading. It is doubtful that the distinction is ever made by habitual readers, and most publishers seem to have forgotten it. The day of the trivial summer yellow-back is done.

2. My own reading as a professional reviewer is chiefly in the field of belles-lettres. Hence I usually turn to other fields when I read for pleasure. My preference, in summer as in winter, is for books in the exact sciences, especially biology and chemistry. I also read a great deal of history. During the coming summer I hope to get through forty or fifty volumes on the military history of the late war.

3. I believe that most intelligent Americans would get something out of "The Myth of a Guilty Nation," by A. J. Nock, editor of the *Freeman*, and "Shall It Be Again?" by John Kenneth Turner, a good book with an absurd title. I mention these books because they are not likely to get much editorial notice, and the little they get will probably be dishonest.

Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Explorer

JUST now I am putting in my time writing books rather than reading them. "The more you write the less you read" seems to be the general rule—which may explain in part why much of what is written is so little worth reading.



© J. T. Beale

I seem to be following the drift of the time towards "serious" reading. Books are now being written which are as true as the authors can make them and as interesting as they could possibly be if they were not true. You may enjoy a novel as much as a serious book while you are reading it, but it leaves on the mind somewhat the after-effect of a dissipation—you have an uncomfortable feeling that your time might have been better spent. "Maria Chapdelaine" is a good book, but so is "The Mind in the Making." I am glad I read Robinson's book, but the most I can say for the French-Canadian novel is that I am not sorry I read it.

Your query as to the specific books I would recommend gives me a chance I have long been waiting for. I am an admirer of Wells and I think that he has done the world no greater service than to use his popularity and lucid style to inveigle people into acquiring a smattering of history and of science. I cannot help thinking that the popularity of his "Outline of History" shows two things chiefly—the trend of the times and the value of advertising.

Wells has the grace to refer to the "Martyrdom of Man" as an interesting book and one along the lines of his own "Outline of History." Now that I am asked, I should like to give two pieces of advice. To those who have read Wells, I would say: Read the "Martyrdom of Man" and then tell your friends what you think of the comparative merits of the two books. To those who have not yet found the time to read Wells, I would suggest they read the "Martyrdom of Man" rather than Wells's "Outline," first because it is the pioneer work in that field, secondly because it is written with even greater genius than that of Wells, and thirdly because it is a much smaller book and gives you a similar grasp of world development with only a fraction of the effort needed for going through Wells.

As to my own summer plans: I intend to read Strachey's "Eminent Victorians" because I liked his "Queen Victoria," and I shall read anything else of Strachey's I can get. For many years I have admired the work of Thomson and Geddes, and for that reason I expect to read Thomson's "Outline of Science" as fast as it appears. I shall read Lippmann's "Public Opinion." If summer were a vacation, the list of books would be a good deal longer, but I am working this year and shall probably have time for only a few books besides those mentioned.

Emile Berliner, Inventor

I FIND in the metropolitan daily and Sunday press, in high-grade weeklies, and in prominent monthly magazines such an abundance of reading matter that I would not care, in addition thereto, to read books during vacation time, unless they are thoroughly original in conception, have a paramount purpose, and sound an original note.

To read books simply for their literary value, dealing with old hackneyed questions in a new literary form, is to my mind well enough for people with little else on their minds, but cannot suit the man who wants to keep abreast with the progress of the world, here and abroad.

I except, however, all books written by prominent humorists, and short-story writers. These are not only always enjoyable, but have a decided hygienic value which will tend to prolong life.

In order to recommend books to others intelligently you must consider the person you wish to advise. The last book I read by choice was "Main Street," and besides I read, because recommended to me, "Up Stream," and I found that the author of "Up Stream" started with several imperfect premises and did not realize some fundamentals of American civilization that are anchored in "Main Street."

And then, during vacation time, I want to read nature, and characters, and eyes. What's the matter with that?

Samuel Gompers, Labor Leader

WHAT do I expect to read this summer? I began summer reading with the decision of the United States Supreme Court nullifying the Federal Child Labor law. Scarcely had I finished that illuminating document when the same tribunal furnished me with additional engrossing material—the decision in the Coronado coal case, upsetting all American law, making unions subject to suits for damages, and making their treasuries prey to ruthless employers.

There may be other such decisions before the summer is over. If so, I shall read them. Mr. Taft as a novelist is unsurpassed.

I shall read our newspapers regularly, finding there much fiction among the facts.

It will be my pleasure, I presume, to read a hundred brands of propaganda, with most of which I am now familiar, but the ever-changing perversions of which I find constantly interesting.

Summer reading with me is only incidentally a pleasure. First of all it is a duty, like winter reading, and spring and fall reading. But it would be a welcome relief if less that is trash were taken seriously by those who print and publish.

Now and then I shall try to find something serious, something informative, something elevating and inspiring, to read. It may be that I shall find such things this summer only among those writers of old who have been my spare-moment companions through many arduous years of struggle.

D. W. Griffith, Motion Pictures

SUMMER is not a season for reading.

Each month I refresh my acquaintance with some of Dickens's characters.

Each month I read at least one of Shakespeare's plays. This is to keep my vision of life expanded as much as possible.

Otherwise I read whatever the thoughts of the day may recommend.

No current fiction is read except as the necessity of work imposes. At times, however, this involves from three to ten books a day for a short time.

I no more have a reading schedule than a small boy in the country has a swimming schedule. Wherever the water is inviting, he plunges in.

T. B. Macaulay, Canada

WHEN I leave the office I try to forget business and finance. My thoughts then run to one or the other of my hobbies, the principal being my farm on the Ottawa River, which to me takes the place of golf. We have transformed it into an experiment station, where work is being done in the way of developing strains of

corn which will suit our short seasons, and, I hope, move the corn belt a hundred miles further north. We are also trying to solve other distinctly Canadian agricultural problems. This work has become extensive and highly interesting. No reading appeals to me more than books or bulletins on plant-breeding or the laws of heredity, for we have a herd of milking Shorthorns. I cannot advise your readers to follow my example.

For fiction, I confess that I prefer the short story, with a liking for tales of mystery, though I know none to compare to those of Sherlock Holmes or humorous stories like those of W. W. Jacobs.

Guy Emerson, Banker

THE prospects for good reading for the summer of 1922 are bright, although we are faced again with the trouble that has long been a serious menace to intelligent reading in this country—namely, an over-supply of poor books. It would be a step forward for intellectual America if we could have fewer and better books.

Outstanding on the list for this summer may be mentioned, in non-fiction, the first volume of "The Outline of Science," published by Putnam. This is one of the finest popular treatments of science ever issued. The type and pictures are unusual and there is not a dull paragraph in the entire book. The second volume will be out during the summer.

Lord Bryce's treatment of international relations, based on his lectures at Williams College last summer, is expected to appear in the near future. I understand that this book was the last piece of work completed by Lord Bryce before his death.

For those who like trenchant criticisms, "The Outline" of Wells gives a vivid picture of modern literary England. In this same field "Friday Nights," by Edward Garnett, is interesting.

"The Founding of New England," by James T. Adams, and "The History of History," by James T. Shotwell, will appeal to the historically inclined. The latter, by a professor at Columbia, is a fascinating study, very readably presented, of the material out of which history is built. It includes a brief and interesting outline of the origin of writing, and some rather profound analysis of men and events. This is the sort of mature and urbane writing of which our scholarship has produced far too little.

To those interested in outdoors "The Minds and Manners of Wild Animals," by William T. Hornaday, and "Mount Everest Reconnaissance," by Lieut-Col. G. K. Howard-Bury, will appeal.

Among the readable novels are "Vandemark's Folly," by Herbert Quick; "Men of Affairs," by Roland Pertwee; "The Scarlet Tanager," by Aubry Tyson; "Gentle Julia," by Booth Tarkington; "Caravans by Night," by Harry Hervey; "A Covered Wagon," by Emerson Hough; "Intrusion," by Beatrice Seymour; "Man-Size," by William Raine; and "Copper Streak Trail," by Eugene W. Rhoades.

H. G. Prout, Retired Editor

MY summer reading is exactly the same as my winter reading. This is merely instinct, not a reasoned plan of life. If I were making a considered choice I should say the more demoralizing the weather is, the more robust the reading should be. Don't monkey with your mind or soul. You can't be happy unless

you respect yourself and you can't respect yourself if you suspect yourself of being a loafer. Therefore, in dog-days try Herbert Spencer's "First Principles of Philosophy," or Carlyle's "Past and Present." Ninety-nine men and women fail for want of sand for every one who fails for want of brains. Keep up your mental and spiritual daily dozen.

You ask what kind of reading I do. Some fiction, of course, but almost no new novels. This is not affectation. I hate self-conscious, half-baked psychology, pathology, erotics, and sociology in my novels. I am not intellectual; I am a primitive. I like romance, love, fighting, and adventure. Of the moderns, Oppenheim, Locke, and Conrad are my favorites. I read "Les Trois Mousquetaires" and "Vanity Fair" about once in five years. I re-read "Kidnapped" and "Treasure Island" oftener, perhaps. These four are my favorites. Just now I am toiling through "Les Misérables." It is great, but rather tedious. Scott is a little long-winded too, but I read "Quentin Durward" every few years. "The White Company" and "The Moonstone" stand re-reading.

I read a good deal of biography, and am not discriminating about it. I range from Benvenuto Cellini to Phillips Brooks. The best-read book on my shelves is Huxley's "Life and Letters." I have made my private index for it. Emerson said that Carlyle's "Frederick the Great" was the wittiest book ever written. As I remember, you don't quite accept this, but I can always open it at random with pleasure.

History I read much, and in the same way, without plan or system. Between Herodotus and John Fiske one meets quite a variety of men and manners, and the philosopher on the side-lines need never be bored.

I take frequent excursions into economics and sociology, more as duty than for fun. The mystical, the speculative, and the unprovable do not appeal strongly to my simple bourgeois mind.

I have made no list for the summer. I shall finish Beveridge's "John Marshall," which was published three years ago and which I have just begun. It is great history and great biography. There is now before me, just begun, a little book, 200 pages, "Liberalism and Industry," by Ramsey Muir. This I shall not only read, but probably study, little as I like sociology and economics. Of course, I shall read "Andivius Hedulio" (start it at least—I could not finish "If Winter Comes" or "Main Street"). Some fine morning I shall pick up Oppenheim's last book and have a spree. On my night table are Pepy's Diary, a book on auction bridge, and the Book of Common Prayer, but these are routine. They have the same relation to my summer reading that my tobacco jar has. They go without saying.

Walter E. Traprock, F. R. S. S. E. U.

Author of "The Cruise of the Kawa"

IN the time I can spare between writing and reading my own works, I shall read the newly published "Life of the Queen of Sheba," by my old friend Phineas Crutch. Other than this (and, of course, my daily verses in the Bible, which I take twice daily with a glass of water), I have no definite plans. My reading is apt to be determined by what books I can borrow. Having at last succeeded in getting "The Sheik" away from my grandmother, this will probably be included in my list.

The Oldest Living Thing in the World

By Robert H. Moulton

THE oldest living thing in the world is a tree. But it is not in California, as might be supposed, for the redwood, although a giant, is equaled in longevity by the bald cypress, and



Gigantic trunk of the Mexican cypress

in at least one instance the cypress is ahead. This aged cypress stands in southern Mexico in the village of Sante Maria del Tula, and experts, judging by its gigantic bole and by the slow growth of the species, have estimated the age of the patriarch of all trees to be between five thousand and six thousand years.

These figures are staggering to the imagination. Taking the lowest computation, when the seed from which the tree sprang fell upon the earth King Menes was holding the first reign in Egypt of which we have historic knowledge—3,000 years before the birth of Christ. It was a slender stripling 200 years old when Cheops drove his subjects with the lash to the labor of building the Great Pyramid. It had reached a lusty youth of 1,500 years when the Hebrews made their exodus from the land of the Nile.

This living thing in tropical America was silently building itself to its present stature and vigor seven centuries before Babylon reached its greatest splendor. Ancient Nineveh, in the ninth century before the Christian era, was a parvenu compared with the del Tula cypress. The earliest cuneiform inscriptions which archeologists have unearthed in Assyria date back to only 1800 B. C.—and the tree in Mexico which was to arise in the distant future on a new and unknown continent had even then lived almost as many years as separate the world today from the final recall of the Roman legions from Britain. To this still flourishing cypress may more

fittingly be applied the lines which Cowper wrote to the Yardly Oak:

"O couldst thou speak,
As in Dodona once thy kindred trees
Oracular, I would not curious ask
The future, best known; but, at thy mouth,
Inquisitive, the less ambiguous past!
By thee I might correct, erroneous oft,
The clock of history; facts and events
Time more punctual; unrecorded facts
Recovering; and misstated, setting right."

The de Tula cypress was first noticed by Alexander von Humboldt, in 1803, during his travels through this part of the country. At the time of his visit he inserted a square board into the side of the tree, cutting a shallow hole in the outer part of the tree for that purpose. This board bore a Spanish inscription, a copy of which does not seem to have been recorded.

The last scientific measurement of the tree was made in 1903 by Dr. Herman von Schrenk, who was at that time connected with the United States Forestry Service. While traveling through southern Mexico he determined to inspect the Sante Maria del Tula cypress.

Dr. von Schrenk learned that the tree was regarded as sacred in the vicinity

monument would not fail to complete the evidence needed.

The Mayor of Sante Maria del Tula, however, opposed a barrier of adamant. Measure the circumference of the tree? Surely. Photograph it? Indeed yes. But to take an instrument and bore from the trunk a plug two feet deep and half an inch in diameter? Horrors, no!

In vain Dr. von Schrenk urged that this experiment had been made hundreds of times without damage to trees, and that by counting the rings shown on the plug he could learn the tree's average rate of growth and thus solve one of the great scientific problems of the world. The Mayor was all humility and submissiveness. Anything he possessed was at the disposition of the distinguished United States official. But touch the tree he must not.

So Dr. von Schrenk was compelled to content himself with measuring the bole and with taking several photographs of the tree. One of them, taken from the roof of one of the buildings across the square of the small churchyard where the cypress stands, gives a good idea of the general shape of the tree. The crown is almost round, and the tree has little resemblance to young cypress trees growing in dry localities or older ones growing in the swamps, but looks more like a large oak. It has an extremely massive but comparatively short trunk, deeply fluted.

A careful examination of the tree showed no evidence of decay or disease of any sort, all of the branches appearing healthy and vigorous. The best indication of its good condition was evidenced by the manner in which the famous Humboldt plate had been

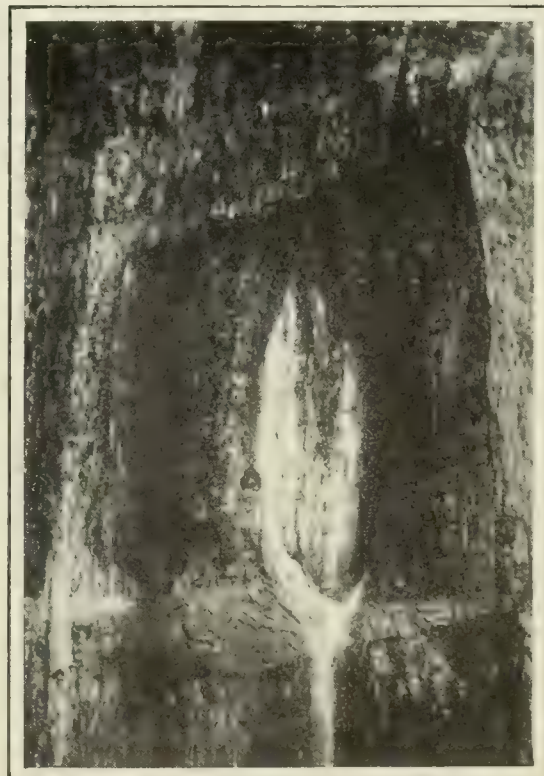


Cypress of Santa Maria del Tula

and that it was guarded night and day by two soldier sentinels. Escorted by as numerous and dignified a retinue as the Mayor could muster, he marched to the little graveyard in which the cypress stands.

Before the broad and towering bulk of this one life, which has persisted without interruption since the date of the dawning of history, the visitor halted in awe. Had the foliaged creature possessed eyes and tongue, what treasures of information could it have added to the annals of man! What revolutions in Mexico it could have related, what rises and falls of monarchies and civilizations in tropical America!

But flights of fancy gave way to immediate scientific duties. Authorities on trees had declared the discovery of the approximate age of this cypress to be one of the most important problems in the arboriculture. They had expressed a hope that the next scientist who should visit the ancient living



Tablet placed on the Mexican cypress by Humboldt 119 years ago

more or less covered during the hundred years after its placing. As one of the accompanying photographs shows, the tree has almost healed over the wound made by the insertion of the board. The photograph shows only indistinctly the Spanish words which are still evident on the board. Of Humboldt's name, the only parts legible are "der" of the first name, the small "v" and "Hum."

The measurements of the tree were made with difficulty, since it has a considerable swelling, which extends from six to eight feet up from the ground, and furthermore because of the tremendous buttresses, some of which are three to four feet deep. Dr. von Schrenk found that the trunk of the tree, four feet from the ground, had the astounding girth of 126 feet.

An idea of its vast age may be obtained by comparing it with a cypress described by Prof. Asa Gray, which, although only fourteen feet in circumference, is 670 years old. So slow is the growth of the cypress that this tree had required nearly seven centuries to attain a diameter of fifty-four inches.

Professor Alphonse de Candolle, an illustrious botanist, calculated that the Santa Maria del Tula cypress might be 6,000 years old. Professor Asa Gray, under one computation, estimated that it might be 5,124 years old, and named it "the Nestor of the cypress race, if not of the whole vegetable kingdom."

Both these computations would make the Mexican cypress older from 1,000 to 2,000 years than the giant sequoia tree of California, in the bole of which John Muir, the famous geologist and archæologist, counted more than 4,000 rings.

In Louisiana, according to Dr. von Schrenk, are cypress trees which were 500 years old when Jesus was born at Bethlehem. Some of these are in the celebrated "Edenborn brake" in Winn Parish, near Atlanta. The monarch of the brake is a tree which lumbermen estimate would scale 23,000 feet of lumber.

The only trees which can venture to rival the Santa Maria del Tula cypress, according to scientists, are certain baobab, or monkey-bread, trees of Senegal and the Cape Verde Islands, and the famous Dragon tree of the city of Orotava, in Tenerife. Neither of these trees, however, is believed to be as much as 5,000 years old, although their antiquity is estimated to be so great that only that of the Mexican cypress surpasses it.

"Upon the whole," writes Professor Gray in his Scientific Papers, "after making every reasonable allowance for errors of observation and too sanguine inference, we must still regard some of these trees, not only as the oldest inhabitants of the globe, but as more ancient than any human monument—as exhibiting a living antiquity, compared with which the mouldering relics of the earliest Egyptian civilization, the pyramids themselves, are but structures of yesterday."

New Books and Old

IF readers who are lucky enough to possess a copy of the new edition of "The House of Souls" (Knopf) by Arthur Machen will turn past the middle of the volume and read the story called "The Great God Pan," they will find the work of this remarkable writer at its best, and can know whether they like it or not. Some critics, especially those who despise a story with a plot, may prefer the two first items in the book: "A Fragment of Life" and "The White People." Arthur Machen's work has always pleased most of the critics; he deserves popularity, and for that reason I am sorry that "The Great God Pan" does not stand at the beginning of this volume. The other two stories—if stories they be—(there is a fourth, called "The Inmost Light") have much of his strange beauty, mysticism, and weird, diabolical power of suggestion, but they may discourage the average reader. "The White People"—a wonderful thing—runs for nearly forty pages with only two paragraphs, and all this solid type is little calculated to attract the uninitiated.

I suppose that this arrangement is the author's; it follows the order in the edition of "The House of Souls" published in 1906, and now out of print. That is a book of more than five hundred pages; it also included his longer work, "The Three Imposters" (told in separate "novels" in the manner of Stevenson's "New Arabian Nights"), and still another short story, "The Red Hand." The edition which I own of "The Great God Pan" and "The Inmost Light" is dated London and Boston: 1894—about the year when I first began to read and admire Arthur Machen, and to harp upon him to my friends. This edition has an appropriately pagan title-page by Aubrey Beardsley. My copy of "Three Imposters"—either his second-best or his first-best novel—is dated 1895.

Arthur Machen is a native of Wales; he was born in 1863. He has been a journalist in London for most of his life, and according to Vincent Starrett, author of a brief monograph about him, was for a time a strolling actor. He has written, in addition to the books named above: "The Chronicle of Clemendy" (an excursion into the field of the "Heptameron"), "The Hill of Dreams" (a mystical romance), "Dr. Stiggins" (a savage satire upon certain national sins of America, such as lynching), "Hieroglyphics" (conversations upon literature), "The Bowmen" (fanciful stories of the Great War, which, as "The Angel of Mons," the spiritualists of England insisted on accepting as fact—violently attacking Mr. Machen because he refused to lie about it and say that it was true), "The Terror" (another story of the War), and a novel of the present year, called "The Secret Glory," and published in London by Martin Secker. In addition, he has made translations from the French, including the "Heptameron," "Le Moyen

de Parvenir," and, I have been told, the best English version of Casanova's memoirs.

He acknowledges his debt to Poe, and his admiration for certain other Americans—Miss Mary Wilkins and Mark Twain—but otherwise America is for him that brutal and disgusting land which might exist in the imagination of any Englishman, thirty years ago, who learned of it chiefly through London papers which emphasized its crimes: a country given over to lynching mobs, corrupt politicians, and Puritanical humbugs. The coming of national prohibition will undoubtedly strengthen this dislike. Mr. Machen is in perpetual wrath about Non-Conformists; the sight of a Wesleyan or Presbyterian chapel moves him to fury. He can view hecatombs to Zeus with sympathy, or even human sacrifices to any pagan deity; but never the Wednesday evening prayer-meeting! He possesses a beautiful prose style, and, so far as I can see, is the master of all living writers in English of the supernatural tale. Dr. Montague James is supreme in the old-fashioned ghost-story; and Mr. Algernon Blackwood's essays in superstition have explored every known and unknown corner. Mr. Blackwood, however, fires ten duds for every shell which explodes; he can build up a towering edifice of horror only to have its top-story crumble; he often spreads a small amount of ghostliness over so large a surface that its effect is hardly sufficient to make you shiver. But Mr. Machen's "The Great God Pan," and certain of the stories in "The Three Imposters," seem to me to be unsurpassed, even by Poe, for horror, and suggestion of diabolism.

The idea is fascinating: to select a street and write the history of it, house by house. But of the streets which are important enough to merit a history, many are too long for such treatment. Dr. Robert Means Lawrence found in Park Street, Boston, a street both important and short. The lane once known as Sentry or Centry Street, which ran up to the mast or beacon on the top of what is now Beacon Hill, became, as Park Street, an important section of the religious, social, commercial, and literary life of Boston. Save Wall Street, what other so short has been so celebrated? Recollections of Brimstone Corner, of old Bostonians, of clubs, book-shops, and of the *Atlantic Monthly*, abound in this brief street, flanked on one side by the Common. Dr. Lawrence's book is called "Old Park Street and Its Vicinity"; quite properly it is published by the Houghton Mifflin Company, and in most attractive form.

It is safe to predict that Mr. Sinclair Lewis will soon publish a good novel; he has done it at least once. It is also a fair prediction that when he opens his mouth for a newspaper interview he will say something silly; he has done it more than once. Lately he returned from England berating the English be-

(Continued on page 560)

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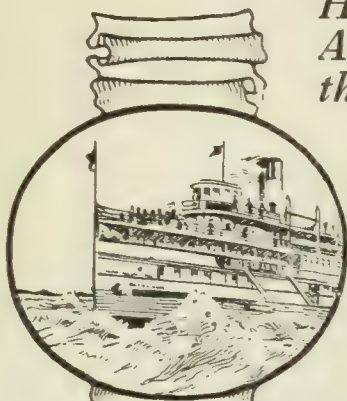
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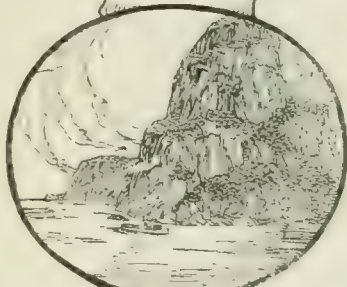
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(Continued from page 558)

cause they do not acclaim and shout hosanna at the names of certain American authors whom only a small number of Americans care or know anything about. The younger spirits pretend to despise pantheons, academies, halls of fame, absurd veneration, and laurel crownings, yet they all become as mad as hatters if the newest success in their own school isn't accorded universal worship as object as that given to the Grand Lama.

The obstinate conservatism of American taste in literature is seen by Mr. H. M. Tomlinson in his new book, "Waiting for Daylight" (Knopf). He found an American who liked Dickens. In January, 1919, he wrote in his day-book: "In Fleet Street yesterday there was at lunch with us an American army officer who discoursed heartily about a certain literary public-house. He quoted a long passage from Dickens, showing how somebody took various turnings near Fetter Lane . . . till they [sic] arrived at this very tavern. Such enthusiasm is admirable, yet embarrassing. In return, I inquired after several young American poets, whose work, seldom seen here, interests me, and I named their books. He had never heard of them. This enthusiast did not even appear to have the beginning of an idea that his was unforgivable ignorance seeing that he knew more than a native ought to know about some of our taverns."

Perhaps the best of the serious books of literary essays of the season is Edmund Gosse's "Aspects and Impressions" (Scribner). Its longer and more deliberate studies will appeal to readers who have not been wholly converted to the brief paragraphs which the new writers of literary comment are wont to make into a book. He is happy who can enjoy both kinds. For if Mr. Gosse's essays are long, and old-fashioned in appearance, it will not be found that they suffer in comparison, for their interest and wit, with the work of any of the critics to whom all literature prior to 1895 is unknown. If we are too modern—or degenerate—to read George Eliot, we may still enjoy Mr. Gosse's picture of her in a Parisian hat, with an immense ostrich feather. Of a later period are most of his recollections of Henry James, including a curious story, dating from 1895, of James's appearance as a dramatist, when he was hissed from the stage after the last act, on account of a conspiracy against the leading actor, George Alexander.

New books for inspection during a vacation:

George Macaulay Trevelyan's "British History in the Nineteenth Century—1782-1901" (Longman).

"Terribly Intimate Portraits" (Boni and Liveright), by Noel Coward—a satire on the intimate revelations, startling diaries, gossipy memoirs, mirrors of this and the other place, and writings of gentlemen with dusters.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

Book Reviews

Studies of Women

MRS. THOMPSON. By W. B. Maxwell.
New York: Dodd, Mead and Company.

INTRUSION. By Beatrice Kean Seymour.
New York: Thomas Seltzer.

SACRIFICE. By Stephen French Whitman.
New York: D. Appleton and Company.

ADRIENNE TONER. By Anne Douglas Sedgwick.
Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

"MRS. THOMPSON" was first published in 1911. For anything we find in it, the date might be twenty years earlier. The central figure is, to be sure, a business woman. But she is not the cold and confident type recently portrayed in American fiction, the she who habitually holds her own, "and then some," in a circumambient world of males. Mrs. Thompson is a marvel precisely because on the surface, and in deep strata beneath the surface, she is the Victorian female purely. As a "sport" of this type, she possesses the genius for affairs which enables her to wrest success out of most unpromising conditions. She has all the sensibility, the respect for male-ness, the shrinking from open conflict, of the "nice" woman of her period. But she has also an unerring business sense, as well as a sound strain of character or, if you like, common sense, to fall back on at need. Twice romance and marriage make a fool of her, but not quite a consumed fool. Her triumph over the insufferable Marsden is beautifully timed and carried through. Never has American story-teller excelled the carefully hoarded surprise of the denouement. It is a good tale skilfully told. Some of us may be guiltily conscious of an especial pleasure in it as a story of another clime and time. It frees us for the moment from our anguished preoccupation with the inconclusive amours of young and slightly gallicized Britain, and of still younger and considerably hyphenated America. It takes me back to the friendly, home-like England of twenty years ago, when snobbery was a safe if not unchallenged institution, and a woman was a woman, for a' that. Mrs. Thompson, as a woman of property and master of a successful business, wallows rightfully in adulation; obsequiousness is her due. We grieve when she seems to have lost the right to it, and rejoice when she gloriously reestablishes that right in the eyes of all men. Delightful and satisfying also is the thorough paying off of the unmitigated cad Marsden. It takes an English story-teller to give a villain all that is coming to him. Now we love Trollope's habit of laying in wait for his Proudies and his Crosbies, and when the hour is ripe doing unto them all that we should like to do. Trollope's disciple Maxwell, a scribe so gentle otherwise, has the same price-less talent. Terrible fate, to be a pushing curate in Archibald's parish!

"Intrusion" is a story which has received the most flattering notices from

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In every case his writing is analytical and keenly reasoned, but that does not detract one whit from the charming and wholly absorbing style in which the short tales are told.

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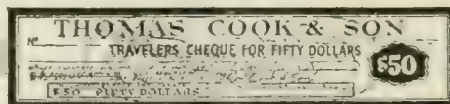
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a race of English reviewers not less generous than our own in the use of cant phrases and superlatives. I don't quite see what the excitement is about in this instance. "Intrusion" appears to be a well-built, well-written example of a very usual kind of thing: the intimate study of a group of modern young English people who wonder what the dickens life is all about and are much at the mercy of "sex." In this case the mysteries of life and sex are especially embodied in the girl Roberta. And there is an effective central thread of motive in the idea of her fatal influence as an intruder, on all the persons who legitimately belong in the Suffield family connection. "Isn't it a hell of a day?" says Roberta, by way of opening speech. The query is in sufficiently good form, according to the usage of well-bred Suffields of the after-war period. Her essential vulgarity reveals itself in other ways than to the eye and ear. For her voice is charming, and her beauty a miracle. The reader must believe in the miracle or the story is flat. This is something of a feat, since he cannot hear the golden voice or behold the golden beauty; and Roberta's reported speech is harmlessly trivial and her conduct depressingly underbred. She is a rose without sweetness, a star without warmth. Sex is her coolly wielded weapon; she vamps without a thrill. Yet sex betrays her in the end, snuffs out her beauty and her life together, greatly to the advantage of surviving Suffields. . . . Well, either you feel a story like this, or you don't. I cannot quite make myself feel that Roberta is "good enough," real and meaning enough, apart from her type, to justify all the pother. So it is with much of our loudly lauded, ephemeral fiction; like "Main Street," "If Winter Comes," or "The Beautiful and Damned," for instance.

"Sacrifice" is a fiction of more rarefied "literary" quality. Its matter and manner are remote from the chatty and competent style of the current journalistic novel. It is as consciously atmospheric and stylistic as the work of the by no means unrecognized minority, Conrad and Cabell, Hergesheimer and Hewlett. It makes no attempt to disguise its solicitude for the right word and the desired effect, its concern with the just processes of art. It has a story to tell, and wishes to give that story every possible advantage in economy of structure and beauty of surface. It doesn't care to be a transcript of fact or a commentary on fact. If it is anything other than a story, it is a study of the modern neurasthenic woman, the hyper-civilized, painfully sensitive product of heredity and environment. Lilla's parents are a rich, pampered, neurotic pair of New Yorkers, the father a valetudinarian aesthete, the mother a fastidious dreamer. Theirs is "a house always rather dim, its shadows aglimmer with richness, and here and there a beam of light illuminating some flawless, precious object. It was a house of silent servants, of faces imprinted with

(Continued on page 564)

How to Rid Yourself of Your Catarrh

**QUICKLY! PERMANENTLY! Without Drugs or Medicines of Any Kind
Tonsils and Adenoids Cured Without Operation**

By R. L. ALSAKER, M.D.

THE majority of the people in our country suffer from catarrh. Some have it from time to time, others have it all the time.

Catarrh of the head is troublesome—and filthy. Catarrh of the throat causes coughing and much annoying expectoration.

When the catarrh goes into the chest it is called bronchitis. If it is allowed to continue it becomes chronic, and chronic bronchitis means farewell to health and comfort. It robs the sufferer of refreshing sleep and takes away his strength. It also weakens the lungs so that the individual easily falls a victim to influenza, pneumonia or consumption.

Then there is catarrh of the stomach and small intestines, which always means indigestion. Catarrh of the large intestine often ends in inflammation of the lower bowel—colitis.

Catarrh of the ear causes headache, ringing in the ears and general discomfort.

Catarrh Causes Serious Disease

Catarrh of the liver produces various diseases, such as jaundice and gall-stones, and often ends in much suffering from liver colic.

All who easily catch cold are in a catarrhal condition. Those who take one cold after another will in a short time suffer from chronic catarrh, which in turn will give rise to some other serious disease—as if catarrh itself isn't bad enough.

Either you personally suffer from catarrh, or some member of your family is afflicted.

Isn't it time to give this serious danger a little attention, before it is too late, and solve the problem for yourself? You can do it. It's easy.

Catarrh can be conquered easily and permanently. It has been done in thousands of cases.

You can cure yourself—and while you are losing your catarrh you will lose your other physical ills. That dirty tongue will clean up; that tired feeling will vanish; that bad taste in the mouth will disappear; that troublesome gas will stop forming in stomach and bowels; and the pain will leave your back; headaches will take flight; rheumatism will say good-bye and those creaky joints will become pliant.

In children catarrh is often accompanied by sore, enlarged tonsils and adenoids. When this occurs the child becomes a "mouth-breather," the palate is often pushed upward, and the teeth thrown out of line. Mouth breathing is often the cause of laryngitis, bronchitis and asthma.

Dr. Alsaker was con-

sulted by the parents of a little boy named Jimmy. Other physicians and the school nurse said that Jimmy's tonsils must be removed, for they were so large that they almost met when examined. Of course he had adenoids too. The parents feared to have them removed, for they had heard of a child who had bled to death after this operation.

Dr. Alsaker applied his simple methods for the cure of catarrh to Jimmy's case with marvelous results. In a few weeks the catarrh had vanished, the tonsils had shrunk back toward normal, the adenoids disappeared, and Jimmy became a healthy little animal, breathing as freely as any child.

Removal of the tonsils by the knife is not a very safe operation. Death occasionally results; often the sore throat persists.

Removing the tonsils is merely cutting out a symptom. Enlarged tonsils and adenoids are both merely effects of wrong living. Dr. Alsaker's common-sense, proved-out plan removes the cause of these dangerous conditions.

Realizing the great need of definite, practical information regarding this terrible disease, catarrh, Dr. Alsaker has prepared a plain, simple instruction book on the cause, prevention and cure of catarrh, asthma, hay fever, coughs and colds, swollen tonsils and adenoids. This book is entirely free from fads, bunk and medical bombast. It sets forth a common-sense, proved-out PLAN, that is easy and pleasant to follow—a plan that teaches the sick how to get well and how to keep well. The name of this book is "Curing Catarrh, Coughs and Colds." It tells the true cause of these objectionable, health-destroying troubles, and it gives you a safe, simple, sure cure without drugs, medicines or apparatus of any kind. You apply this wonderfully successful treatment yourself, in your own home and without the expenditure of an additional penny. There is nothing difficult, technical or mysterious about this treatment. It is so easy to understand and so simple to follow that anyone, young or old, can reap the utmost benefit from it.

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R. L. ALSAKER, M. D.

Founder of
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If you have been puzzled about the cause of catarrh, adenoids, and enlarged tonsils, this article is going to open your eyes and make you think. Read what these people say about Dr. Alsaker's methods.

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(Continued from page 562)

a gracious weariness, of beautifully modulated low voices, of noble reticence. Yet all the while the place quivered from secret transports of anguish."

The rough fate of a railway collision releases them from their ingenious torments. The child Lilla is left to the care of an aunt, a "chastely fervent" maiden aunt, a puritan surrounded with rich treasures of pagan and mediaeval art, who "implanted in that little charge still more complexities of impulse—a greater sensitiveness to the lures of mortal beauty, together with her own recoil from all the ultimate consequences of that sensitiveness." So Lilla becomes a woman of vibrating and often warring sensibilities, a creature of abnormal and hardly definable beauty, with "the exceptional, agitating look—that softly fatal aspect—which is seen in those who are destined to extraordinary lives." Beside her has grown up a potential mate of her own sort, a youth as responsive as she to delicate impressions, as sophisticated and as unsatisfied. A union like her mother's seems in store for her. But there is another strain in her, a secret devotion to an ideal of robust manhood, embodied in Lawrence Teck, an explorer whom she does not see till years after she has fallen in love with his picture. So, it chances (and our story-teller does not blench before the word coincidence, as any realist properly must) he has been in love with hers. They meet, they wed; Teck is forced to return at once to his work in the African jungle. News comes presently of his death, and the world is empty for Lilla till, much later, the opportunity comes for her to serve the world as a handmaid of genius. Just as her sacrifice has brought her a sort of happiness and a half-oblivion of her old pain, Teck returns. She has gone through the form of marriage with her half-alive young composer. The truth will kill him: Teck can only disappear again into the jungle. But a third man is under Lilla's "fatal" spell. Through him comes her release from what is now a slavery, and with him she sets forth, the frail, coddled woman of the North, to find Teck in his festering jungle. What she finds there and how she finds it, the reader will wish to discover for himself. The tale as a tale is carefully welded and balanced, an eloquent romance of the conflict between the primitive and the effete in modern life.

The writer, like Mr. Hergesheimer, gets his effect of atmosphere largely through the piling up of minutiae. These pages are full of *things*, and chiefly of exotic things. America—the America of Lilla and Cornelius Rysbroek, of Fifth Avenue and Westchester—is a place heavily decorated with the loot of distance and past time. Even the country house of healthy, golfing Fanny Brassfield is a museum: "Here and there, between chairs and sofas the arms of which seemed composed of half-melted ingots, appeared a baroque cabinet filled with small, precious objects.



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WALTER G. HENDERSON, Treasurer.

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131st Dividend

The regular quarterly dividend of Two Dollars and twenty-five cents per share will be paid on Saturday, July 15th, 1922, to stockholders of record at the close of business on Tuesday, June 20, 1922.

H. BLAIR-SMITH, Treasurer.

THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD CO.

New York, June 14, 1922.

A Dividend of One Dollar and Twenty-five Cents (\$1.25) per share, on the Capital Stock of this Company has been declared payable August 1, 1922, at the Office of the General Treasurer, to stockholders of record at the close of business, June 30, 1922.

MILTON S. BARGER, General Treasurer.

UTAH COPPER COMPANY

25 Broad St., New York, June 8, 1922.

The Board of Directors of Utah Copper Company has this day declared a quarterly distribution of 50 cents per share, payable June 30, 1922, to stockholders of record at the close of business, June 16, 1922.

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Or from a creamy pedestal the marble features of some ancient sybarite regarded without surprise this modern richness based upon the past." There is frank artifice here, a cumulation of detail ministering, as in Poe or Hawthorne, to a single mood or impression, under the spell of which we are to accept a purely romantic action.

In "Adrienne Toner," we move upon an even higher plane of creative craftsmanship. Mrs. de Sélincourt, also, belongs to the distinguished minority of modern novelists who are first of all artists. The journalistic method has no more interest for her than the naturalistic method has. She doesn't want to lecture, with or without "slides." Nor is she satisfied to throw off impressions, scraps of ideas, theories, and incidents under the name of the novel. If she has a master, it is Henry James rather than H. G. Wells. Her American birth has given her something of James's sympathetic appreciation of the American abroad. This is what we used to call an "international" novel, before nations went out of fashion and internationals sought each other in marriage (more or less) as a matter of course. Adrienne and Mrs. Aldesey, the other woman of importance in the book, are both Americans. Mrs. Aldesey is a contented expatriate, escaped without scandal from an uncomfortable American marriage—or rather from an uncongenial American husband, and living alone, in quiet elegance and with devoted friends, in London. She is frail, faded, exquisite, complete in her kind—quite recognizably akin to the women who people the world of Henry James. Her best friend is Roger Oldmeadow, a London bachelor of taste, who lives in Chelsea on the Embankment, but cares neither for Whistler nor the Thames: "After Plato and Bach, Oldmeadow's passions were the rivers of France." He is, in short, the sort who may be so easily disposed of, by impassioned admirers of Mutt, Jeff, Babe Ruth, and the Bronx, as a "sissy."

To him, in the opening scene, comes "Barney" Chadwick, a good-humored, sensitive boy of twenty-nine, simple of mind and heart. The Chadwicks are country people. Barney wants Oldmeadow to put in the week-end at "Coldbrooks," more particularly to meet a new girl: "an interesting girl: American; very original and charming." Oldmeadow accepts, without enthusiasm, dislikes the girl at sight, finds her doubtfully original and not at all charming. She is well-bred, well-informed, but deals habitually in a sort of high flown moral patter which he resents actively, as he resents her instant dominance over the Chadwicks. They, in truth, are nice, opinionless, ineffective Britons, without very positive faith in anything, and secretly touched with the unease of the years before the war. Adrienne Toner is an egoist and a mystic. Immensely rich, perfectly self-contained, she is incapable of understanding doubt or fear in others, and goes about declaring a glad evangel which denies the reality of sin and pain. What Oldmeadow does not

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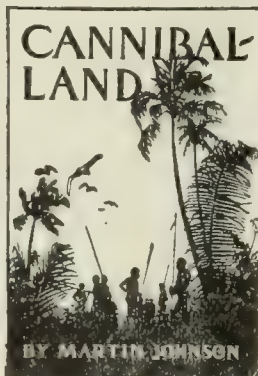
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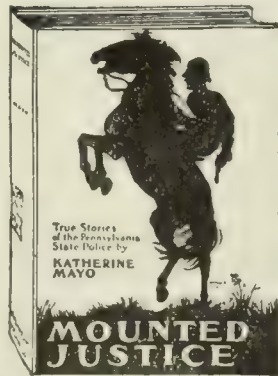
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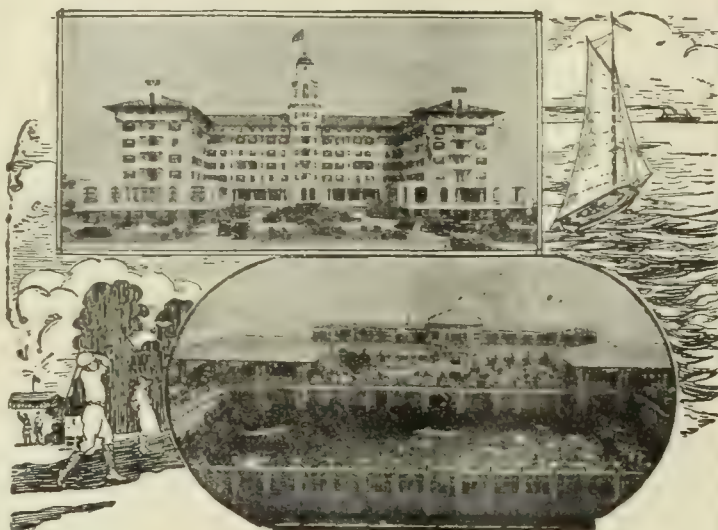
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grasp for a long time is a power in her which is independent of her sentimentality and sententiousness and all the fabric of self-deception upon which her smug philosophy is based. Her power of self-devotion and self-sacrifice, of fidelity to a single person, not her vague humanitarianism or her concrete tyranny, is what shapes her character and determines her conduct in the end.

I wish to give no more than this hint at the meaning of this extraordinary figure, out of whose repellent self-righteousness and egoism the artist creates, so moving and human a fellow-traveler along the hard road. The value of the story lies in the balance and blending of its central conception, its structure, and its style. It is a living and solid object, from which all traces of experiment and effort have been left behind in the workshop. Step by step, we are led to the sympathetic acceptance of an action which in less subtle handling would have seemed strained and inconclusive. If the final scene of Adrienne's physical parting with Oldmeadow is upon a plane of sheer mysticism, it is a mysticism free, at least, from taint of egotism or mere sentimentality. We believe enough in them both to believe that, in absence, "the thought of her would be strength to him always; as the thought of him and of his love would be strength to her."

H. W. BOYNTON

"A Challenge to American Democracy"

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD PROBLEM—A STUDY IN WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION. By I. Leo Sharfman. New York: The Century Company. \$3.

PROFESSOR Sharfman's book on "The American Railroad Problem," taking up the question as of the year 1914, describes the state of American railroads at the beginning of the war, their experiences under the Railroad War Board, when America entered the war, recounts the operations of the Government after the resumption of railroad control, and brings the history down to the enactment of the Esch-Cummins Law of 1920, under which private enterprise was again placed in control of the roads. It is an excellent book, complete in all essentials, written clearly and simply in a scientific spirit, and may be heartily recommended to the layman who wishes to understand the biggest single domestic problem that today confronts the American people.

While the author has honestly stated all the objections to Government ownership and operation of railroads, it is quite evident that his own opinion is that it is the best way out so far as American railroads are concerned. He has been perfectly fair in describing the nature of the only alternative policy, that of "regulation." The reader, by the time he has reached page 458, has had placed before him a pretty complete picture of the difficulties to be met, the obstacles to be surmounted,

and the conflicts to be harmonized if success under either policy is to be achieved. On page No. 458, and following, he will find these sentences:

The question of solving the railroad problem satisfactorily is assuming the guise of a challenge to American democracy; and those who persist in retaining their faith in the efficacy of American institutions are loath to admit that our people are incapable of undertaking and administering such a great public enterprise as would be involved in the nationalization of the railroads. The provision of an adequate transportation machine under a system of private ownership and operation involves a very difficult adjustment between private rights and public interests.

Financial regulation may become so strict as to remove all attraction for the railroad field from investors; and operating supervision may become so extensive as to render railroad executives powerless to exercise constructive enterprise. Under such circumstances the demand for nationalization may be pressed as vigorously by the natural supporters of private enterprise in the abstract regardless of the realities of the railroad situation. . . . There is much reason to believe that the American railroad problem is approaching some such status.

In other words, the American democracy, being incapable of balancing private rights and public interests, will be compelled to take the easiest way, which is nationalization. Stated in different form, the challenge, of which Professor Sharfman speaks, will be met by ignoring it. We shall fall into Government ownership and operation of railroads because we are incapable of handling the problem in any other way. The Professor prefers to state it differently; he describes it as an expression of "faith in the efficacy of American institutions." On his own statements, however, a people which, by its own native traditions and genius instinctively relieves rather upon individual effort than upon Government action, which after an experience of Government operation in railroad transportation has definitely signified a desire for its abandonment in favor of private ownership and operation, is about to be forced by its own incapacity back into the very thing that it definitely rejected!

If this does not mean a refusal on the part of the American democracy to take up the challenge, what does it mean?

Ida M. Tarbell's "Peacemakers, Blessed and Otherwise" (Macmillan) is a running account of the recent Washington Conference, with an *obligato*—frankly avowed in the sub-title—of the author's "observations, reflections, and irritations." It would have been a better book if Miss Tarbell had been better able to contain, or at least not to repeat unduly, her evidently heartfelt conviction that a nation which had declined to accept the League Covenant had really no business to indulge in peace negotiations. This querulous tendency takes something of actuality from the narrative and mars an otherwise sprightly and competent piece of reporting.



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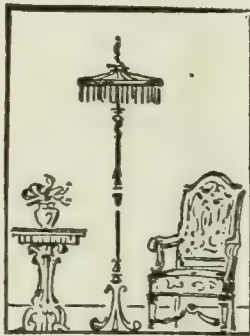
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